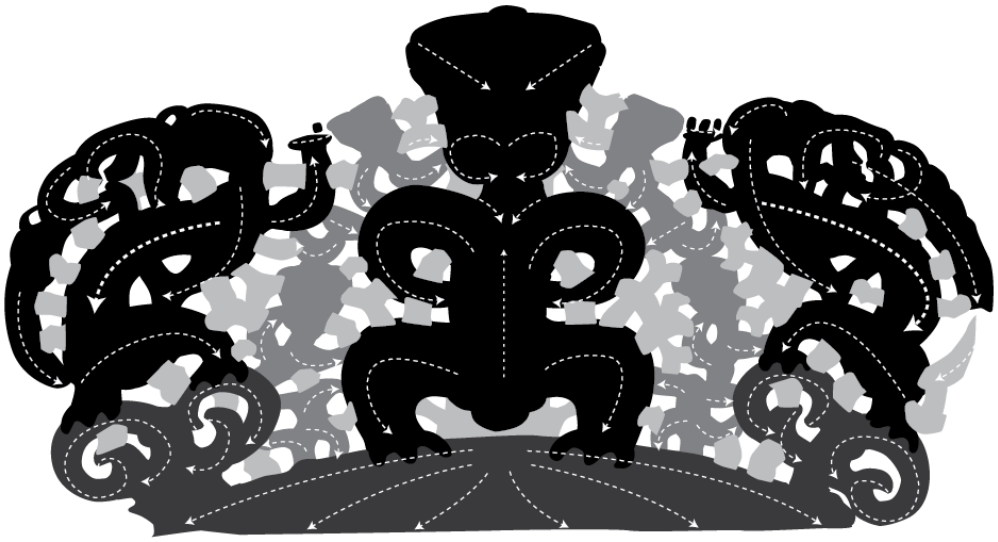
# Tārai Kōrero Toi

## Articulating a Māori Design Language



# Toi Runga

## Part 1

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
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# Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into three parts: ***Toi Runga*** **(Part 1),** ***Toi Raro*** **(Part 2)** and ***Te Hononga Toi Māori*** **(Part 3)**. *Toi Runga* and *Toi Raro* allude to *Te Kauae Runga* (the upper jaw) and *Te Kauae Raro* (the lower jaw), a Māori *wānanga* system associated with the Wairarapa *wānanga* (held in the nineteenth century at Greytown) that divided knowledge into celestial and terrestrial knowledge, that is, the knowledge of the gods on the one hand and knowledge of humankind on the other.

In the case of the thesis, the division refers to the two types of knowledge explored within the thesis. ***Toi Runga*** **(Part 1)** examines knowledge that is derived from a review of 'old' knowledge associated in particular with *pare* (door lintels). This review of customary Māori carving practice, and subsequent *pare* analyses, resulted in the development of a Māori design language pertinent to contemporary Maori design practice. In ***Toi Raro*** **(Part 2),** the 'new' knowledge (Māori elements and principles of design) derived from the analysis of 'old' knowledge, were then applied to three design projects within a contemporary context.

***Te Hononga Toi Māori*** **(Part 3)** was developed by the author as a reference for Māori terms, the Māori design elements and principles, and customary Māori surface pattern. When used in tandem with *Toi Runga* (Part 1) and *Toi Raro* (Part 2), *Te Hononga Toi Māori* (Part 3) acts as quick reference to understanding Māori terms and relevant design terminology. Māori terms are introduced using a convention of Māori term followed by the English translation in brackets and thereafter only the Māori term is used.

## Abstract

This research explores eighteenth and nineteenth century Māori carving and more specifically, *pare* (door lintel). The goal of this research is to develop design guidelines for Māori designers, based on customary models. Consequently, the research seeks to answer the research question: how might the visual language and *tikanga* (conventions, protocols, customary practice) of customary Māori carving inform contemporary Māori design practice?

This research topic responds to the dearth of Māori informed guidelines for designers, both Māori and non-Māori, when working with Māori content, form and imagery. In view of the increased use of Māori iconography in design industries both locally and globally, there is a need to develop guidelines that help maintain the integrity and intent of the Māori form and content, while enabling designers to express culturally significant messages. As a project by Māori, developed in response to Māori needs, the notion of *tinorangātiratanga* (sovereignty) is reaffirmed. While the customary, and to some extent contemporary Māori arts are helpful, the connection of design with commerce also highlights the need to develop guidelines that recognise this distinct crossover between culture and commerce. Thus, the Māori elements and principles of design have been articulated through an extensive literature review of eighteenth and nineteenth century Māori carving, and a linear diagrammatical analysis of *pare* informed by elements of Māori visual culture and epistemology with European design concepts and ideas about art.

The interdisciplinary nature of this project also demanded an innovative framework and methodology. This resulted in the development of the linear diagrammatical method for analysing carving, which combined *mātauranga Māori* (Māori knowledge) and knowledge about important cosmo-genealogical narratives, with western design conventions. This intersection between two-world views, that of design and that of customary Māori arts, is at the core of this thesis. It is critical to remember that the Māori terms developed to name the Māori principles of design evolve out of a conceptual engagement with the terminology and access to the language expertise of Dr Darryn Joseph. The terms therefore are not customary, but modern terms developed specifically for this study.

The elements and principles of Māori design were trialled through three design projects, a design exhibition *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: This is New Zealand*, a Māori alphabet block set, and *Whakarare,* a Māori typeface design. Each of these offered insights into how the Māori elements and principles could be applied within contemporary design practice. At the same time, these projects demonstrated some of the limitations of this customary-informed approach to contemporary design. Importantly, these

projects established how the Māori elements and principles could potentially allow designers to create multi-layered works that express Māori ideas, and Māori design sensibilities, in the absence of literal Māori iconography in a variety of design contexts. The Māori elements and principles bring Māori design closer to *Te Ao Māori* through the connection of design with customary Māori arts practice.

## Acknowledgements

This research is a manifestation of my love for two things, Māori culture and graphic design. I have always maintained a keen interest in the Māori arts. However, as a graphic design student I remained reticent to undertake Māori projects because I had little knowledge about both Māori arts and culture. My 2007 Masters project, an exploration of Māori art through gestalt theory, presented an opportunity to rectify this problem. After I completed the Masters at the Whanganui School of Design, my supervisor Professor Hazel Gamec encouraged me to meet with Bob, and enrol in a PhD. Hazel's advice had always resulted in positive outcomes, so in November 2007 I headed over to Palmerston to *Te Pūtahi-a-Toi*, Massey University's School of Māori Studies.

Bob was Professor Robert Jahnke, the Head of the School and Coordinator of the Māori Visual Arts Programme, to whom I am indebted. Throughout my time at Māori studies Professor Jahnke's guidance and knowledge has been inspiring. As the key supervisor of my research, his input has also been invaluable.

Special thanks must be given to Dr Darryn Joseph, the co-supervisor of my research. His insightful commentary and feedback on the writing has been enriching. Joseph's knowledge of Te reo Māori was critical where Māori terminology was used, and new terms created. His light hearted and witty annotations also made the difficult latter stages of the thesis bearable.

I would thank a number of friends and teachers from Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi whose support and *kōrero* (discussions) at the Māori arts school, *wānanga* (knowledge dissemination gatherings), or over dinners, contributed to the ideas in my thesis, and also in the design exhibition. Two teachers in particular, Rachael Rākena and Israel Birch, provided me with much advice over the course of my studies. Reweti Arapere, your quiet reflections and insightful responses to my ideas helped me to better understand my research from a Māori worldview, enabling me to make better decisions within the research and in the design projects.

I would like to thank Shane James, *Kaitiaki Taonga* Māori (Guardian of Māori treasured possessions) at Te Papa Tongarewa Museum. James organised and assisted me during numerous visits to the Taonga Māori archives. James enthusiasm for Māori art and culture was inspiring. Chanel Clarke, curator of Māori collections at the Auckland Museum, and her support staff also deserve mention. On numerous occasions Chanel and her team located carvings, and provided me with images. I could not have completed this research without their help.

I would like thank John Moore and Miriame Barbarich who took me under their wing and supported me following my move to Wellington. Their *aroha* (love), friendship and assistance have meant more to me than I could ever express.

I would like to thank my family for all their support not only during the doctoral journey, but through all my academic and artistic pursuits. I would also like to thank the Duff family, who have provided support for both my wife and I. Your *manaakitanga* (support) knows no bounds.

To my wife and best friend Michelle Duff, I owe the biggest thanks. Working towards this PhD has been one of the hardest things I have ever done. You have supported me, and suffered with me through to its completion. You were pivotal in the design projects that I undertook, acting as the critical spring-board for many of my ideas.

Much of the research in this thesis is based on carvings found within New Zealand and overseas collections. I would like to pay tribute to the many carvers, and the incredible artistic legacy they have left, not only for Māori but for all New Zealanders and the world. The development of Māori design within this thesis could not have been achieved without the artistic platform that you have laid.

I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Beverley and Geoffrey Witehira.

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# Chapter 1

## The Syntax and Grammar of Māori Design

The key research question within this thesis is: How can the visual language and *tikanga* of customary Māori carving be used to inform contemporary Māori design practice? This question is important because design is a ubiquitous part of the lives of Māori today. From the moment we wake till the time we sleep, we engage with design on numerous levels. In the home, typography and images appear on the huge variety of products, from toothpaste to teabags to toilet cleaners. Design pervades every part of modern society and encompasses a wide range of creative disciplines including, graphic design, publication design, product design, fashion design and web design. Describing design in relation to customary Māori art Paama-Pengelly's (2010, p.18) writes, "'design' refers to the process or product of bringing together independent elements in a coherent and functional manner. The utilitarian function determined the form of the objects and structures, and carved form and pattern was worked in such a way that complemented the overall structure". Within this thesis 'design' is used as an umbrella term, which recognises that in all fields of design meaningful messages are created through the combination of form, content, and imagery. However, while more and more Māori are taking up the tools of design, there is little to guide Māori designers in terms of *tikanga*, or practicing principles (Gardener, 2008). The disconnection between customary modes of practice and contemporary Māori design is part of the problem. According to Jahnke and Jahnke-Tomlins (2003) the lack of *whakapapa* (genealogical connection) to *mātauranga* Māori (traditional knowledge), highlighted by the genesis of design in Europe, has made it difficult for contemporary Māori design to gain traction within Māori-dom. Adding to this, there is an inexorable connection between design practice and the world of commerce that further acts to distance Māori design from customary Māori art practice. Māori customary arts, and in particular *tā moko* (customary tattoo), continue to be mis-used and appropriated by artists and businesses within Aotearoa New Zealand and around the globe (Gardner, p.3, 2010). The recently released Waitangi Tribunal Report, Wai 262 (2011), further highlights the need to protect to protect *taonga* and *matauranga* Māori from such abuses within commercial milieu. Here, it is proposed that contemporary Māori design practices must look to customary models for the mechanisms which impact on and inform Māori aesthetics, content and Māori imagery.

In order to answer the question of how the visual language and *tikanga* of customary Māori carving be used to inform contemporary Māori design practice, this research seeks to explicate the visual language of Māori design through an examination of eighteenth and nineteenth century Māori carved *pare*. The

aim is to elucidate the design elements pertinent to customary Māori art, along with the design principles that guide their application, so that they may be used to inform contemporary Māori design practice.

In the study of *whakairo* Māori, the carved *pare* was identified as appropriate for a number of reasons. Firstly, the spectrum of Māori carving is vast, straddling architecture, canoes, weapons, adornments and utensils. Within the scope of this thesis, it is not possible to comprehensively analyse such a broad range of objects. While *pare* do not constitute a total consideration of the range or gamut of Māori carving they nevertheless encapsulate a wide range of tribal styles, together with information pertinent to uncovering or revealing a language related to the principles of Māori design. Importantly, there will be instances where recourse to other architectural components within the tribal house, storehouse and war canoe will be referenced to expand on the nature and extent of the principles of Māori design. For example, in the discussion pertaining to the use of scale in *pare*, other architectural components in the house like *poupou* (carved wall figures) are referenced to provide a broader context for the relevance of scale in Māori art. Another example is the design analysis relating to symmetry. Here, *pare* are contextualised with other Māori carvings and *kōwhaiwhai* (painted scroll rafter patterns) that also use bi-lateral symmetry and asymmetry. Furthermore, while Simmons schema provides the initial structure for examining the principles of design in Māori art, there will be occasions where carved objects omitted from Simmons' study, including those of Archey and Jackson, will broaden the scope of the visual analysis. These objects include *poutāhuhu* (interior front wall post), *poutūārongo* (interior rear wall post), *amo/ama* (bargeboard support post), *poupou* (house post) and *poutokomanawa* (central support post). Other carved objects, including *papahou, wakahuia* (treasure chest) and *waka kōiwi* (bones chests) are referenced in discussions of pattern and stylistic distribution. A further reason for limiting the study to *pare* is that they were seen by Māori to be of special importance. Evidence for this, according to anthropologist Michael Jackson (1972), is seen in the numerous attempts by Māori to preserve and protect *pare*. Importantly, the preservation of *pare* means that a broad range are available for analysis. And, in many instances, *pare* offer insights into *wharewhakairo* (carved houses), which have long since disappeared. Lastly, limiting the study to *pare* offers the opportunity to review analyses by three important anthropologists, Gilbert Archey, Michael Jackson and David Simmons. The use of digital imagery throughout this thesis allows for a graphic contextualisation of the views of the authors, along with a diagrammatic elucidation of the key factors articulated in their respective studies. For example, Archey's linear drawings are supplemented by digital images of the original *pare* along with accession numbers and current locations. In the case of Jackson, the original *pare* images are supplemented by linear diagrams that articulate graphically the points of his theory.

The second chapter of this thesis explores the history of research into customary Māori art. The aim here is to contextualise this study of carved *pare* within the broader history of studies into Māori art. For the most part, the research agenda for Māori art until the mid-1980s remained narrow. Researchers during this time were preoccupied with developing theories that accounted for the origins and development of Māori art (Hanson & Hanson, 1990). Following the 1984 *Te Māori* exhibition, anthropologists and historians began to show a new appreciation for Māori art. While this culminated in the expansion of topics and approaches to the study of Māori art, the most important part of this change was the appearance of Māori writers and researchers. A review of studies into Māori art demonstrates that an appreciation of Māori symbolism needs to occur within a Māori framework, one which is informed by *whakapapa* and *mātauranga Māori*. Secondly, studies of Māori art must consider the complex social matrix in which art is produced. A final point, illustrated by a review of literature in this chapter, demonstrates the need for more studies that explore aesthetics and the formal aspects of Māori art.

In the third chapter, three studies of carved *pare* are reviewed; Gilbert Archey's *Pare (Door Lintels) of Human Figure Composition* (1960), Michael Jackson's *Aspects of Symbolism and Composition in Māori art* (1972), and David Simmons' *The Carved Pare: A Māori Mirror of the Universe* (2001). These three authors present varying perspectives pertaining to *pare* symbolism, composition and aesthetics. Here, the research strategies, paradigms, themes, and methodologies employed by each author are examined. Importantly, all three researchers contributed to the development of research models for the interpretation of Māori art. While some of their conclusions are contested, many of their ideas are built upon in subsequent chapters that focus on the elements and principles of Māori design in *pare*. For example, Archey's use of hand-drawn diagrams as visual aids sets a precedent for the use of linear diagrammatical analysis in this thesis. A critical part of this review is the use of linear illustrations, developed by me, to help elucidate the ideas of these three researchers. Where these illustrations appear in the text they are captioned with a note, *author's illustration.*

In chapter four, a number of *pare* previously addressed by Archey, Jackson, and Simmons are revisited, using a linear diagrammatical visual analysis method. This method serves two purposes. Firstly the re-evaluation of *pare* allows for an in-depth consideration of some of the contestable issues evident in their research. For example, Archey's thesis on stylistic evolution of design in *pare* is re-visited, while Jackson's ideas on fission and fusion are tested in light of new knowledge. The re-evaluation of *pare* also offers the chance to ask a number of questions overlooked by these researchers, such as: How were the elements and principles of design used by Māori carvers? What do the elements and principles of

design used by Māori carvers reveal about what the carvers were thinking? More specific design questions relative to *pare* include: How is scale, balance, and proximity used to express relationships between the various visual elements? How did carvers use relief layers to express Māori ideas about the world? What do the design preferences such as the use of bi-lateral symmetry indicate about the Māori views of the world? In contrast to earlier *pare* research by Archey, Jackson and Simmons, the research here looks at how the analysis of *pare* might reveal a hypothesis about Māori design, rather than the other way around. The linear diagrammatical visual analysis method, while helping to reveal a Māori design approach, also assists in revealing a provisional visual language for Māori design.

Secondly, the *pare* analysis offers the chance to test and assess the linear diagrammatical visual analysis method. This method of analysing Māori carving, developed during Masters level research, provides clarity within the process of analysis of carved form by isolating the sectional components. It is also useful in that it helps to unveil a provisional design language evident in Māori carving. The analysis of sectional components is informed by Gestalt theory, the elements and principles of design, and a number of key design conventions identified by Paama-Pengelly in her seminal publication *Māori Art and Design* (2010). A potentially contentious issue with this method, from a *Kaupapa* Māori perspective, is that *pare* are deconstructed, or visually dissected. But visual deconstruction is necessary in this instance to discover, or reveal a Māori design vocabulary. Similar methods of analysis have been used by prior researchers into Māori art; Archey (1955, plate 2, 1960) used linear graphics to make the components of *pare* much more explicit, Phillipps (1955) employed the use of schematic drawings to lead people through an analysis of *kōwhaiwhai*, while Barrow (1969, p.53) Mead (1986, p.173, p.187, p.227-228, p.235) and Neich (2001, p.260) used illustrations to isolate and describe specific elements within carvings. What makes the linear diagrammatical visual analysis method different to previous examples is that it serves as the primary tool for understanding carving in this study. Graphic simplification and isolation of *pare* components provides clarity when articulating the relationship between the design elements. While serving to reveal the grammar and syntax of Māori design, graphic simplification and isolation also help to reveal how form is used in Māori art to encode and transmit meaning, and provides insight into what Māori carvers could have been thinking. In light of the literature review, and new approaches to the study of Māori art, notable amendments have been made to the linear diagrammatical visual analysis method. The method is now informed by mātauranga Māori. Here, mātauranga Māori encompasses Māori knowledge about *whakapapa*, cosmo-genealogical narratives, and Māori notions pertaining to the human body. Additionally, the method is now shaped by *kaupapa* Māori research practices, whereby research is undertaken in a culturally appropriate and respectful way. This third chapter concludes with a description of the Māori elements and principles of

design, discovered through the linear diagrammatical analysis of *pare*. The articulation of a Māori visual language was critical to the goal of this thesis, which is to develop a platform for contemporary Māori design practice.

Chapter six evaluates three Māori design projects where the provisional elements and principles of Māori design were trialled. Each project provided a different opportunity to test the Māori elements and principles of design. Design challenges included; the use of customary imagery within a commercial environment, creating imagery that resonated with Māori despite the lack of Māori specific literal iconography, and the application of Māori specific patterns to non-Māori ancestors. The three design projects were:

1. *Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: This is New Zealand!* A design exhibition exploring bi-cultural identity within Aotearoa New Zealand.

2. *Māori alphabet blocks*: a collaborative project between the American company *Uncle Goose* and I that resulted in a set of Māori alphabet blocks.

3. *Whakarare*: the design of an original Māori typeface.

*Ko Aotearoa Tēnei: This is New Zealand*! was a design exhibition that featured portraits of prominent Māori and Pākehā personalities, digitally re-imagined in a two-dimensional graphic design aesthetic. This design exhibition was chosen as an appropriate place to test the elements and principles of design for a number of reasons. Firstly, the works are concerned with the representation of revered ancestors, which establishes a *whakapapa* with customary arts practice. Secondly, the bi-cultural theme dictated the use of Māori and non-Māori imagery approaches to representation. The challenge this presented was that designs without specific literal Māori iconography needed to resonate with a Māori audience. A critical element of this process was the development of new patterns in which non-Māori references were applied to Māori structures, such as double spirals. Thirdly, as an art project, the design exhibition was not bound by some of the concerns associated with commercial projects, such as profitability, copyright, and ownership.

The Māori alphabet block project was chosen because it provided the chance to apply the elements and principles of Māori design within a commercial milieu. A problem with commercial products, and much of graphic design, is that objects may be fashionable one day and trash the next. Considering the uses of Māori imagery, particularly the representation of *tūpuna* (revered ancestors); the design challenge was to create a product with a timeless quality. The other design challenge was to create a product that resonated with Māori, and was affordable.

Lastly, the Māori typeface project, *Whakarare*, was chosen as it offered a totally different challenge; to successfully create designs that resonated with Māori in the absence of Māori iconography. This task required an acute awareness of the elements and principles of Māori design. Research into Māori uses of typography within the *whare* (meeting-house), and within early printed texts including newspapers and bibles were critical to the production of a typeface that maintained *whakapapa* with what Māori have already produced. Important questions which shaped this design project included: Can a Māori typeface have *whakapapa*? How can Māori ideas be expressed through a typeface? And, how does the use of a Māori typeface on different objects (food packaging, alcohol) or in different places (kitchen, bathroom) affect its usability?

The trialling of the Māori elements and principles of design in three design projects at the end of the thesis demonstrates that the customary arts are not only relevant for contemporary Māori design, but are salient. Grounding contemporary Māori design in *tikanga* and *mātauranga* Māori creates the critical *whakapapa* link to customary models, which Jahnke and Jahnke-Tomlins (2003) noted is necessary for design to gain traction with Te Ao Māori. Where commerce is concerned, a customary informed model of design practice provides guidelines that can help Māori designers make better decisions. An understanding of *tikanga*, *mātauranga Māori* and important Māori cosmo-genealogical narratives also ensures that Māori designers, like carvers and painters before them, are able to visually transmit important cultural concepts to Māori audiences and the world.

# Chapter 2

## *Tirohanga ki Mua*: A History of studies into Māori art

Before moving forward, it's necessary to explore and discuss the history of research into customary Māori art. The *whakatauki* (proverb), "*Kia whakatomuri te haere ki mua*," which can be translated as "To walk into the future, our eyes must be fixed on the past," underlines the need to revisit past research. The aim here is to contextualise this study of carved *pare* within the broader history of studies into Māori art. Alan and Louise Hanson's essay, *Eye of the Beholder: A Short History of the Study of Māori Art* (1990), which examined studies of Māori from the early contact period to the mid-1980s, provided the template for this exploration of research on Māori art. In this work, Hanson and Hanson (1990) analysed data from their earlier studies and identified the key questions and theoretical trends central to studies of Māori art. In the second part of this section, an overview of studies of Māori art, from the mid-1980s to the present, is outlined.

While this chapter does not deal explicitly with the thesis question, it is important because a number of lessons can be learned from the successes and failures of the prior methodological approaches to Māori art. For example, this review reveals that the interpretation of Māori symbolism must be informed by mātauranga Māori. Secondly, interpretations of Māori symbolism and narrative must be contextualised within the historical landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand, where Māori culture and Māori ideas about art and identity were in constant state of flux. Importantly, this survey of studies of Māori art illustrates how a very large number of these studies have been *descriptions*, rather than analyses.

### From the late Eighteenth century to the mid-1980s

Until the mid-nineteen eighties, research into Māori art focused on two key types of analyses, historical and symbolic. In historical analysis, the aim of the researcher was to determine the origin of Māori motif and styles, and postulate theories concerning the development of Māori art over time. Historical analysis was in turn shaped by two key schools of thought; diffusionism and local development. Diffusionist theory posited the idea that Māori, as with their arts, had their origins beyond the South Pacific. Local development theory, on the other hand, suggested that Māori culture and art forms developed in Aotearoa New Zealand. In order to substantiate each theory researchers had to undertake certain tasks. For diffusionists, the task was to identify similarities between Māori art and the art of other traditions, and to construct plausible theories for how those similarities provided evidence of a

shared history. On the other hand, advocates for local development attempted to demonstrate how Māori culture, art, and style and motif in Māori art, developed within New Zealand.

Diffusion theory, supported by authors like Elsdon Best (1924), Percy Smith (1904), James Edge-Partington and Edward Tregar (1885), was popular during the early phases of research into Māori art. However, hypotheses supporting diffusionism were often tenuously constructed. As Hanson and Hanson (1990) have pointed out, "Turn of the century scholars allowed little to restrain their exuberance in locating the origins of Māori art" (p. 186). The general anthropological consensus that Māori origins were located somewhere in central Polynesia later quelled diffusionist arguments. Yet, many researchers continued in their attempts to establish connections between Māori art and external influences beyond the Pacific. Best (1915) and Smith (1915) posited the existence of a pre-Māori Melanesian population, called Maruiwi (Best, 1915). This theory argued that Māori lived side-by-side and intermarried with Maruiwi, before eventually eradicating them. Visual semblances between Māori art and that of New Guinea intrigued Henry Skinner (1916). Convinced that *manaia* figures in Māori carving represented birds, Terence Barrow (1956, 1967) linked Māori art to the Solomon Islands and Easter Island, suggesting that a bird cult existed in Aotearoa. While Skinner's (1924) argument of a possible bird cult is compelling, Te Rangi (Buck) Hīroa, an early advocate of local development, pointed out that, "There is no evidence of a bird cult ever having existed in Aotearoa. Therefore, it is highly questionable to link any of these ethnographic facts together, to tie the *manaia* to any bird cult, or even to suggest that the figure represents a bird" (1950, p.12).

As diffusionist-based theories continued, a number of anthropologists and researchers including Herbert Williams (1901), Augustus Hamilton (1901), Te Rangi Hīroa (1950), Macmillan Brown (1907) and William Phillipps (1955), began to investigate local development as an alternative approach to determining the evolution of Māori art. Most of these studies were attempts to establish the provenance and development of the *koru* (bulbed motif) and spiral patterns in Māori carving, however, like diffusionist-based studies, much of this research was often speculative. Gilbert Archey (1933, 1936) was the first to investigate the issue of local development in carving methodologically. Archey's theory of local development explored internal culture and art development. In his chronological schema (see Archey 1933, 1960) he arranged Māori carving in a linear sequence from naturalistic to abstract representation. However, because the provenance of many carvings was speculative, Archey's evolutionary arrangement of carvings became questionable. As Page Rowe (1935) argued, many of Archey's sequences of linear development for Māori carving could just as easily start from the other end. Hirini Moko Mead (Sidney Mead) (1975) combined detailed archaeological

information with historical information in his reconstruction of local development. According to Hanson and Hanson (1990), this approach allowed Mead to, "...deal impressively with the major problems in the development of Māori arts" (p.85). A further proponent of local development theory was the distinguished public servant, Jock McEwen. In McEwen's, *Māori Art* (1966), he provided a concise yet insightful account of Māori carving. While there are major stylistic differences between Māori art and that of Polynesia, McEwen pointed out that difeerences also exist between closely related islands in Polynesia such as those in the Cook Islands group.

The other predominant form of analysis in studies of Māori art has been *symbolic*. Researchers in this area attempted to explain meaning in Māori art, and explore how Māori art communicated meaning. Hanson and Hanson (1990) have categorised the symbolism-based studies into three distinct groups; iconography, arbitrary signs and connotation (formal homology). Of these three categories, iconographic studies were most prevalent. In iconographic studies, icons are read as visual representations of actual things. Studies of Māori painted designs often employed this method. For example, the *koru* in Māori art has been associated with the fern-frond (Phillips, 1938) and with ocean waves (Hamilton, 1896). This iconographic method was also applied in some instances to carvings, resulting in claims that some carvings represented birds, snakes and lizards (see Skinner, 1916). However, Neich argues that imagery and motif in customary Māori art is not all figurative. In Painted Histories (1993), Neich explored the meaning of symbolism in *kōwhaiwhai* (painted scroll patterns). Discussing the names of the designs and the resemblance that designs have to actual things in nature, Neich wrote:

> Often the resemblance is quite fanciful, and in none of the older known designs is there any obvious attempt to depict the actual plant or animal named. In the later development of figurative painting, we will note a tendency to literalise cultural connotations, and this may account for the popularity of detailed naturalistic renderings of red and yellow *kōwhaiwhai* plants in the later houses (Neich, 1993, p.33).

Neich presented evidence from Colenso (1896), Buck (1921) and Hanson (1955) to support the idea that pre-colonial Māori designs generally were not representational. According to Colenso (1896), the naming of designs was not to be taken as a literal connection between a thing and the design. Rather, the naming of designs should be taken as "…the main outline, as it were, of the idea in the old Māori mind" (Colenso, 1889, as cited in Neich, 1993, p.35). According to Buck (1921), in *tukutuku* (lattice-work), the design of a pattern preceded the naming of it. Hanson also claimed that the assumption that Māori art is representational is inaccurate (Hanson, 1983). Discussing forms in carving, Jahnke (2006, p.96) has recently added that pre-colonial Māori art was predominantly non-mimetic.

Importantly, though, Jahnke (2006) further notes that figurative imagery was not altogether absent from customary Māori art. For example, the carved ancestors, which appear on *pou-tokomanawa*, *pou-tāhuhu* and to some extent *pou-tou-aroaro* (gable support post), are represented using both figurative and non-figurative forms of representation.

Early missionary Thomas Kendall, described romantically as 'the first student of Māori art' (Hanson & Hanson, 1983, p.83) suggested that Māori carving was an esoteric language, similar in nature to hieroglyphs. As an esoteric language, or arbitrary system of signs, the syntax and grammar of Māori art could be seen in its differing figures and motifs, each of which was apparently filled with multiple meanings. David Simmons, in his publication, *Whakairo: Māori Tribal Art* (1985), championed this view. However, Simmons' research and methods have been met with scepticism, and have struggled to gain traction within academia (Hanson & Hanson, 1990). Some of his ideas have been endorsed in the work of Cliff Whiting in the National Archives in Wellington (1969-1976) and by the *tohunga whakairo*, the late Pakariki Harrison in *Tānenuiarangi* published by the University of Auckland. But in a review of *Whakairo: Māori Tribal Art* (1985), Peter Gathercole (1989) is particularly critical of Simmons' lack of academic and theoretical rigour, writing, "...If Simmons interpretations are suspect, so also is his method." (p.190). Gathercole (1987) concluded his review, "Regrettably, this publication has retarded, not advanced, understanding of Māori carving" (p.190).

Prior to the mid-1980s, researchers also attempted to explain Māori art through 'connotation'. In these studies, the goal was to "…identify meaning in Māori art form, not necessarily by what they depict or denote, as by more general relationships of formal composition or connotation" (Hanson & Hanson, 1990, p.193). This method is seen in research undertaken by Allan Hanson (1983); Neich, (1983) and Michael Jackson (1972). In all of these studies, attempts were made to parallel formal-aesthetic components of Māori art with adjacent concepts in Māori ontology and epistemology. Particularly innovative was the structuralist-informed method applied by Jackson (1972) in his study of *pare*.

### The Kaitaia Carving Issue

The Kaitaia carving, a swamp recovery around 1920 near Kaitaia in the northern part of Aotearoa New Zealand, has attracted attention from most academics in the study of Māori art. As Hanson and Hanson (1990) have written, "...nearly every major scholar concerned with the interpretation of Māori art has seen in this carving evidence for his own pet theories" (p.194). Stylistically, the Kaitaia carving aligns itself very closely to works produced in central Polynesia. This has led some researchers including Buck (1950) and Mead (1975) to conclude that it is an early example of carving brought to Aotearoa by the ancestors of the Māori. As an anomaly on the horizon of Māori art, postmodern

theory would suggest that the carving is a vital key to answering many questions about the provenance and evolution of Māori carving. There are reasons to be sceptical about the provenance and authenticity of the Kaitaia carving – for example, despite the long history of excavation and archaeological research in Aotearoa, only the *mamaku* chevron-amulet and some early *kumete* carry visual semblance with the Kaitaia carving. But there are numerous gaps in the history of Māori carving, and the Kaitaia carving must be considered in any study. The gap in Maori carving history is evidenced by the existence of only three carvings from East Coast *wharepuni* (chief's house) spanning the period between 1769 and 1842 from the Rawheoro to the Tūranga School (Jahnke, 2006).

## Into the 21st Century: A Survey of Studies into Māori Art from 1984 to the Present:

Research on Māori art from the mid-nineteen eighties to the mid-nineteen nineties generally can be placed within two categories, descriptive and symbolic. Key authors during this period include; Alan and Louise Hanson (1990), Hirini Moko Mead (1984, 1986, 1997), Mick Pendergrast (1984, 1987), Erenora Puketapu-Hetet (1989), Neich (1993, 1996, 1997) Simmons (1984, 1985, 1997) and Dorota Starzecka (1996). The works of these authors span the main practices of customary Māori art, including *whakairo rākau* (carving), *kōwhaiwhai* (painting), *raranga whakairo* (weaving), and *tā moko* (tattoo). In line with the research trends post-1960s, many of these publications go beyond descriptive analysis and look to explore meaning in Māori art. In particular, the writings of Neich (1993) and Mead (1984) stand apart from their peers in that each makes an attempt to describe Māori art against the backdrop of Aotearoa's changing political, religious and economic landscape. By aligning symbolic analysis with historical changes in Māori society, Neich (1993) painted a much clearer picture than previous researchers about developments in customary Māori carving and painting. Mead's *Te Toi Whakairo: The Art of Māori Carving* (1986) provides an excellent overview of carving, its origin, how it dispersed throughout Aotearoa, and the regional variations that are now recognised styles. His work extends upon the initial contributions of both Archey (1933) and Ngata (1958). In this, Mead (1986, p.30) also introduced a seminal Māori-centred chronology, employing Māori terminology and metaphor for organising Māori carving over time. Recently though, Jahnke, (2012) has pointed out that these time periods are still arranged according to Western notions about time, e.g. 300 year periods as C1, C2, C3. Jahnke (personal communication, 2012) suggests that Māori terms such as *mua*, *waenganui* and *muri* would be more appropriate. Simmons' work during this time is also important. In his *Māori carving Tribal Art* (1985), he introduced and explored two types of symbolism in Māori carving - genealogical and mythological (Simmons, p.17). Simmons also introduced the 'serpentine' and 'square' framework for categorizing Māori carving (1985, p.55). Jahnke (2006, p.139)

contends that Simmons is probably correct in placing the serpentine style chronologically ahead of the square one. However, he points out that the allocation of such styles to specific *iwi* (extended kinship group or tribe) groups is problematic, "…because both of these forms exist simultaneously within several tribal groups" (Jahnke, 2006, p.139). Adding to this, Jahnke wrote:

> What Simmons fails to consider, is that the serpentine (cursive) figurative form was probably determined by architectural context, that is, the specific structural configuration of *epa pātaka* (front wall panel of store house) and epa *whare* (front and back wall panels of houses). It is the slope of the front wall of the *pātaka* that predisposed the carvers to compose figures accordingly with heads often tilted to follow the oblique line of the *epa* and the angle of the *maihi pātaka* (2006, p.139).

Since the mid-1980s artist-biographies and publications on contemporary Māori art have also appeared. Māori artists who feature in recent publications include Kura Te Waru Rewiri (Highfield, 2000), Pakiriki Harrison (Walker, 2008), Ralph Hotere (Sang, 2008), Darcy Nicholas (Nicholas, 2005), Robyn Kahukiwa (Kahukiwa, 2005), John Bevan Ford (Panny, 2004), Shane Cotton (Barr, et al., 2004), Tene Waitere (Thomas, 2009), and Robert Jahnke (Austin et al, 2010). While notable works on contemporary Māori art and artists include *Mataora - The Living Face* (Adsett, Whiting, & Ihimaera, 1996), *Te Ata: Māori Art from the East Coast* (Ihimaera & Ellis, 2002), *Kahui Whetu: Contemporary Māori Art – A Carver's Perspective* (Toia & Couper, 2006), *Taiawhio: Conversations with Contemporary Māori Artists – Volumes One* (Smith, 2002), and *Two* (Smith, 2007), *Te Puna: Māori Art from Te Tai Tokerau Northland* (Brown & Ellis, 2007), and *Te Kāhui o Matariki: Contemporary Māori art for Matariki* (Hakaraia & Urlich, 2008).

The focus on the individual achievement of Māori artists is long overdue. As anthropologist Bernie Kernot wrote "For all the attention that Māori woodcarving has received, very little of it has been directed at the producers of the work, namely the woodcarvers themselves" (1951, 57). Interestingly, the majority of these biographies are focused on trans-customary, rather than customary, artists. Trans-customary Māori art is Māori art that uses non-customary techniques or ideas while maintaining visual empathy with customary models (Jahnke, 2006). Of the publications listed there are only three that focus solely on carvers, Damian Skinner's *Ihenga: te haerenga hou: the evolution of Māori carving in the 20th century* (2007), Walker's *Tohunga Whakairo: Paki Harrison: the story of a master carver* (2008), and Nicholas' *Rauru: Tene Waitere, Māori Carving, Colonial History* (2009). Though, Neich's *Carved Histories: Rotorua Ngāti Tarawhai woodcarving* (2001), must be mentioned here. In this Neich provided details about the history, works, *whakapapa* and lives of Te Arawa carvers such as Anaha

Kepa Te Rahui, Wero Taroi and Tene Waitere. Furthermore, a publication on the *kōwhaiwhai* artist John Hovell (Skinner, 2010), is pertinent.

The late 1990s saw a number of new authors including; Deidre Brown (2003, 2005, 2007, 2009), Kelvin Day (2001), Damian Skinner (2007, 2008), Nicholas Thomas (1995, 1999, 2009), and Julie Paama-Pengelly (2010), provide commentaries on specific aspects of Māori art. In *Māori Wood-carving of the Taranaki Region* (2001), Day attempted to explain the narratives and compositions found in Taranaki carving. Examples of this, according to Jahnke (personal communication, October 5, 2010) are evident on pages 24 and 49 of Day's study. In his description of a pātaka *paepae* (Auckland Museum, catalogue no.6087) found at Awakino, Day (2001), describes the knees of the figures as "…curious banded circular plugs". Jahnke on the other hand sees the conical sculpted forms as the carver translating the circular details identifying joints (knees and elbows) into three-dimensional form. Nevertheless, Day's research remains valuable. He introduced an excellent method, based on the earlier research of John Bevan Ford (1979), for establishing the provenance of Taranaki carvings. This method determines provenance by firstly clarifying definitions pertaining to 'Taranaki'. For example, Taranaki is the name of a mountain; secondly, Taranaki is the name of an iwi whose geographic territory forms only part of the stylistic region. Finally, he notes that present day European administrative boundaries of the Taranaki province do not correspond to the boundaries of the stylistic regions (Day, 2001). Importantly, he also points out that, at times, one tribe may use more than one style, and that regional style may encompass a number of iwi and canoe traditions (Day, 2001). Day's grouping of carved objects into five categories – architectural, watercraft, subsistence, ritual and weaponry – while deceptively simple, is also highly effective. It needs to be emphasised however that there is a degree of overlap in that weapons are often used in rituals of intercession. Finally, his commentary on how studies of carving have historically been undertaken is pertinent. Day highlights the over-reliance on museum studies and importantly, describes the 'intuitive' method which appears in many studies:

> This involves assigning carvings that have no securely known origin a provenance based on intuition or knowledge the researcher may have. The criteria upon which provenance is attributed in this way are therefore subjective and, as anthropologist Peter Gathercole states, it follows that 'possibilities for creating circular arguments of "subject-style-subject' variety by these means are almost endless. The main consequence of continuing an intuitive approach is that regional styles are likely to be broadened, through time, as they are made to accommodate items which appear to show two different converging styles; and the type of circularity Gathercole mentioned can result (p.9, 2001).

The 'intuitive' approach, whereby the researcher uses personal expertise to determine and assign provenance to carvings, appears in the work of many researchers of Māori carving. As Day and Gathercole point-out, the subjective nature of using intuition to solve problems can be suspect. However, when experienced anthropologists, researchers or *tohunga whakairo* adopt this approach there must be some merit, because the conclusions are informed by years of research and experience. As Day pointed out, a single iwi may use multiple carving styles and regional style may encompass a number of iwi and canoe traditions. Since pre-colonial Māori were also nomadic, where a carving was found may not be where it was produced. Thus, archaeological data can also be misleading.

Brown's latest book *Māori Architecture: From fale to wharenui and beyond* (2009), is innovative in that it is the first publication to deal exclusively with the history and development of Māori architecture. Although other authors have explored Māori architecture, these prior studies are primarily concerned with carving rather than architecture. Brown (2009) suggested that evolution in Māori architecture was often reactionary, marking changes to the social, political and religious landscape of New Zealand. In developing new architecture, Māori were also able to synthesize Māori aesthetic and conceptual language with that of Pākehā. Describing the developments in Māori architecture Brown highlighted the direct relationship between *waka taua* and *whare*, comparing the carved spirals on *tau ihu* (canoe prow) with *pare* (door lintels) seen on *whare whakairo* (carved house). Further evidence of the relationship between *waka* and *whare*, according to Brown (2010), is seen in the use of *kōwhaiwhai* on both *hoe* (canoe paddles) and *heke* (house rafters) (Brown, 2010).

Skinner, in *The Carver and the Artist* (2008), used an art historical methodology to help explain and categorise developments in the history of Māori carving and art practice in the twentieth century. Thomas' recent contribution, *Rauru: Tene Waitere, Māori Carving, Colonial History* (2009), offers little in terms of analysis. However, his earlier essays (see Thomas 1995, 1999) provide some distinctly post-structural views on Māori art and its production. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku must also be mentioned in this section. Her recently published book, *Mau Moko: The World of Māori Tattoo*, (2008), is perhaps the most comprehensive study to date of the history and development of *tā moko* (Māori tattoo) practice. In contrast to her contemporaries, Te Awekotuku's perspective and research is grounded within a Māori world-view. Finally, following in the footsteps of Hamilton (1897) and Barrow (1978), Paama-Pengelly's Māori Art and Design: Weaving, painting, carving and architecture (2010), attempted to provide an outline of Māori customary art practice across its range of mediums. Essentially, the work is a concise version of the *Ngā Hanga Whakairo*, a paper conceived and taught by Professor Robert Jahnke at Te Pūtahi-a-Toi at Massey University in Palmerston North, which is not

surprising considering that Paama-Pengelly completed her Bachelors and Masters studies at this school. Also Jahnke not only wrote the foreword but also acted as a content editor for the publication. Importantly, Paama-Pengelly's description of Māori art and design covers the entire range of objects found in the broader landscape of Māori culture. This is important because in Māori culture the visual arts are not separate from culture. Rather, they are an integral and inseparable component of it. In the foreword to Māori Art and Design, Jahnke (2010) points out that since art and culture are interwoven in the Māori world, new terminology is necessary to better elucidate the world of Māori art. Jahnke contends (2010), "…there is an inexorable interrelationship between utilitarian and mediatory function of historical visual culture products, and as a result an inevitable incompatibility of Euro-centric terminology in capturing the essence of historical Māori visual culture" (2010, p.6). As a result of the need to explain Māori visual culture using a non-Euro centric terminology, Paama-Pengelly provides a new model for understanding the key design conventions and elements found in Māori art. Ironically, this model explains the key design conventions and elements of Māori art, by aligning them with corresponding counterparts in European art and design terminology. Thus, the new terminology is still heavily reliant on Eurocentric ideas about art and design. A synthesis of art and design terms between the cultures, rather than a comparison, might be a better way to develop a new model for describing and understanding Māori art. Unfortunately, Paama-Pengelly's *Māori Art and Design* relies on words to describe visual concepts and notions rather than images. Images would have contributed immensely to the reader's ability to understand Māori art and its meaning while making connections between the elements and principles of design evident in Māori art. Nevertheless, Paama-Pengelly's publication remains one of the most comprehensive descriptions of customary Māori art available today.

Finally, a review of Doctoral and Masters Dissertations pertaining to customary Māori art practice suggest that little has been produced within academia. Of those completed, a number went on to set the platform for significant publications by their authors. Neich's *Historical change in Rotorua Ngati Tarawhai woodcarving art* (1977) Masters thesis provided the platform for *Carved Histories;* following her Doctoral thesis, *Moorehu architecture* (1997) Brown went on to publish *Architecture: From fale to wharenui and beyond* (2009), Kelvin Day's Masters thesis, *Te Tai Hauāuru: Māori Tribal Carving from the Western District* (1983) preceded his *Māori Woodcarving of the Taranaki Region* (2001), and finally, Skinner's recent book *The Carver and the Artist* (2008) is informed by his 2005 doctoral thesis, *Another modernism : Māoritanga and Māori modernism in the twentieth century*.

The most notable thesis concerning Māori art, not yet to cross-over into book format is Professor Robert Jahnke's Doctoral thesis, *He tataitanga Ahua Toi: the house that Riwai built, a continuum of Māori art* (2006). Jahnke's work, which centres on the carving practice of *Riwai Pakerau*, includes a new framework, *He Tataitanga Kaupapa Toi*, for revealing meaning in Māori art. Central to this framework are three key areas of knowledge, *form, content* and *genealogy.* Jahnke demonstrates that an understanding of *form, content* and *genealogy*, as they pertain to customary Māori art practice, is critical in the analysis and interpretation of Māori carving. An innovative aspect of Jahnke's framework is his *Te Taitanga Reo* linguistic method. Jahnke employs this method to re-interpret a number of significant nineteenth century texts on the origins of Māori arts, Māori epistemology and Māori ontology. Through this re-interpretation, Jahnke articulates and inter-weaves a number of Māori notions pertaining to; the creation of the universe, the creation of the world, the first human, the material and immaterial world, the relationship between *tangata* (human-kind) and *atua* (deity), Māori concepts about space and time, and Māori concepts about *mātauranga* (knowledge). Importantly, it is this extensive knowledge of the psyche of nineteenth century Māori that differentiates Jahnke from his contemporaries.

Jahnke's methodology aligns closely with *anthropology of art* approaches, in that all interpretation of Māori carving takes place within multiple and inter-related contexts. However, his analyses are less concerned with social or technological changes than some of his predecessors. Instead, Jahnke focuses on cosmo-genealogical narratives (his term for myths), and the transposition of such narratives and themes in and across the different forms of Māori carving. Another noteworthy part of Jahnke's method is his examination of pattern, particularly as it is applied to *pare, waka kōiwi,* and *papahou* (see Jahnke, 2006; p.108-119). Historically, the analysis of pattern has been subservient to studies of both form and content in research concerned with Māori art. However, Jahnke's approach demonstrates that pattern analysis is critical to any interpretation of meaning, particularly in Northern carvings. Furthermore, the appearance of certain patterns in different geographical regions can be used to help explore the transmission of carving and *whakapapa* between kinship groups and across tribal regions.

Another important contribution to the analysis of Māori carving within Jahnke's study is his exploration of meaning as it pertains to the human body. While numerous authors, including Jackson (1972), Neich (2001), Simmons (1985, 2001), have touched upon this subject, Jahnke's extensive knowledge of Māori cosmo-genealogical narratives and Māori epistemology enabled him to convincingly connect ideas from the Māori world to form and pattern found within carving. Discussing the human body as it relates to Māori carving, Jahnke (2006; p.89, 100, 101,119) pointed

out that; the human body is sacrosanct; there are many interconnections between the parts of the body thought to be *tapu*; the head was given prominence because it was conceived as a point of contact between the material and spiritual realms (not a convention in Northern *waka kōiwi* tradition); the head and genitalia have direct connection to spiritual power, *ira atua* and *ira tangata*; the emphasis given to certain body parts, through distortion and exaggeration, is directly related to nineteenth century Māori views on the corresponding parts of anatomy; and many areas of the body, such as the *ihu* (nose), *waha* (mouth), *pito* (belly button) and *ure* (penis), were rendered *tapu* (under religious or superstitious restriction) through Tane's attempts to procreate with Hine-ahu-one. Importantly, Jahnke's exploration of Māori concepts on anatomy lays a culturally relevant platform for understanding the design conventions found in Māori art.

## Conclusion

The research agenda for Māori art from the time of European contact through to the 1960s remained narrow. The two key questions for anthropologists and historians were: Where did Māori carving originate? And, how have the forms and motifs in Māori carving developed over time? During the 1960s, however, the research agenda shifted from the 'description' of material culture towards symbolic analysis. Importantly, some anthropologists refused to accept the status quo, that meaning pertaining to symbolism in Māori art had been lost. This period also saw the emergence of Māori voices, which was in part due to a Māori cultural renaissance and the travelling exhibition *Te Māori*. Prior to this, recognised Māori expertise was limited to a few authors, including Mohi Ruatapu, Hoani Whatohoro Jury, Te Rangi Hiroa and Apirana Ngata. Though, the first two of these authors remained in manuscript form until Percy Smith published the writings of Jury, and Anaru Reedy published a translation of Ruatapu's writing.

While the agenda for Māori research shifted towards exploring meaning, up until the 1990s publishers largely supported popular, visually-heavy books on Māori art, often in the form of coffee-table picture books. The large number of reprints of 'classic' publications on Māori art is a testament to this. Barrow's *An Illustrated guide to Maori Art,* originally printed in 1984, and reprinted numerous times (1989, 1995, 1997, and 2008) is an excellent example of this. As Brown (2001) pointed out, it was extremely difficult for researchers on Māori art to have serious works published, as large publishing houses are often more interested in books that "…aestheticize rather than explain or intellectualize" (p.3), Māori art. An exception to this rule is Neich's *Painted Histories*, published in 1993. Recently, though, a number of new publications suggest that publishers are now willing to take on more serious studies of Māori art. Examples include; Brown's *Māori Architecture* (2009), Te Awekotuku's

comprehensive *Mau Moko* (2007), Paama-Pengelly's *Māori Art and Design* (2010), and Sundt's *Whare Karakia* (2010).

Importantly, this review has revealed a number of insights into how studies of Māori art should be undertaken. Firstly, the study of customary Māori art must be informed by *mātauranga* Māori. This is because Māori cosmo-genealogical narratives and concepts pertaining to the natural world and the human body are important aspects of Māori art. Secondly, any consideration of meaning in Māori art must be contextualised in relation to the broader developments within Māori society. This includes changes in Māori philosophy, religion, and architecture as a direct result of colonisation. This process of contextualisation means that *pare* need to be examined in relation to *whare whakairo*, and to other structures featuring carved doorways such as *pātaka* (storehouse), *rua pātaka* (sub-terrain storehouse) and *waharoa* (gateway). From a style perspective, this juxtaposition of *pare* with other carved objects also helps establish relationships of form.

Notably, this review has also demonstrated the absence of studies where *form* and *aesthetics* are seriously considered. Of all the studies on customary Māori carving, only Jackson (1975), Neich (1996), Jahnke (2006), and Witehira (2007), have attempted to tackle form and aesthetics. In the broader context of this study of *pare* this is significant because the aim is to explicate the visual language of Māori design with form and aesthetics as an integral part. Pertinent questions about aesthetics include: How do the elements within carving interact with each other? And, how did carvers use these elements to promulgate important cultural ideas and cosmo-genealogical narratives? Until very recently, almost no attention has been paid to analysing or understanding the underlying aesthetics of Māori art. While 'style' in Māori art has been considered through attempts to classify it into regional variations, Jahnke (2006) has pointed out that the majority these studies were, "…really descriptions of shared form rather than stylistic analysis in which the interrelationship between (the form of) pattern and (the form of) image become traits for a finer distinction and analysis of style within regional schools" (p.21). Furthermore, Jahnke noted (2006), "Prior to Neich's unpublished thesis on Ngati Tarawhai carving, style analysis was, and continues, to be based on broad commonalities of form, particularly in relation to facial and body form in figurative carving" (p.33). This study of form and aesthetics in customary Māori carving, if informed by *mātauranga Māori* and *tikanga Māori*, will undoubtedly provide new insight into Māori visual language.

# Chapter 3

## Three Key Studies of Carved *Pare*

So, how can the visual language and *tikanga* of customary Māori carving inform contemporary Māori design practice? This research seeks to articulate the visual language of Māori design through an examination of eighteenth and nineteenth century Māori carved *pare* (door lintels). Here, three important studies on carved *pare*; Gilbert Archey's *Pare (Door Lintels) of Human Figure Composition* (1960), Michael Jackson's *Aspects of Symbolism and Composition in Māori art* (1972), and David Simmons' *The Carved Pare: A Māori Mirror of the Universe* (2001) are reviewed. These authors gave distinct accounts of meaning, composition and aesthetics within *pare*. Their writings are salient because they set a precedent for the study of *pare* conducted in this thesis. This is the 'old' knowledge alluded to in the thesis structure section. While some of their notions and conclusions have been contested through critical engagement or the presentation of new data, they remain valuable contributions to knowledge. Many of their methods are expanded upon in the subsequent chapters exploring the elements and principles of Māori design. For example, Archey's use of hand-drawn diagrams as visual aids sets a precedent for the use of diagrammatical visual analysis that constitutes a critical method in this thesis. Jackson's method of contextualising *pare* - which was done by examining them in relation to social, political, religious and architectural changes - is also useful in that it helps account for changes to pattern and form in Māori art. As noted earlier a critical part of this review is the use of linear illustrations, developed by me, to help elucidate the ideas of these three researchers. Where these illustrations appear they are captioned with a note stating, '*author's illustration'*.

### Gilbert Archey's *Pare* Analysis

Gilbert Archey's, *Pare (Door Lintels) of Human Figure Composition* (1960), was the first detailed study of *pare* design. The work built upon his earlier research on Māori art (see Archey, 1933, 1936, 1955) where he attempted to show that the double spiral and *manaia* have their origins in the human-figure. Archey was also a key proponent of *local theory,* insisting that the unique characteristics of Māori carving developed in Aotearoa. Though now recognised as a pioneer of anthropology within New Zealand, he had a well-established career as a zoologist. Archey published 26 scientific papers in the field of zoology before his death in 1974. The most notable of these was his 1941 monograph, *The Moa: a study of the Dinornithiformes*. It was not until the 1930's that he turned his attention from the study of the animal kingdom towards the study of Māori.

For Archey, there were three key ideas concerning *pare* development. Firstly, *pare* design stylistically evolved from basic unvaried human figure arrangements towards more complex and decorative compositions. Secondly, all *pare* shared a common archetype comprising a central *tiki*, two subordinate interstitial figures, and two flanking *manaia*. The third proposition was that carvers had the authority to make changes to *pare* designs at will. With these hypotheses in mind Archey set about organising *pare* into categories which were organised according to human-figure arrangements. He used hand drawn illustrations as visual aids whereby key ideas could be isolated and elaborated. A problem encountered in critiquing Archey's *pare* analysis was the lack of evidence to validate his ideas. However, a broader reading of his other works adds depth to some of his points and reveals where some of his conclusions originated. For example, in *Sculpture and design: An outline of Māori art* (1955) Archey points out that the arrangement of figures on *pare* are often similar to those found on the traverse beam of store houses and carved houses and the wash-strakes of canoes.

## Archey's *Pare* Groupings

Archey organised *pare* according to five general themes; *Stylized Tiki and Manaia in Complex Design*, *Design Grouping of Tiki*, *Hauraki and Te Puke*, *Taranaki designs* and *Sui Generis*. Commenting on the organisation of *pare* into these groups, he wrote,

> "I have placed the designs in such series or groups as has seemed appropriate; the difficulty of devising an 'inevitable' classification arises from the fact that carvers were individuals, and versatile to a degree in their handling of a common theme" (1960, p. 204).

In this section, each of the groups is presented with a brief account exploring Archey's ideas and rationale. Archey's illustrations have been aligned with photographs of the actual *pare*, to demonstrate how he used illustrations to isolate specific compositional elements within *pare*. The illustrative component is accompanied by a critique of Archey's three overarching theories concerning *pare* development. The ascension numbers of the carvings have also been included. An important omission from Archey's analysis is *pare* featuring double spirals. This was due to his belief that the double spiral in Māori art was an abstract development on the *tiki* or human form. Ironically, though, a *pare* featuring double spirals does appear in his description of the Hauraki and Te Puke *pare*. Finally, Archey's *pare* research is largely concerned with establishing a taxonomy for stylistic developments. While this probably accounts for the lack of discussion about meaning and symbolism in *pare*, the absence of both Māori expert knowledge and Māori terminology is alarming.

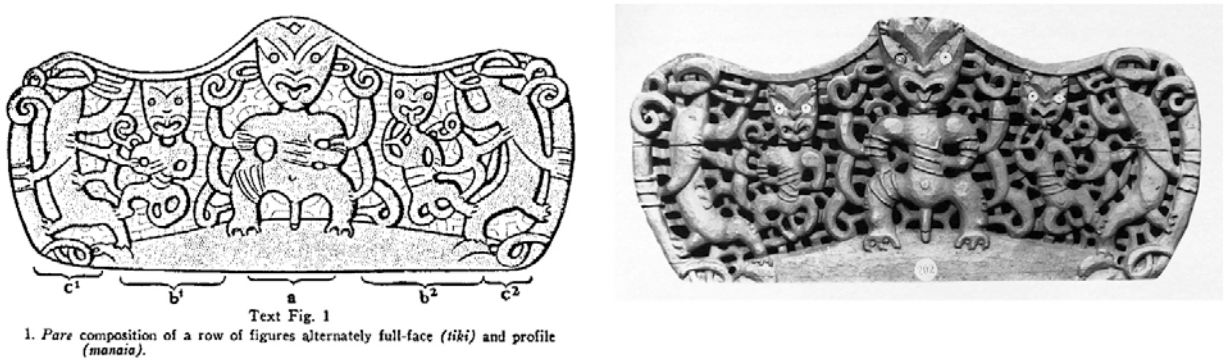



Figure 1. Archey's Simple Figure Sequence; Auckland Museum (Ethnology number: 202), width 82cm.

In his first grouping, *Simple Figure Sequence*, Archey presented a *pare* (figure 1) that exemplified the archetypical elements of *pare* composition. In its most simple form, *pare* are "...a panel carrying a group of figures or figure derivatives standing above a plain basal portion" (1960, p.204). Elaborating on this general notion, Archey adds:

> It's basal bar is undecorated except for elements of a head or face at either end. The disposition of figures, which seems to be the basis for all *pare* compositions, comprises; a central full-face figure or *tiki* (a); on either side of it a succession of *manaia*:*tiki*:*manaia* (b), in that order; terminally on each side a pair or *manaia* figures in conflict or embrace (Archey, p. 204).

This description marks the evolutionary starting point for Archey's ideas about *pare* development. For Archey, progressive deviations from this archetype were indicative of later historical developments. Importantly, Archey's ideas about *pare* design were illustrated with line drawings of variable thickness to isolate the compositional elements. In Figure 1, this method was used to highlight the key elements within this *pare*; the central *tiki*, interstitial *manaia* and *tiki*, and the terminal *manaia*. Archey's method forms the basis for the linear diagrammatical visual analysis method used in this thesis. Additionally, it demonstrates that line drawings with variable line thickness are an effective way of isolating visual elements within Māori art.

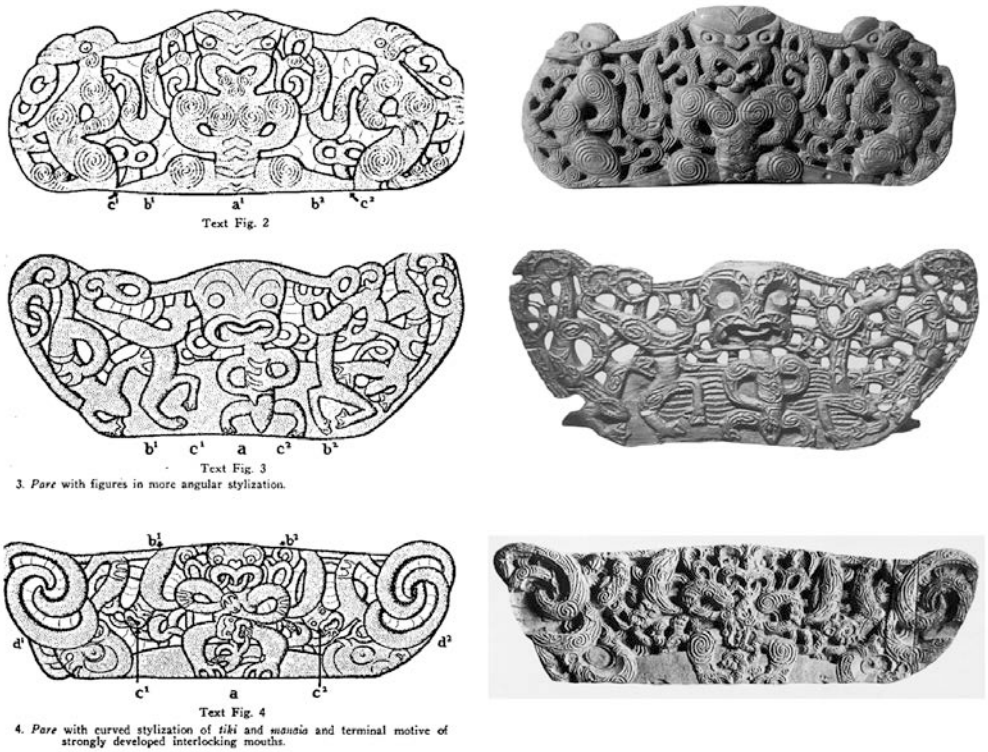



Figure 2. Stylized *Tiki* and *Manaia* Designs from Archey's *pare* grouping: Text Fig. 2. Auckland Museum (ethnology number: 9758) width 75 cm; Text Fig. 3. Auckland Museum (ethnology number: 18681); Thornton's Bay *pare*, width 76.2 cm; Text Fig 4, Dominion Museum Photo.

In his second grouping, *Stylized Tiki and Manaia in Complex Design* (figure 2), Archey presented three *pare* that *stylistically* deviate from his archetype (figure 1). While the figurative components in these examples are similar to the archetypical model (central *tiki*, terminal *manaia* and interstitial *manaia*), the distinction between the *tiki*, *manaia* and background elements is less explicit. Text fig 3 (figure 2) and text fig 4 (figure 2), also display unique design features. In text fig 3 (figure 2) the right-hand interstitial *manaia* and the terminal *manaia* have interlocking arms; Text fig 4 (figure 2), the terminal *manaia* are rendered simply as *manaia* heads. While Archey failed to discuss these idiosyncratic details, he viewed them as examples of the carver's ability to exert creative freedom in *pare* design. As he wrote, "…it shows us the freedom the artist could claim to modify the content of the normal *pare* figure-group in favour of his design concept" (1960, p.206). Again, Archey used line drawings (figure 2) to isolate the important elements within *pare*. This was necessary because overlapping and interconnectedness, used to denote unity between the elements, also resulted in visual ambiguity. His use of drawings to isolated carving elements has relevance in terms of the research question because the aim is articulate the visual language of Māori design using a similar method.

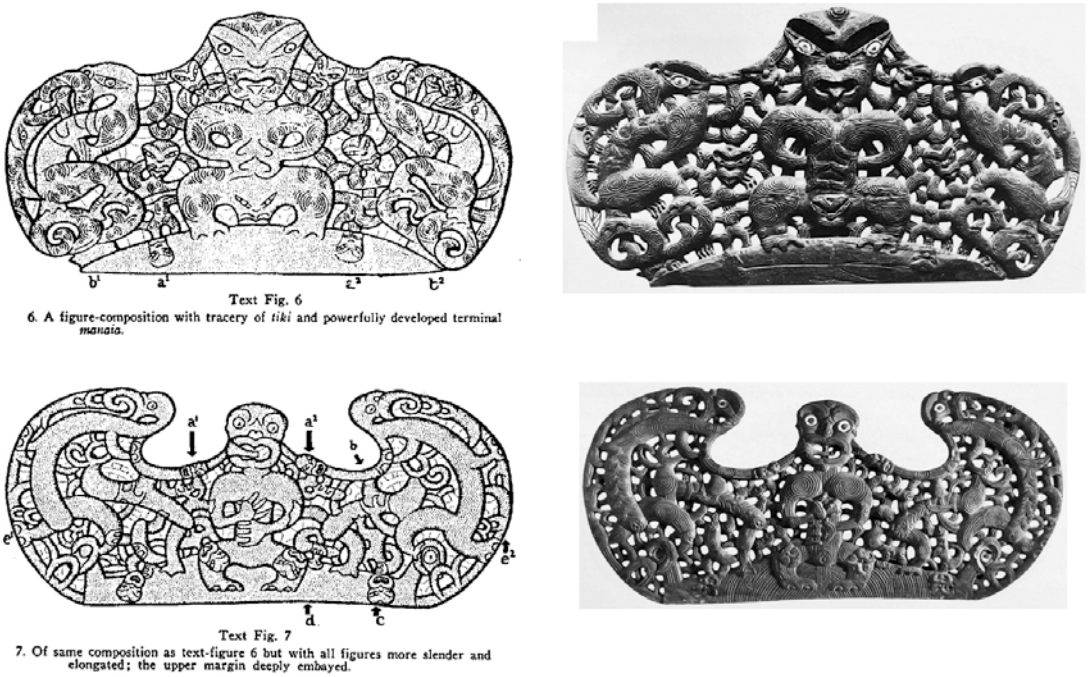



Figure 3. Design Grouping of *Tiki*: Text fig. 6. Presented to the British Museum in 1854 by Sir George Grey. 54. 12-29. 89. 98 x 76 cm. Text Fig. 7. Liverpool Museum, Ascension number R1 26-16/30, width 81.2cm

In the third group of Archey's classification model, *Design grouping of Tiki* (figure 3), Archey discussed four *pare* which digressed further from the archetypical model. Here he noted the lack of distinction between interstitial figures and background design elements. The important feature of these *pare* was the appearance of smaller naturalistic figures between the central *tiki* and interstitial *manaia*, which are"…irregularly disposed, sometimes becoming an involved medley" (Archey, 1960, p.206).

While Archey's illustrative method helped him articulate certain ideas, his theories about the stylistic evolution of *pare* would be more convincing if they were paralleled with social, technological and religious changes that occurred in New Zealand during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Such contextualisation might also counter the absence of provenance data relative to many of his carving examples. Two further problems evident in Archey's research, perhaps a result of his scientific outlook, were that expert Māori knowledge is absent and there is no information pertaining to *pare* ownership. While it may not be possible to ascertain specific ownership details, analysis of Text fig 4 (figure 2) reveals that the *pare* is carved in a Rongowhakaata style, and that it incorporates compositional forms found on *waka* (see Te Toki-a-Tapiri, 1836), *paepae* (Te Hau-ki-Tūranga, 1840), and *maihi pātaka* (Te Oha *pātaka*, 1825 and Te Tairuku Potaka *pātaka*, 1770-80). Comparison with these different structures provides a point of reference that helps to establish provenance and possible dates for production.

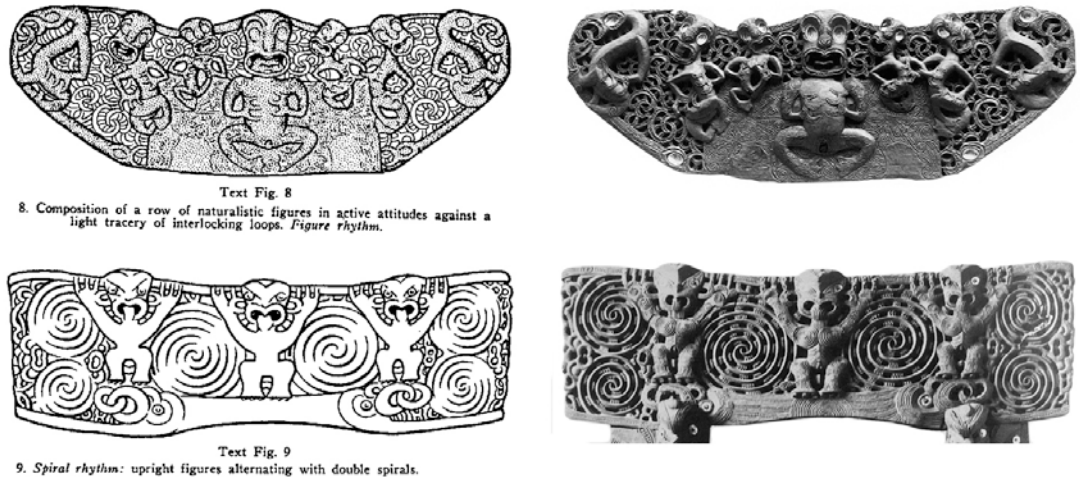



Figure 4. *Pare*, Text Figure 8, unearthed at Patetonga, Hauraki Plains, 1919, Auckland Museum (ethnology number: 6189) 233.8 x 76.2 cm; *Pare* with spiral rhythm, Text Fig.9, *pare*, Auckland Museum (Ethnology number184), 127cm width.

Looking to grouping four, *Hauraki and Te Puke* (figure 4), Archey gathered together what appear to be distinctly different *pare*. The aim was to provide groupings demonstrating progressive deviations from the archetypical model in figure 1. However, in this grouping the *pare* in the illustrations (figure 4) are dramatically different to one another; text fig. 8 (figure 4) contains five *tiki* and the text fig. 9 (figure 4) has only three. Additionally, these *pare* have completely different background elements; a type of cusp spiral which Mead erroneously calls *matakupenga* (Jahnke, personal communication, May 4, 2011) in the Hauraki *pare* (text fig 8, figure 4), and *takarangi* (*pitau*) spirals in the other example (text fig. 9, figure 4). Despite these major dissimilarities, Archey maintained that the content within these *pare* was identical; the only real difference being the design preference for either spirals or figures (Archey, 1960). As noted earlier, this was because Archey viewed large double spirals as abstractions of the human anatomy. This accounts for his assertion that the *pare* in Text Fig 9 (figure 4) is a five figure composition (where the two *takarangi* spiral become *tiki*).

An interesting part of Archey's analysis was his assertion that the background cusp elements in the Hauraki (Patetonga) *pare* are abstracted forms based on the *takarangi*. His discussion about this notion can be found in his earlier research *Sculpture and Design: An Outline of Māori Art* (1955) where he connected forms on *pare* with forms on *waka*. In example A of figure 5, Archey noted the appearance of spirals with crescent like elements similar to those on the Hauraki (Patetonga) *pare*. This, according to Archey (1955) was sound proof that the backgrounds elements in the Patetonga *pare* are essentially a variation on the double spiral.

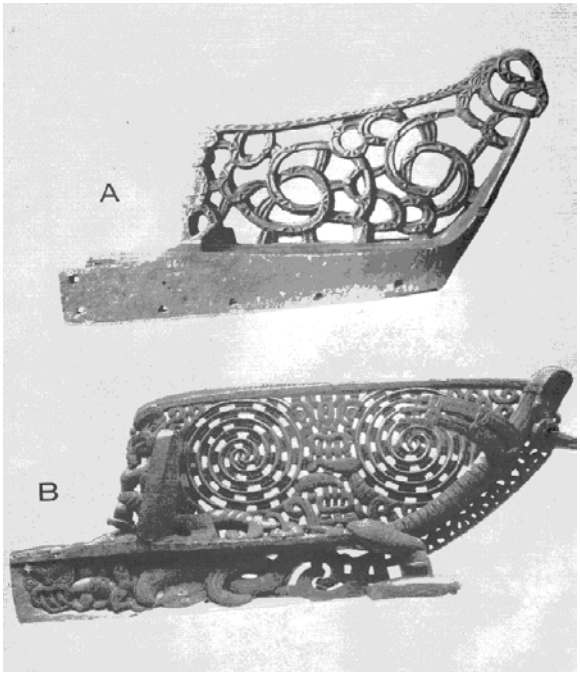



Figure 5. *Tauihi* examples from Archey (1960).

Five *pare* from the Taranaki region exemplify Archey's fifth grouping, *Taranaki Design*. Three of these, including Archey's two illustrated examples (figure 6), have recently have been re-categorized as *paepae pātaka* (see Kelvin Day, 2001, p26, p.30, p.33). Nevertheless, Archey's discussion pertaining to the Taranaki carvings raises some pertinent issues. In examining the Taranaki carvings he sought to determine, (a), the meaning of looped backgrounds in Taranaki *pare*, and (b), the relationship between the Taranaki tradition and that of Hauraki. Archey proposed that the looped backgrounds could only be one of two things, elements based on human-forms, as he had seen in other *pare*, or merely decoration. After commencing a basic visual examination (i.e. looking at the *pare*) he concluded that, 'the tracery loops', or background elements in the Taranaki examples are not representative of human limbs, and are thus, "…space-filling design, a mechanical decoration devoid of symbolism" (Archey, 1960, p.211).

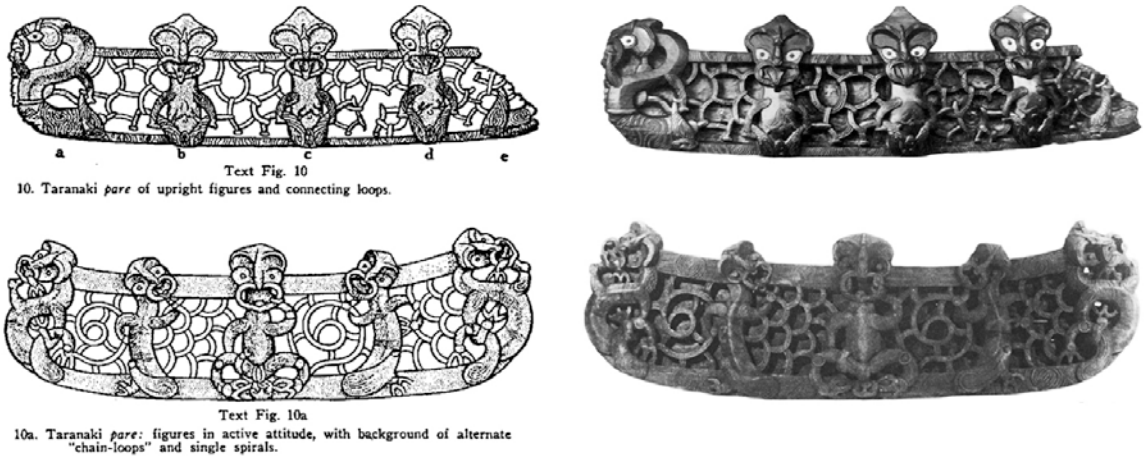



Figure 6. Taranaki Design: Text fig. 10, *Paepae*, Canterbury Museum (E141.783); Text fig. 10.a, *paepae*, Taranaki Museum (A77.338) 1730 x 500mm.

Archey's assertion that the background loops are not based on human-limbs is plausible, however his assumption that they are devoid of symbolism is contestable. The Taranaki term for the loop design, *matakupeng*a (fishing net), alludes to the gathering of *kai moana* (sea food), the communal processes involved in this activity, and the importance of *kai moana* as a food source. It is this deeper cosmo-genealogical relationship in terms of the pattern that makes it an ideal term for the *pātaka* context. Like other aids to humankind the art of carving and the baskets of knowledge are procured from realms beyond *Te Ao Tūroa* with much effort (Jahnke, personal communication, 2010). Archey's conclusions in this case are typical of the period when much of the pattern in Māori carving was dismissed as decoration.

Figure 7. Taranaki *pare*, Waitara (Archey, plate 43A); Auckland Museum (33737). 550 x 120 mm.

Figure 8. Taranaki *pare*, Oruarangi (Archey, plate 43B): Auckland Museum (33309), width 690mm.

Figure 9. Taranaki *pare* [*paepae*]. Discovered at Waitara (Archey, plate 43C), Te Papa Tongarewa Museum (M.E 4657), 1500 x 280mm.

In the *Taranaki Design* grouping Archey explored the relationship between Taranaki carving and that from the Hauraki region, comparing the Oruarangi *pare* (figure 8) with the Patetonga *pare*. Commenting on one of the design similarities, the rendering of the central figure's head, he wrote, "In the Oruarangi specimen, the face form is as in the Hauraki lintel i.e. only slightly widened across the eyes with deep socket to hold the entire *paua* shell" (1960, p.212). Archey also noted similarities in the type of pattern use on these *pare*. For Archey, these stylistic connections were evidence of the movement of carving throughout New Zealand:

> These several resemblances and differences are not cited merely as a catalogue of variant detail; they have significance in that they reveal two small *pare* from widely separated localities exhibiting, not only the same simplification of general design, but also the well established characteristics shared, or possessed separately, by the Hauraki and Taranaki schools of carving. In drawing attention previously to these style relationships I tentatively suggested that they might connote a Tainui canoe area distribution (Archey, 1960, p.212).

There seems to be no doubt that the Taranaki and Hauraki carvings in his example have visual similarities. The most compelling evidence of this is the use of sinewy figures. Archey's assumption of a Tainui distribution of style between Hauraki and Taranaki also has merit, considering that the Tainui area geographically, is the gateway between North Auckland and the regions of Taranaki and Hauraki.

Figure 10. Sui Generis – Archey Text Fig 11: *Pare*, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Canada. 104 x 25cm.

In the sixth and final grouping, *Sui Generis*, Archey examined four *pare* that stylistically mark the furthest point of deviation from his *pare* archetype. Discussing the *pare* shown in figure 10, Archey highlighted the stylistic relationship between the interstitial figures of the *pare* and those found on some *taurapa* (stern-post) of *waka taua* (war canoe). More importantly, though, he also claimed that the interstitial figures (figure 10) are based on seal or bird forms (Archey, 1960, p.213). Both assertions are suspect, particularly the suggestion that the interstitial figures represent seals. The appearance of birds in *pare* does have some merit. This is because in one of the more common narratives associated with *pare*, that of Māui and Hine-nui-te-pō, birds play a critical role. However, the *pare* (figure 10) under discussion lacks key elements from the Hine-nui-te-pō narrative, such as a female central figure, or the appearance of Māui as smaller figure between the legs of Hine-nui-te-pō.

Importantly, this example also highlights how reductionist linear drawings can be used to edit contradictory elements. Comparing Archey's line rendering with a photo of the actual *pare* (figure 10), a key feature that is absent on the outstretched interstitial figures is the 'horn' element (Jahnke, 2006, p.130), common on Rongowhakaata style *manaia*. By removing these elements, Archey's drawing renders the mouths of the interstitial figures more like beaks to support his bird hypothesis. Archey's argument would have been better served exploring the original provenance of the *pare*. Another notable absence in Archey's reductionist drawing is the sex of the central *tiki*. Sexual symbolism, while being extremely significant, also gives important clues of the narrative content in the carvings.

Text Fig. 12

12. *Pare* with stylized limbs forming a "chevron" pattern.

Figure 11. Sui Generis Archey Text Fig 12. Kaitaia *pare*, Auckland Museum (6314).

The final *pare* within Archey's final grouping argument is the Kaitaia carving (figure 11). This carving has played a key role in many theories concerning the development of Māori carving. Stylistically, the Kaitaia carving is problematic in that it is dramatically different to the other examples of *pare* and Māori art. In his later work, *Whaowhia: Māori art and it's Artists (1977)*, Archey supports Skinner's (1924) assertion that the Kaitaia carving is not a lintel but a ridge cresting (Archey, 1977, p.28), because the Kaitaia carving is carved on both sides, whereas *pare* are carved on one side only. A point of contention within Archey's discussion about the Kaitaia *pare* is his claim that the interstitial chevron elements are abstracted forms derived from the human limbs, which he claims can be found when

comparing the Kaitaia carving within *pare* from Hauraki. However, the genesis of this idea is found in his much earlier writings about Māori chevron amulets (Archey, 1936) where Archey built upon Skinner's (1934, p.213) research. In this earlier research Archey (1936) demonstrated a stylistic relationship between the chevron amulets, which appear to have abstracted human limbs, and the Kaitaia lintel.

## The Stylistic Evolution of *Pare*

Archey argued that *pare* design evolved from basic unvaried human figure arrangements towards more complex abstract and decorative compositions. However, this conclusion was reached before, rather than after, any examination of *pare*. For Archey, the challenge was to arrange data so that it aligned with his hypotheses, rather than contradicting them. When evidence contradicted his theoretical position, such as the background design within the Hauraki *pare*, Archey (1960, p.210) argued for its omission from the study. Another contentious aspect of Archey's model for stylistic development is that little evidence exists for the provenance or for the date of production for most carvings in his study. Critics of Archey's theory on stylistic evolution have been acutely aware of this. Both Rowe (1935) and Skinner (1935) criticised Archey's conclusions on stylistic analysis for lacking tangible evidence to support his view. Rowe (1935), commenting on Archey's evolutionary scheme for Māori carving, wrote, "…many of these sequences may just as reasonably start from the other end" (p. 125). Consequently without secure provenance for the carvings, we do not know if the more 'simple' ones - in Archey's scheme at least - predate or follow the 'complex' ones. While Archey (1936) made a strong defence of his stylistic theory concerning the double spiral in Māori art, ultimately, the lack of information and evidence to support his theories cannot be ignored.

The notion of a common archetype also played an important role in Archey's ideas about *pare*. Archey claimed that *pare*, "shared a standard composition of a central human figure, supported on each side by one to three others of possibly less status, and a terminal feature of paired profile figures" (1960, p.12). However, as with his notion of stylistic evolution, the actual data does not support this hypothesis. An example here is that *pare* from the *Taranaki* and *Whanganui* carving traditions do not fit within his pre-determined model. In *pare* from these regions the central figure is often replaced by two or three human figures and in each case, the figure groups generally share the same scale, arrangement of limbs, and application of pattern. *Pare* with two central figures also appear regularly in the Te Arawa and Whanganui carving regions. Archey (1960) goes on to argue that these tribal deviations are examples of, "...local, autonomous development, through individual design enterprise "(p. 214). However, he provides no evidence to support his position. The idea of a shared archetype is tied to Archey's

evolutionist standpoint. Commenting on the evolutionist thought, Long and Chakov (2009, para.1) have written, "Just as species were thought to evolve into increasing complexity, so too were cultures thought to progress from simple to complex states". This accounts for Archey's insistence that *pare* stylistically began with a simple archetype, and from this, more complex variations developed.

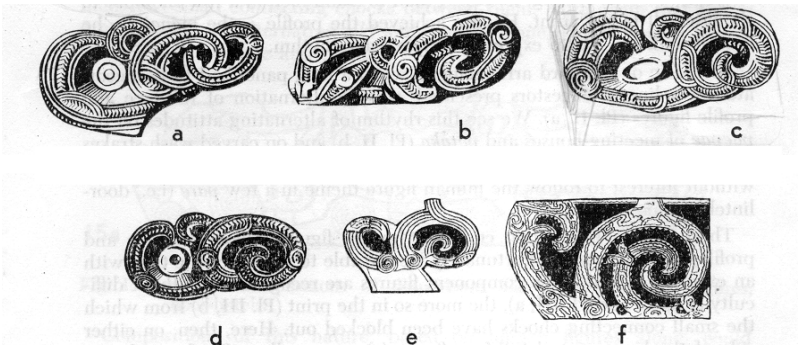



Figure 12. Archey's double spiral scheme (Archey, 1955, fig.14)

The absence of *pare* with double spirals also brings Archey's theory of a general *pare* archetype into question. While, an illustration of one appears in his study (figure 4), no mention is made of its features, or how it might fit into the larger tradition of *pare* development. In his much earlier paper, *Evolution of Certain Māori Carving Patterns* (1933), Archey used visual aids to demonstrate his ideas about the double spiral in Māori carving. Evidence of this formal relationship, according to Archey, was seen in the rendering of the mouths of *manaia* on both *pare*, *waka taua* and *maihi pātaka* (Archey, 1933, p.181-182). The way in which he reached his conclusion about the double spiral, while somewhat simplistic, is interesting nonetheless (figure 12). As seen in figure 12, the heads of the *manaia* were stylistically arranged in a fashion that progressed towards a double spiral.

Finally, Archey saw innovation and change in carving as an expression of carvers' ability to re-interpret and re-imagine common narratives and themes. Commenting on the design of a *pare* from Te Hauke, he wrote, "... It shows the freedom the artist could claim to modify the content of the normal *pare* figure-group in favour of his design concept" (Archey, 1960, p. 206). In the introduction to his analysis, Archey (1960) also wrote, "...the carvers were individuals, and versatile to a degree in their handling of a common theme" (p. 204). Two further examples include his explanation about the design of the Hauraki *pare*, "I feel sure that a carver with individuality and enterprise would not have allowed his inventiveness to be constrained by subservience to a sealed pattern" (Archey, p. 210, 1960), and his description of a Taranaki *paepae* (see figure 5 (10b)), where he stated, "Here we see the expression of a *tohunga's* own personal design concept" (p.211). While Archey over-emphasized the role of the carver as an individual, the point he was probably trying to make is that carvers were able to

express a number of consistent themes and narratives despite dramatic changes to the design of *pare*. This is extremely significant in terms of the thesis question; how can the visual language and *tikanga* of customary Māori carving be used to inform contemporary Māori design practice, because it demonstrates that there is a unifying visual language at play within Māori carving. And in addition to this, it also suggests that the Māori design language allows for a certain amount of flexibility whereby new compositions are still able to maintain resonance despite major compositional changes.

## Conclusion

The theoretical premise underpinning Archey's study of *pare* was evolutionism. Evidently, this lead to his hypothesis that *pare* design developed from basic simple compositions towards more varied and complex ones. Archey arranged *pare* in a way that reflected this view, and excluded those that did not. While reductionism allowed him to smooth out contradictory data, a key problem with this method is that important data can inadvertently be ignored. For example, *pare* featuring double spirals were excluded from his survey of *pare* because he believed that they were abstracted versions of human faces in profile. Even if this assertion were correct, his argument failed to acknowledge Māori tattooing practice, in which the double spiral is a prominent design motif. Some of the earliest sketches of Māori life (see Louis Auguste de Sainson, Nlle Zelande; cabane de la Baie Tolaga, 1833) also display *pare* with prominent double spirals. Furthermore, the numerous examples of *pare* with double spirals found throughout New Zealand suggest that it is a form that cannot be so easily excluded in a study of *pare*.

One of the merits of Archey's *pare* research was the use of line drawing as a visual aid. These were used to help isolate the key components within *pare*. This method is particularly significant where this thesis question is concerned, because attempts to articulate the visual language of Māori carving are undertaken using a similar method. Two of the best examples of how successful this approach can be are seen in Text Fig 6.and Text Fig. 7 of Archey's analysis (figure 3). In both of these the smaller interstitial figures are relatively ambiguous to those unfamiliar with Māori art. However, in the simplified linear drawings (figure 3) the smaller figures and their relationship with the other *pare* elements are made much more explicit. Text Fig. 4 of Archey's analysis (figure 2), is also another good example of how this technique can help elucidate the different components of *pare*. Despite the success of this approach, oversimplification also affected the use of this method. In his review of the *pare* in figure 10 Archey missed a number of important details, which, coincidentally, helped make his assertion of the bird form appear more plausible. A lesson here is that when applying the linear diagrammatical method of analysis caution must be made so that important elements are not accidentally omitted or 'edited out'. A final note on Archey's review of *pare* is that there was distinct

lack of Māori terminology, Māori expert knowledge, and engagement with Māori narratives. This demonstrated the disconnection between Archey and Māori culture. Archey also made little attempt to assign carvings tribally.

## Michael Jackson's *Aspects of Symbolism and Composition in Māori Art*

Michael Jackson's *Aspects of Symbolism and Composition in Māori Art* (1972) was the second principal study dedicated exclusively to *pare*. Jackson's research into *pare* differs markedly from Archey's in that it took place within a constructionist, rather than positivist, paradigm. Jackson's study of *pare* also employed ideas from both structuralism and Gestalt theory. His research is important in that it sets out a number of precedents for how research into Māori art should be undertaken. The most notable of these was his method for contextualising *pare*. Here, the symbolism and form found within *pare* were analysed relative to ideas in within Māori culture, Māori architectural developments and historical changes to Māori society. This type of contextualisation enabled Jackson to create compelling arguments about form and design changes in Māori art. Notably, Jackson's *pare* research also presented the first attempt to describe Māori-centric design principles. Since the aim of this thesis is to explicate the elements and principles of Māori design through a study of *pare*, Jackson's developments on the subject are particularly salient. His decision to study *pare* over other Māori carvings was based on evidence that *pare*, as with *waka*, were more highly valued than other types of carving in Māori culture. In his own words, Jackson (1972) wrote,

> Indeed, the *pare* was so highly-valued, judging from the Māori's attempts to preserve it from the ravages of war and the rot of time, that one is even more inclined to give it a special place in attempting to throw light on the meanings and values of Māori art (Jackson, 1972, p.40).

This section begins with an examination of Jackson's structuralist and Gestalt-informed approach to the study of *pare*. Understanding the theory that informs his research is important because it provides insight into his methodology and the conclusions he reached about *pare* design and Māori art. In terms of the goals of this research, the review of Jackson's structuralist approach was also valuable because it demonstrated that the meaning of symbolism seen in Māori carving can be found by exploring important concepts within Māori society. Though Jackson's transposition of ideas from Māori society onto customary Māori carving was at times problematic, it did allow him to make some insightful conjectures about sexual and gestural symbolism in carving. In a similar fashion to Jackson, my research looks to build a platform for Māori design practice by transposing ideas from carving and culture into contemporary Māori design practice.

Following the review of Jackson's methodology, His *pare* categorisation schema and principles of Māori design are presented. Here, the use of digital imagery allowed for a graphic contextualisation of his views, along with a diagrammatic elucidation of the key factors in his study. Lastly, a number of other key ideas from Jackson's research, including chromatic symbolism, kinesic symbolism and sexual symbolism are examined.

## Jackson's Structural-Anthropology

Jackson's use of structuralism, as a theory and method, was in part a response to a problem he encountered in earlier studies of Māori art; the over-reliance on *exegetical* (informant/native) data, or local knowledge. Where exegetical information was lacking on Māori topics, particularly carving, researchers defaulted to the notion that knowledge was lost, and beyond recovery (McEwan, 1967 p.9; Archey, 1962, p.279; Firth, 1966, p.29). Jackson claimed that the meaning in Māori carving was not lost. Instead, he believed that anthropologists lacked the appropriate theoretical and practical tools necessary to draw relevant meaning from existing data. One way to draw out the meaning found within *pare* is to investigate the *operational* and *positional* aspects, two types of meaning introduced earlier by Victor Turner (1966). Turner's (1966) definitions of *operational*, *positional* and *exegetical* meaning, as presented in Jackson's study are as follows:

1. the *exegetical* (the level of native interpretation, the data collected from informants);
2. the *operational* (the use of the symbol, the symbol in the context of social action);
3. the *positional* (the way in which the meaning of the symbol "derives from its relationship to other symbols in a totality, a Gestalt, whose elements acquire their significance from the system as a whole).

By looking at the *operational* information in *pare*, Jackson thought that meaning in *pare* could be explicated by contextualising it within the broader context of Māori society. At the same time, an exploration of *positional* meaning could provide insights into *pare* by comparing the components in *pare* with one another and with components in other carvings, and through an examination of *pare* within the context of the *whare whakairo*. This method of contextualisation has parallels with the Māori research tool of *whakapapa*, developed by Te Ahukaramū Royal (1998) in *Te Ao Mārama: A research paradigm*. The *whakapapa* tool looks to describe any single phenomenon by looking behind it to find two adjacent parental phenomena. When this tool is applied again to parental-phenomena it creates a larger picture of an event. For Jackson, symbolic meaning in carving was generated within a *total symbolic system*, and not in isolation. As such, *pare* and the symbolism contained within it was to

be studied in relation to the systems within which they operate. Jackson (1972) claimed that when *pare* are contextualised in the broader context of Māori society information that lies beyond the aesthetic, and at times, conscious surface becomes accessible. Gesture in carving can be understood by examining its use in *haka*, *pōwhiri* and *waiata*, while design preferences such as the exaggerated scale of certain body parts can be aligned with Māori notions pertaining to the body. From this holistic view, important questions might be; why are *pare* placed above the *tatau* (doorway) of the *whare whakairo*? How does this position relate to Māori concepts about doorways, entrances or passages? And, how do doorways and entrances relate to the structure of the *whare whakairo* or the *pātaka*?

Another key feature of Jackson's structural-anthropology is the unique perspective it took on the role that artists and art objects played in 'primitive' societies. The artist as myth-maker created new structures and paths in an attempt to resolve and untangle the contradictions and tensions in the real social world, and during the production of art the artist occupies an ambiguous position between the *microcosm* and *macrocosm* (Levi-Strauss, 1966). For Jackson *tapu* was an expression of this socially ambiguous space that the carver occupied. To some extent, this idea has parallels with Hanson's (1983) notion of ambivalent tension, in that Hanson saw tension as being a fundamental aspect of Māori reality. This, according to Hanson (1983a: 215) was reflected in the formal language of broken bilateral symmetry in Māori art. According to Jackson tension within Māori carving and society was resolved through the use of a trinary system, rather than a binary one, in which the third-term is one that resolves the opposing binary opposites. Conveniently, this idea of a trinary appears to further support his notion about the significance of three. For example, in his discussion about *pare* composition the central *tiki* is the third term which unites the terminal *manaia* (Jackson 1972).

As noted earlier, the structural-anthropological approach to meaning relied on the contextualisation of phenomena within the context of a total system or structure. Jackson applied this method in his analysis of *pare* by examining *pare* within the broader history of Māori architectural development. From a Māori perspective, this established a *whakapapa* (linage), or genealogy for *pare*. By looking at the broader spectrum of Māori carved structures, assumptions about where elements of *pare* came from can be made, and to some extent, where certain characteristics of *pare* have been transposed onto other forms. In figure 13, a proposed genealogy of *pare* within Māori architectural development is outlined.

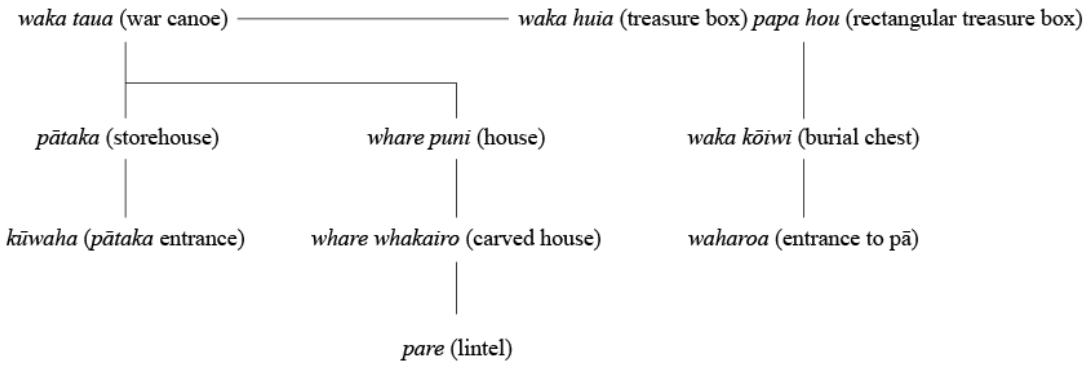



Figure 13: *Pare Whakapapa* (Genealogy)

Jackson also paralleled Māori architectural developments with economic, technological, and religious shifts in Māori society, many of which occurred as a direct result of colonialism. For example, the increase in size of *whare whakairo* was linked to the appearance of other large wooden structures, such as churches during the nineteenth century. In another example, the increased sexual ambiguity in carved figures was linked to the introduction of Christianity and the influence of missionaries (Jackson, 1972, p.42). These examples demonstrate the structuralist-method where meaning in Māori carving is explicated by connecting it to areas of corresponding relevance in the broader Māori society.

## A working definition of *Pare* Types and Styles

In this section, examples of Jackson's *pare* classification scheme are provided. His ideas about *pare* categorisation are supplemented by linear, chromatic and tonal diagrammatic analysis created by the author of this research. These illustrations were created to add clarity to Jackson's schema.

Jackson's classification of *pare* types and styles built upon Archey's earlier model. Rearranging Archey's *pare* scheme, Jackson created a two tiered value-based system of primary and secondary considerations. Archey's scheme for *pare* classification, as it appeared in Jackson's analysis, is presented below. The areas that Jackson considered most important in the study of *pare* are italicised:

1. The sex of the figures and composition of figures according to sex;
2. *The number of the figures and composition of figures according to number;*
3. Style or tribal areas;
4. Historical epoch, i.e. whether pre-European or post-European, early or late nineteenth century;
5. *Whether figure motifs or spiral motifs dominate in the composition.*

Jackson claimed that criteria number two and five represent the "...fundamental aspect of design and composition, namely the number of figures and the arrangement of them and of profiles of them along

the *pare*" (Jackson, p.42, 1972). Criteria three and four were of secondary importance because establishing the origin and dates for most *pare* proved too difficult, and also because "styles of carving do not consistently refer to specific tribal areas or provinces" (Archey, 1960). The Taranaki style, according to Jackson, is the only one that can readily be associated to one tribal area. Criteria number one was also considered to be of secondary importance because sexual symbolism in carving became increasingly ambiguous during the nineteenth century. Like Archey, Jackson's model centred on the use and number of large *tiki* figures. Though Jackson did not mention the central base element of *pare,* or the *manaia* heads often attached to this, they have been included in these linear diagrammatic illustrations because they play an important role in that they connect different areas of the *pare*. Jackson's *pare* schema is presented below. Of note, some images have been added where Jackson's descriptions lacked visual examples. Furthermore, where Jackson uses the term 'figure' he is actually talking about *tiki*:

Figure 14. Jackson's *Pare* classification: A. (i) Full figure; *takarangi* spirals on either side; *manaia* at either end of the *pare* (author's linear illustration, based on Jackson's photographic example).

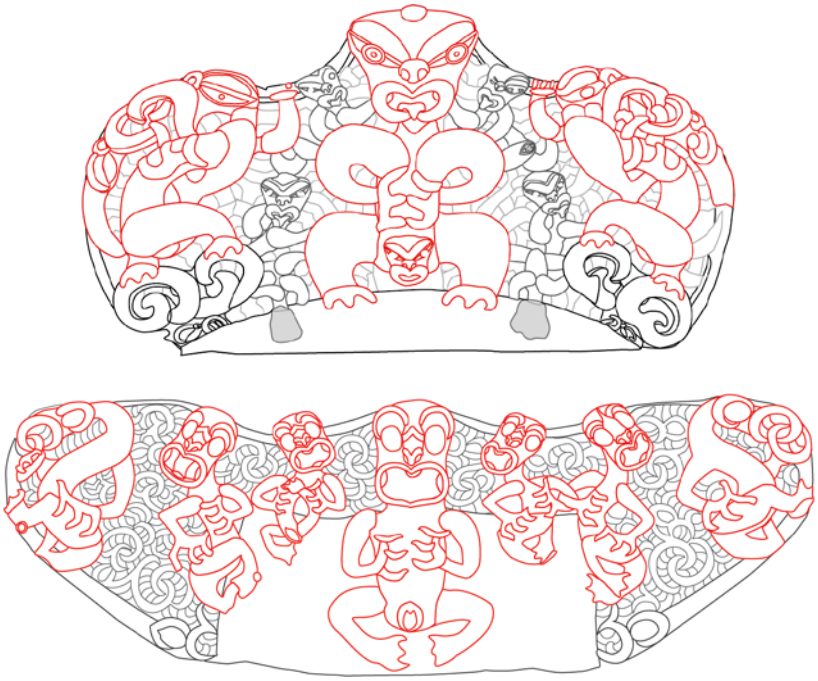


Figure 15. Jackson's *Pare* classification: Two *pare* examples of *pare* type A. (ii) Full figure; interlocking *manaia* forms on either side; *manaia* at either end (author's linear illustrations, based on Jackson's photographic examples).

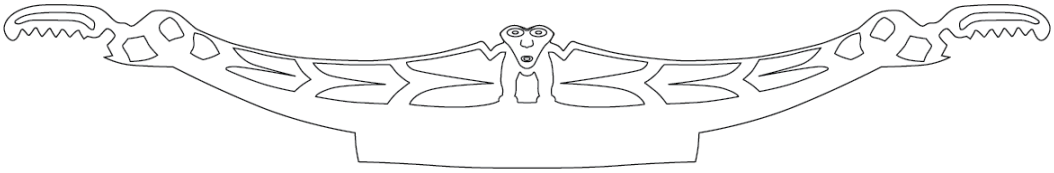


Figure 16. Jackson's *Pare* classification: A. (iii) The Kaitaia lintel, (author's linear illustration, based on Jackson's photographic example).

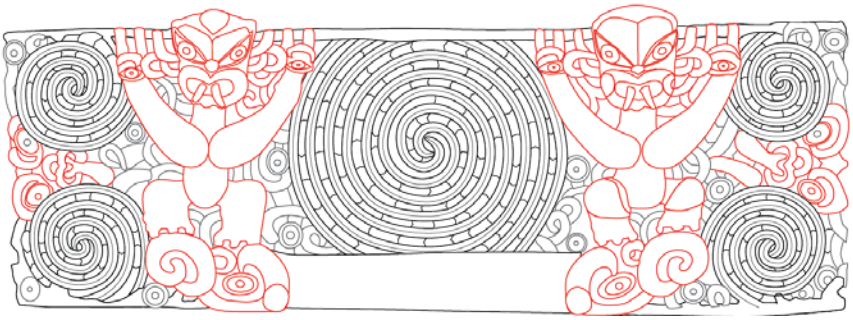


Figure 17. Jackson's *Pare* classification: B (i) Two full figures separated by a single large *takarangi* spiral; two half-size *takarangi* spirals on top of each other at either end of the *pare*, (author's linear illustration, based on Jackson's photographic example).

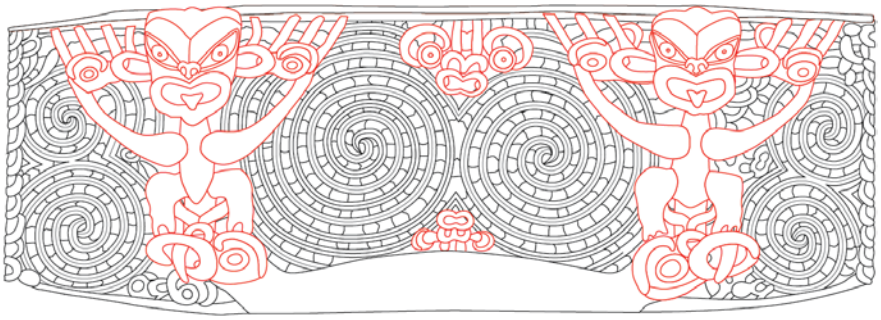


Figure 18. Jackson's *Pare* classification: B (ii) Two full figures separated by a two adjoining *takarangi* spiral; two half-size *takarangi* spirals on top of each other at either end of the *pare* (author's linear illustration, based on Jackson's photographic example).

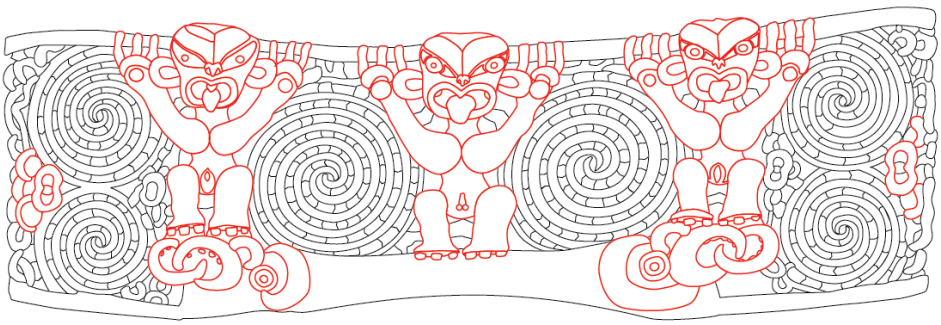


Figure 19. Jackson's *Pare* classification: C (a) Three full figures, arms upraised with fingers usually close to the ears, separated by *takarangi* spirals; with two half-size *takarangi* spirals on top of each other at either end of the *pare* (author's linear illustration, based on Jackson photographic example).

Of note, the author has not been able to find any examples of *pare* which Jackson describes in his *pare* type C (i). *Same as above except that the lower of the two end takarangi spirals becomes a manaia form in both cases.*

Figure 20. Jackson's *Pare* classification: C (ii) Same as C (a) except that the *takarangi* spirals between the central and adjacent figures become two small *takarangi* spirals in each case, one on top of the other (author's linear illustration, , based on *pare,* Auckland Museum).

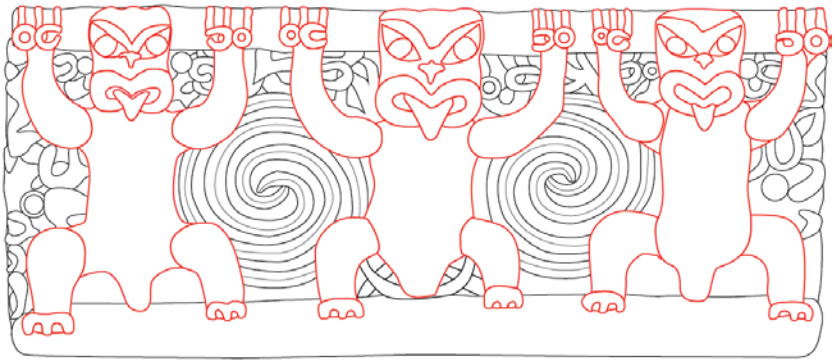


Figure 21. Jackson's *Pare* classification: C (iii) Three full figures, arms upraised with fingers usually close to the ears, separated by *takarangi* spirals; no spirals at the ends of the *pare* (author's linear illustration, based on Peabody Museum, D1343).

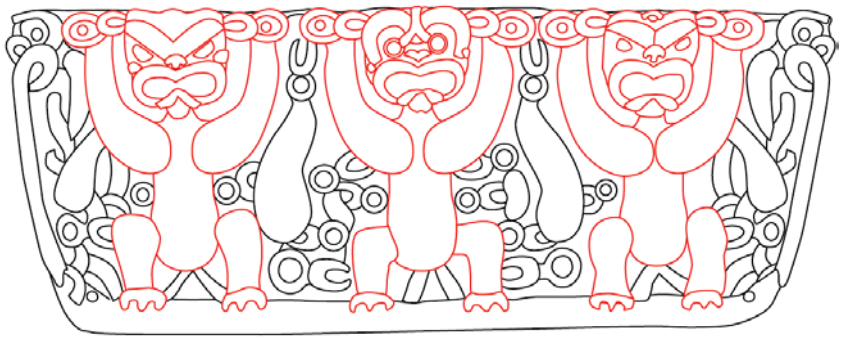


Figure 22. Jackson's *Pare* classification: C. (b) Three full figures as in C (a) separated by interlocking *manaia* forms or mata-kupenga designs; *manaia* at each end of the *pare* (author's linear illustration, based on Jackson's example)

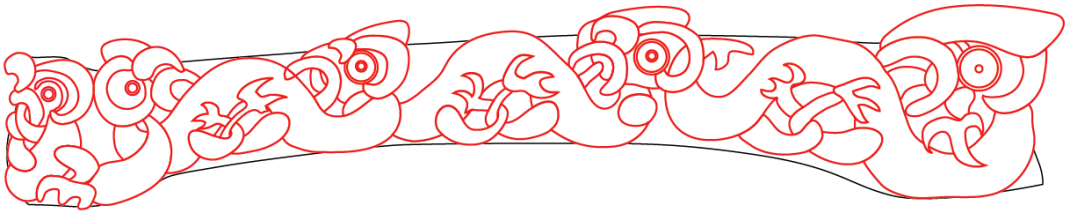


Figure 23. Jackson's *Pare* classification: C. (c) Two *manaia* forms at left-hand end of the *pare*, followed by three sinewy semi-*manaia* forms (Taranaki type) (author's linear illustration, based on Jackson's photographic example). Today this is considered to be a *paepae pātaka*.

## The significance of the grouping of three elements in Māori art

Throughout his analysis Jackson referred to the number three claiming that is has significance in both *pare* design and Māori art. According to Jackson (1972), "The number three immediately presents significance to us, for in most *pare* compositions there are either three full figures or a full figure + two *manaia* figures dominating the entire composition. There are few exceptions" (p.43). His argument about the significance of the number three in Māori art was based on evidence from the missionary Thomas Kendall, whom he saw as a reliable source. However, Kendall's notions concerning the importance of three fingers and three figures in Māori art were tied to his religious views and the Christian concept of the *trinity* (Jackson, 1972, p.75). Jackson was well aware of this problem. In appendix II of his analysis, he pointed out historian Judith Binney's criticisms of Kendall. Binney, commenting on Kendall's research wrote, "Out of it all very little remains unaffected by his unconsciously imposed framework. His imprecise presentation of details makes his descriptions hopelessly obscure" (Binney, 1967, p.147). Yet, Jackson chose to ignore this warning, openly transposing ideas from Christianity to structures within Māori society. In *pare* design, Jackson (1972) claimed that the significance of the number three corresponds with the appearance of three figures in *pare* (p.43), the use of three-fingered hands, three levels of relief (p.46), three *rites de passage* (p.58), and even the appearance of three chiefs in *waka* (p.64). While he made some compelling propositions about the significance of three elements in Māori carving, his theory is undermined by a tendency to ignore *pare* that contradict the use of three elements. For example, the two-figure *pare* grouping (B, figure 5, figure 6) in his *pare* scheme are dismissed without much consideration and labelled as anomalies within the larger scheme of *pare* design (1972, p.44). Yet, ten examples of two-figured *pare* were discovered without too much searching (seven two-figure *pare* appear in Simmons, 2001, p.149-161; see Māhina-a-Rangi *pare* in Phillips, 1955, p.203; a *pare* from Te Hau ki Tūranga – the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, and an example produced prior to 1844 - see Angus illustration of the Kaitangata *whare* in Mead, 1986, p.50), suggesting that two-figure *pare* are not anomalies, and cannot be easily ignored. Another example of Jackson's reductionism is his contention that the two

slightly smaller *manaia* on the left end of the *pare* (*paepae*) type C (c) (figure 23) are "…diminutive and may be shown to be structurally and symbolically equivalent to spirals" (Jackson, 1972, p.44). Here, the *manaia* second from the left (figure 23) is inextricably joined with the *manaia* immediately to its right, and as such is a significant element within the *paepae*.

## Jackson's principles of *pare* composition

In the section below illustrations are used to clarify Jackson's design principles within *pare*. These are particularly salient where the thesis question is concerned, as the aim is to explicate the visual language of Māori design. Jackson's first principle of *pare* composition was symmetry. As Jackson (1972) wrote, "*Pare* composition is invariably symmetrical and this symmetry is founded upon a key central figure which is flanked by two others, either as full figures or *manaia* profiles" (p.44). Furthermore, this symmetry is bi-lateral, with the axis of reflection passing vertically through the middle of the central figure. In figure 24, two abstract examples of bi-lateral symmetry within *pare* are presented.

Figure 24. Jackson's principle of symmetry (Bi-lateral) (author's linear illustration).

Jackson's second principle, the transposition of profiles, builds upon the first principle of symmetry. As demonstrated in figure 25, the body of the central figure is divided bi-laterally, creating two profiles. According to Jackson (1972), each profile was then transposed to the opposing ends of the *pare*, creating the terminal *manaia.* Here, the left half of the central *tiki* moves the right hand side, forming the terminal *manaia* to the right. At the same time, the right half of the central figure is transposed to the left, forming the left-hand *manaia*.

Figure 25. Jackson's principle of transposed profiles (author's linear illustration)

The implication of this process of transposition is that terminal *manaia* in *pare* are human figures, or maintain a distinctly human connection. From a *mātauranga Māori* perspective, the suggestion that the *manaia* is based on the central *tiki* seems plausible, as figures within the *pare* are undoubtedly connected through *whakapapa*. However the problem with the transposition of profiles theory is that it could just as easily happen in reverse. For example, the central tiki element might actually be created by the transposition of two *manaia* forms.

Another design convention introduced by Jackson was that of *alternating rhythm*. According to Jackson (1972), in single-figure *pare* featuring double spirals, the spirals create an alternating rhythm that leads the eye from the central figure, outwards to the end *manaia,* and back again towards the centre (see Figure 26). This he called the principle of alternating rhythm. This notion appears to have some merit, as the majority of *takarangi* that appear in both single, two and three-figure *pare* are reflected across the central axis.

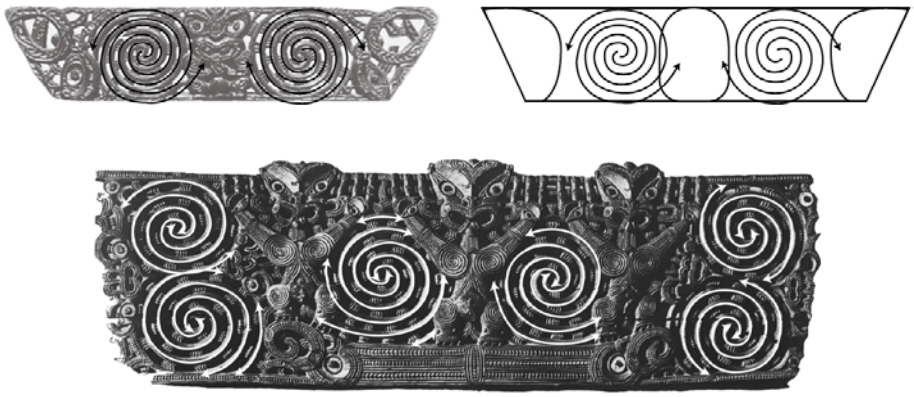


Figure 26. Jackson's principle of alternating rhythm (author's linear illustration).

However, there are a number of exceptions to this rule. Two figure *pare* where the central *takarangi* are not reflected can be found in: The British Museum (11-19.3), Auckland Museum (184), Auckland Museum (Simmons, p.175), Museum für Völkerkunde, Frankfurt-am-main NS 10563, and in the Oldman collection, Museum of New Zealand (see Simmons, p.47, 1985). A number of three-figure *pare*, where the *takarangi* is not reflected across the centre can also be found in some Whanganui *whare* including; Te Paku-o-te-Rangi (near Putiki Marae, Whanganui), Waiherehere, (Koroniti Marae, Whanganui), and Huriwhenua (Ranana, Whanganui). A further example is a *pare* in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum collection in Honolulu, Hawaii (see Barrow, 1969, p.95).

Perhaps the most controversial of Jackson's *pare* principles is the principle of fission and fusion. In his discussion of this principle Jackson used a *pare* from the East Coast (figure 27). Jackson believed that in some *pare* the central figure appears to break apart during the transposition of profiles, only later to be reassembled as the terminal *manaia*:

> The maze of forms between the central figure and the *manaia* profiles are not ingenious design motifs to fill a space in the total composition but are in fact symbolic of the figure forms broken up and caught in a process of dismemberment in one instance and reorganization in the next instance. This process or procession of breaking up the forms and reconstructing them occurs in an outward direction (towards the end *manaia*) and at the same time in an inward direction (from the *manaia* to the central figure again) (Jackson, 1972, p.45).

Jackson is correct in his proposition that the design elements between the central figure and terminal *manaia* are *not* merely decorative elements. However, his assertion that the central elements are simultaneously representative of the dismemberment and reorganisation of the central figure in *manaia* is problematic.

Figure 27. Jackson's principle of fission and fusion (author's image)

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the notion that background elements in some *pare* are representative of limbs or body parts was first introduced by Archey (1960). However, in Archey's discussion about the Hauraki and Kaitaia *pare*, no *tiki* are evident. In Jackson's example a number of smaller figures are clearly visible in the background of the East Coast *pare* (figure 28). Furthermore, the interstitial *tiki* are not breaking apart as Jackson claims. Instead, they are clearly whole figures, deliberately made ambiguous, as was the design convention in much Māori carving (see Jahnke's discussion of *papahou* and *wakahuia*, 2006). Another common convention in customary Māori carving was the use of scale to denote *whakapapa* and hierarchical relationships between figures. While Jackson's assertion that the interstitial form is symbolically representative of the central *tiki* has merit, the interstitial *tiki* are clearly not broken apart as he claims.

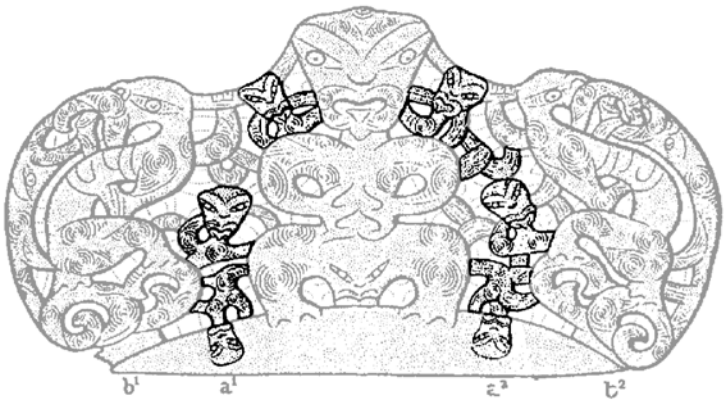



Figure 28. Isolation of smaller interstitial figures in East Coast *pare* (author's linear illustration, based on Jackson's example).

Jackson (1972) also proposed that the principle of fission and fusion aligns with other Māori concepts about birth and death, creation and dissolution, and some of Thomas Kendall's esoteric writings. However, this is a classic approach of structuralism where the theory relative to the composition of *pare* is made to fit Māori cultural notions post-*pare* analysis.

## The role and function of relief in *pare*

Jackson believed that in *pare* relief played a critical role in articulating relationships between the figures and in expressing ideas from within Māori culture. The term 'relief' here relates to how the carved forms stand out from the surface, to a greater (high relief) or lesser (bas-relief) degree. According to Jackson, *pare* generally contained three levels of relief:

> Examination of the *pare* shows that three levels of relief can be discerned. The central figure, *manaia* body and feet are all seen to be in high relief. In most *pare* of the type A (ii) the *manaia* head, the second arm and a sinewy *manaia* form which crosses the gap between the central figure and the end *manaia* are all in lower relief. Finally, suggested spirals or interlocking forms decorated on the surface with *pakura* or *ritorito* patterns make up a third, submerged level of relief (Jackson, 1972, p.46).

He also emphasises that the terminal *manaia* appears to straddle two different levels of relief, the mid and bas levels. Furthermore, he makes the distinction that the sinewy interconnecting interstitial *manaia* appear to sit on the plane above the lowest relief level. In Figure 17, Jackson's assignment of relief layers has been graphically isolated using tonal contrast. Of note, Archey's analysis does not feature a *pare* with 'sinewy *manaia* form which crosses the gap between the central figure and the end *manaia*', although this type of *pare* features in his discussion of relief. Consequently, the *pare* used in

these examples (figure 29, figure 30) have been determined through an analysis of the textual discussion.

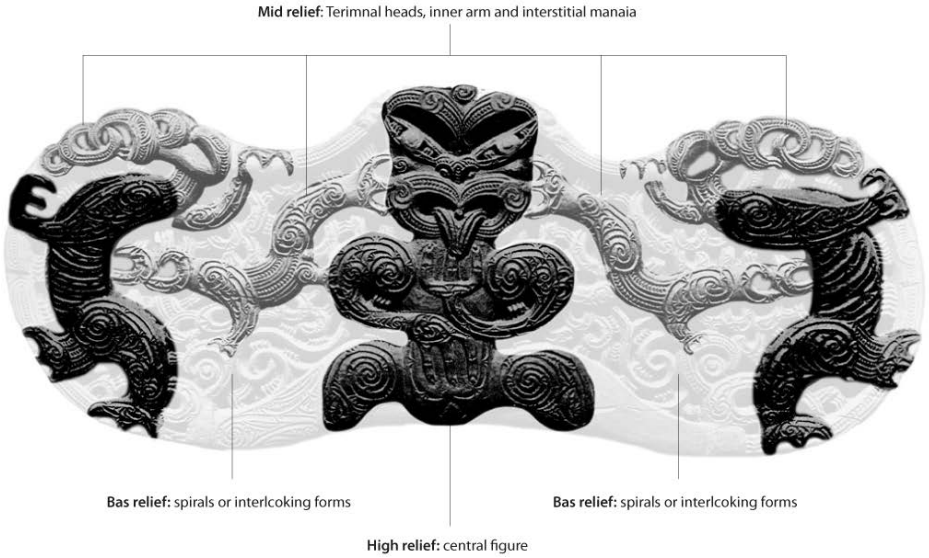



Figure 29. Jackson's levels of relief demonstrated (author's tonal illustration).

Jackson claimed that the three levels of relief expressed different types of movement, the level of high relief being animate, the bas relief level inanimate, and the mid-relief level representing a transitional state between the high and low (Jackson, 1972, p.46). These states of animation, while resonating with Māori concepts of life and death, were also connected back to his notion of fission and fusion. According to Jackson:

> The emergence of complete living forms from incomplete inanimate forms is thus established by the use of three subtlety related levels of relief in the carved design. The living forms emerge and assume unity but the dynamic of continuous movement simultaneously breaks them up and disunites them. Creation and dissolution are at the same time present (Jackson, 1972, p.46).

This overly simplistic identification of three levels of relief is problematic. This is because ambiguity between figures, and foreground and background elements, was a common convention in customary Māori carving (Jahnke, 2006). Critical inspection of figure 30 also revealed a number of areas where the second and third relief layer of elements are located on the primary layer. For example, the heads of the smaller interstitial *tiki* overlap at a number of points - the thighs of the central *tiki*, the central basal element, and the upper part of the frame. Additionally the feet of the interstitial *manaia* overlap with the arms of the central *tiki* and the basal element. Finally, the arms of the terminal *manaia* appear to move under the upper frame, with the hand encircling and resting on the upper frame element. This integration of layers is at odds with Jackson's view that relief layers and the different anatomical components of the figurative images are on disparate planes.

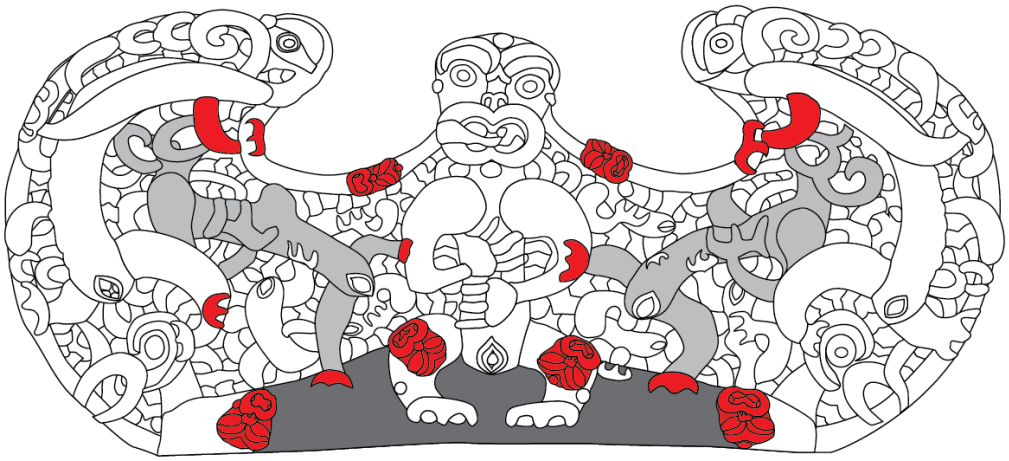


Figure 30. Merging of elements across *pare* (author's linear illustration, based on *pare,* Liverpool Museum, Accession no: RI 26.16).

The interconnectedness apparent in figure 30 suggests that a better way to interpret the levels of relief might be to conceptualise them as a single interconnected plane. Jahnke's discussion of surface pattern in early nineteenth century carving and the corresponding role of relief may have significance here. Jahnke (2006, p.116) proposed that the integration of the layers of relief alluded to the interrelationship between material and immaterial worlds.

## Kinesic, Chromatic and Sexual Symbolism

Customary types of formal dance, such as *poi* and *haka*, play a prominent role in Māori culture. Jackson (1972) asserted that in each of these different performances the placement of feet, hands, tilting of heads and so on, were gestural codes with specific meanings. Insightfully, he observed that the gestural codes from customary types of performance often appeared in *pare*. As such, the meanings of gestural symbolism in *pare* could be unlocked by exploring the meaning of gestural codes in customary performance. Discussing, the importance of these gestural codes and the lack of known information, Jackson wrote:

> In the *pare* compositions the formal placing of the hands on certain parts of the body, the angle of the head, the general position of the body in relationship to other forms and the disposition of the limbs, indicates at once that a high degree of meaningful structure underlies the composition. But on this subject we are more bereft of clues and evidence than at any other point (Jackson, M. 1972. p.47).

The absence of information on gesture in carving led Jackson to the writings of Kendall who suggested that the upraised arms of figures in three-figure *pare* (see category (C) (i), (ii), (iii) figure 9, 10, 11) represent 'the poles of the universe' being uplifted (Binney, 1967). Jackson then linked Kendall's

notion to the Māori cosmological narrative of creation, where, Tāne-mahuta (god of the forest), successfully pushed Rangi (sky father) and Papa (earth mother) apart.

Figure 31: Central Figures with hands placed on the rib cage

Figure 32. Central Figures with hands in varied positions (author's image).

In single-figure *pare*, the position of arms and hands is perhaps more significant than in the three-figure *pare*, because in this grouping the arms appear in a number of different positions. Figure 31 illustrates one of the more common placements of hands of the central figure on the abdomen. However, variations as in figure 32 include the placement of hands within mouths, on thighs, or as stylised *manaia* figures flanking the head. Further analysis of *pare* by Simmons in *The Carved Pare*, highlighted the significance of the hand position of the central *tiki*. In figure 33 (author's illustration), linear illustrations of the varying hand positions of the central figures in Simmons (2001) are presented to demonstrate a sample of the range that exists.

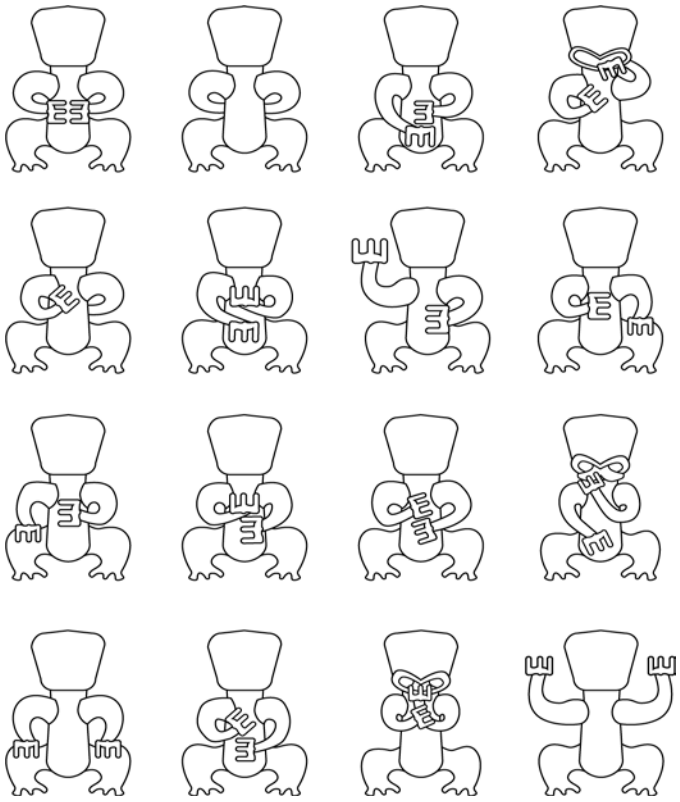


Figure 33. Arrangement of hands of central *pare* figures (author's linear illustration).

Jackson also argued that an exploration of Māori notions pertaining to the human body might shed light on the gestures found in carving. While this idea has value, Jackson's only source again was Kendall whose descriptions of Māori culture in the words of Binney, were 'hopelessly obscure' (Binney, 1967, p.147). The only clear point in Kendall's account is his insistence that Māori believed in a supreme being, and that the human body and its components were symbolic of this being (Binney, 1967). There is definitely value in investigating Māori notions about the parts of the body and their implications relating to gesture. For example, Best (1899, p.295; 1924, p.312), describes the *puku* (stomach) and *ate* (liver) as the seat of emotions. However a full investigation into Māori kinesic symbolism is beyond the scope of this study.

For Jackson, colour was another area that could help reveal the lost meaning of symbolism in *pare*. Lacking exegetical (informant) data he looked to the larger macrocosm of Māori society. From here, meaning could then be transposed back to the *pare* form. Jackson's analysis was limited to the colour red, as he believed this to be the most significant colour in customary Māori art and society. Taylor (1855), and more recently, Jahnke (2006,) have both highlighted the cultural significance of red within Māori society. According to Jackson, when red was applied to objects, such as carvings, those objects were then considered *tapu* (sacred). In addition to this, he claimed that the colour red was invariably

linked to notions about birth, life, death, social ambiguity and even menstruation. In each of the processes of birth, and menstruation, blood is a natural by-product. Consequently, Jackson transposed notions pertaining to these processes to the meaning of the colour red as it appeared on *pare*. The significance attached to *pare* as a marker connoting both physical and metaphorical threshold, is also important. Jackson (1972) asserted that the act of crossing the threshold has connotations with pregnancy, and the act of being born. This has resonance with Jahnke's (2006, p.84) discussion of *pae kura*, and the analogy of *paepae* as being a womb, and place of entry or exit. More importantly though, the doorway of *whare* symbolically represent the entrance into the body of the ancestor, and as such, may be associated with the menstruation and of birth. As Jackson wrote:

> …the act of entering a house was a secondary sort of *rite de passage* which frequently involved a change of social position, as it were, for the person who crawled through the narrow doorway beneath the lintel into the body of the house. The act of entering the *whare puni* was an act pregnant with significance on many occasions and this can be indicated in part by remembering that the word which designated extended family group - *whanau* - also meant pregnant (Jackson, 1972, p.50).

Jackson, also referenced Maning (1930, p.120) who claimed that red was the colour used for *tangihanga* (funeral). While neither of these researchers elucidated on why red was associated with *tangihanga*, Higgins and Rawinia (2012) have pointed out that *kōkōwai* (red ochre) was often smeared onto the body of a deceased ancestor during *tangihanga* procession. Discussing the symbolic duality of red in Māori culture, Jackson wrote, "The symbol of death and birth is red and relates to the ambiguous position a person occupies *en passage* between the social world outside the house and the social world within the house" (1972, p.50). The significance of red, within the broader aims of this thesis, suggests that it should be considered as a critical element within the visual language of Māori design.

Sexually explicit imagery, once prolific in Māori art, rapidly declined as a result of missionary censorship. As Jahnke (2006, p.84) has written, "…the arrival of missionaries and their location throughout New Zealand by the middle of the nineteenth century heralded an unprecedented suppression of sexually explicit images with *pare* (door lintel) succumbing to the missionaries' puritanical drive". The ingenious response by some Māori to this was to make carved figures sexually ambiguous, or use other elements such as *manaia* head or hands as alternatives. Jackson claimed that the full figures on *pare* were generally female (1972) with some rare instances where male genitalia apparent. However, a number of central *tiki* in Simmons' *pare* research are male with large *ure* (2001, p.51, p.63, p.65, p.79, p.91). Jahnke (2006, p.83) has pointed out that prior to the nineteenth century

both male and female figures featured on *wharepuni* (chiefs houses) and *whare whakairo*. Notably, many nineteenth century *pātaka*, including Te Oha (Auckland Museum, Ethnology no: 152), Te Puawai o Te Arawa (Auckland Museum) and Pukehina (Canterbury Museum), also feature male figures directly above the *kūwaha pātaka* (the doorway on the *pātaka* store-house) with prominent *ure* (penis). Additionally, there are also numerous *pare* where sex is ambiguously rendered as *tiki*, or *tiki* masks (see Simmons, 2001; p.43, p.47, p.55, p.77, p.89, p.97, p.101, p.109). While Jackson overstated the use of females as the central figure in *pare*, Jahnke suggests that the significance of the female element in *pare* is better understood when one looks at the sex of *manaia*. In his analysis (2006, p.113) of over 200 hundred *pare*, Jahnke found only one instance where the *manaia* was male. This, he suggested is evidence of the important spiritual role woman play in Māori society (Jahnke, 2006, p.113).

In terms of the symbolic meaning of *tara* (vagina), Jackson supported Best's claim that in Māori culture the vagina had destructive, negative power, while the *ure* (penis) was associated with protection. The notion of destructive power was supported by cosmo-genealogical narrative about how 'death' was brought to humankind by the female goddess Hine-nui-te-pō. Jackson claimed that within Māori culture, women were considered to be *noa* (without *tapu*), and were capable of removing *tapu* from both objects and people. However, in Jahnke's (2006) counter-narrative he argued that historically European writers have over-emphasised the destructive meaning associated with the vagina and the promotion of females as inferior. Discussing the generative as opposed to degenerative symbolism associated with the vagina, Jahnke writes:

> …the generative metaphor was equally potent. In the *Lore of the Wharewananga* the prevalence of *paepae* metaphors in ritual incantations associated with the successful coition and conception of a primary male and female entity was significant for the genealogical continuity of humankind…Humankind ceases to exist without the female generative essence (Jahnke, 2006, p.247).

Jackson (1972) did note the duality of meaning associated with women, adding that while women bring life into the world, they are also related to death through the narrative of Hine-nui-te-pō. Furthermore, his (1972, p.52) contention that the female aspect unifies the distinction between male and female elements resonates with Jahnke's notion of the generative female essence.

## Conclusion

Bucking tradition, Jackson argued that the meaning of symbolism in Māori art was not lost. He tackled this problem using a structuralist and gestalt informed approach, whereby *pare* were contextualised in a number of ways; (a) in relation to other Māori carvings (b), in relation to Māori architectural developments (c), within the context of the *whare whakairo* (carved house) and (d), within the broader context of Māori society, Māori cultural practices and historical changes in Aotearoa New Zealand. Following this contextualisation, the meaning of *pare* could be explicated by transposing meaning from these differing contexts on to *pare*. This method proved effective for a number of reasons: historical contextualisation linked design changes to sexual imagery in *pare* with the proliferation of Christianity while architectural contextualisation established formal design relationships between *pare* and other structures. In turn, by exploring the meaning of other structures and carvings, he was then are able to theorise meaning in *pare*.

In terms of the goals of this thesis, Jackson's research is significant. Firstly, he provided the first attempt to generate a Māori design language. His principles of *pare* composition demonstrate that there is an underlying visual language within Māori carving that is not wholly tied to the use of Māori iconography. Secondly, his discussion about kinesic (gestural), chromatic (colour) and sexual symbolism in *pare* was insightful. His research demonstrated that an investigation into all three of these areas has the potential to reveal meaning, not just about *pare*, but about the imagery within the broader gamut of Māori carving. Another prominent feature of Jackson's analysis was the use of Levi-Strauss' proposition, that myth and art, at their core, are attempts to resolve contradictions and tensions from the social world. Importantly, these contradictions were resolved in carving through the use of a trinary, rather than a binary system, where the third-term is that which resolves the opposing first two.

Despite the value of his research, one point of contention is the absence of a Māori voice or Māori expertise within his research. Since the general consensus among researchers up until this time was that exegetical data (native informant) on carving had been lost, the exclusion of a Māori voice in Jackson's research is conveniently avoided. Today, however such a broad account for Māori carving without Māori input would be inconceivable. His reliance on Kendall as a source also brings his research into question because Kendall's construction of Māori culture was dramatically influenced by his own euro-centric philosophies and religious ideologies (Binney, 1967). Within this research, this problem is resolved through the use and privileging of Māori expert opinion at all stages. In addition, the research is informed by *mātauranga Māori*, an understanding of important Māori narratives and *tikanga* Māori.

## David Simmons (2001) The Carved *Pare*: A Mirror of the Māori Universe

David Simmons (2001) *The Carved Pare: A Mirror of the Māori Universe* was the first book to be published solely on the topic of *pare*. Simmons, an ethnologist and writer, has been a prolific publisher of works on Māori art. His most notable of these are *The Great New Zealand Myth: A Study of the Discovery and Origin Traditions of the Māori* (1976), *Whakairo: Māori Tribal Art* (1985) and *Ta moko: the art of Māori tattoo* (1997). During the 1960s he played a critical role in debunking the 'Great fleet' hypothesis concerning the migration of Māori to New Zealand. While regarded as an expert by some, much of Simmons' work pertaining to Māori art has been criticised (see Binney, 1986; Gathercole, 1987, Kaeppler, 1987, Kernot, 1988) for its lack of theoretical and practical rigour, ambiguity concerning authorship, factual errors, and for an over-dependence on writings of the missionary Thomas Kendall. Nevertheless, his study of *pare* is given full attention.

Simmons' ideas on *pare*, particularly those concerned with single-figure configurations, were shaped predominantly by the research of Jackson (1972). Accordingly, Simmons claimed that single-figure *pare* are characterised by the following: a central *tiki* flanked by *manaia*, bi-lateral symmetry across the larger structure, and the use of split representation. In addition to this Simmons also supported two of Jackson's principles of *pare* composition; the principle of *alternating rhythm* (based on the use of *takarangi* spirals) and the principle of *fission and fusion* (where elements appear to continuously break apart and reform). Critically, Simmons also suggested that the shape of *pare* was dictated by the physical space above the door (2001, p.17). This aligns with the notion that in Māori art, form is subservient to architectural structure, an idea that Archey introduced much earlier through his examination of carved *epa* and the transformation that the apex figures go through.

This section begins with an exploration of two key sources within Simmons' research; the missionary Thomas Kendall, and Te Riria and the Ahupiri Council of Elders. As noted above, the validity of Simmons' research has come under fire because of questions over authenticity as well the role of Christianity. Recently, in a note on Simmons' research, social anthropologist Amiria Salmond (2001) wrote, "David Simmons' views on the provenance and dating of Māori artefacts are now considered unreliable in New Zealand".

A discussion of Simmons' major and minor design themes in pare design forms the second part of the investigation to provide an insight into his interpretations of symbolism in *pare*. Lastly, Simmons' system of *pare* classification is addressed. Building on the research of Jackson (1972), Simmons organised *pare* according to human-figure composition into three general categories: single-figure, two-

figure and three figure compositions. However, he made a number of notable amendments. These included extending Jackson's single-figure scheme by introducing four new sub-categories, and removing Jackson's examples of Taranaki carvings because these have been subsequently reclassified as *paepae pātaka* and not *pare*. Simmons also excluded the Kaitaia lintel from consideration as *pare*. This exclusion was probably due to the current view that the Kaitaia lintel is not a *pare*.

## Questionable Sources: Christianity, Te Riria and The Ahupiri Council of Elders

Many of Simmons' ideas about symbolism in Māori art were borrowed from the writings of the missionary Thomas Kendall. For some researchers this is problematic because Kendall often transposed ideas from Christianity onto Māori culture (Binney, 1986). As Gathercole has written, "Kendall's interpretation of Māori religion and carving was profoundly influenced by his own theological training" (1989, p.190). Another key authority for Simmons on Māori art was *Te Riria and the Ahupiri Council of Elders*. However, this source is also questionable. In his review of Simmons', *Whakairo: Māori Tribal Art,* Gathercole wrote:

> We are not told who these men are, nor their qualifications. When this book was published, one Māori trust board attempted to get it withdrawn because of alleged incorrect statements concerning its own carvings and certain tangi practices. It is remarkable that Simmons should place such confidence in his authorities and yet be so coy about their credentials (Gathercole, 1989, p.190).

Despite Simmons' questionable authorities and reliance on Kendall, his ideas about symbolism in Māori carving remain valuable. While the influence of Christianity on Māori carving is not as prevalent as Simmons suggests, its wide-spread effect can be seen as early as the mid-nineteenth century. Evidence of this is found in changes to design conventions, such as the number of *haehae* lines used in the *rauponga* pattern (Jahnke, 2006, p.153). Prior to European contact, design conventions for *haehae* ranged between one and five parallel lines. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards Jahnke (2006) noted that the preference for three lines appeared in the application of *haehae*. There are exceptions like double *haehae* favoured by some carvers of the Iwirākau style of Ngāti Porou (Jahnke 2006). This change in design preference resonates with Kendall's, and subsequently Simmons' insistence on the importance of the number three in Māori carving. However, the significance of three elements in the writings of Kendall correlates with Christian theology and ideas about the trinity. Kendall's discussion about the Māori 'three states of existence', given below, further exemplifies his juxtaposing of Christian ideas with Māori ones.

1. The first state as it respects the Supreme Being is a State of Union. It denotes the union of the Deity under the name of the *First* and *Last* or the Union of the Eternal *Word* of *Wisdom*, and of the Eternal *World of Life*. Wisdom being ascribed to the First, and Life to the last. And the Idea of the *First* and *Last* is to be taken from *signs* as they are pointed out or described upon the carved images of the Nativity and upon the human Body: being the *thumb* and *little finger* on each hand, and the *great* and *little toe* on each foot. The word *Koro-matua*, denoting the thumb, or great toe or First; and the word *Koro-iti* denoting the little finger, or little toe, or Last. And *Koro Matua* literally signifies *Pare*nt Word, and *Koro iti*, literally signifies little word, or word of the Son. (MS 71/66 Hocken Library) (Kendall quoted in Simmons, 2001, p.24).

In Kendall's preceding statement on Māori philosophy the use of Christian terms such as 'Supreme Being', 'Eternal World of Life', 'Nativity' and 'Word of the son' demonstrate his transposing of Christian notions onto Māori ones. Nevertheless, Simmons seems indifferent to this. While he does not make specific reference to Christianity, his research is implicitly connected with it through his use of Kendall's information about Māori symbolism. Jahnke (per comms, 2012), however, suggests that what attracted Simmons to Kendall was that Kendall's three states of existence aligned favourably with the Māori tripartite system of evolution through *Te Kore*, *Te Pō* and *Te Ao Mārama*. Hence his attempt to translate *pare* according to these three states.

## Major and minor themes in *pare* design

According to Simmons, three key themes can be found across *pare*: *Te Kore* (first state), *Te Pō* (second state) and *Te Ao Mārama* (third state). While advancing the idea that the number three was significant in Māori carving, Simmon's also asserted that all pare are grounded in *whakapapa*. Elaborating on the specifics of these three states, Simmons wrote:

1. *Te Kore*: "the first state is that of primal elemental energy of potential being (Marsden, 1985). It is a realm of unity because all three states are contained in it" (p.28).

2. *Te Po*: "…realm of the becoming, into which the primal energy passes by way of the divided by way of the waters of the wairua (literally two waters) (Marsden 1985:161). It is a state of duality because Rangi and Papa are [sic] created matua kore (without *pare*nts) in *Te Kore*, then copulate to produce gods [sic] (p.29).

3. *Te Ao Mārama*: "It is this world, the dwelling place of humanity, this place of existence…*Te Ao Mārama*, this world of light, also takes the theme of the separation of Rangi and Papa, which is illustrated with the three figures" (p.30).

These major themes, while representing states of being (potential, becoming, became), also represent inter-connected metaphysical planes; *Te Kore* ('the void' or nothingness), *Te Po* ('the night' or the

world of darkness), *Te Ao Mārama* (the day or the world of light), and a Māori narrative about the creation of the universe. They play a particularly important role in Simmons interpretation of meaning, because as a first step he identifies which metaphysical (*Te Kore*, *Te Pō*, *Te Ao Mārama*) state or planes that the *tiki* or *manaia* occupy. Within his pare analysis he does this through an analysis of gesture (particularly the arrangement of hands), sex, and pattern. Often, Simmons identifies *tiki* and *manaia* as being in states of transition, shifting between *Te Kore*, *Te Pō*, and *Te Ao Mārama*.

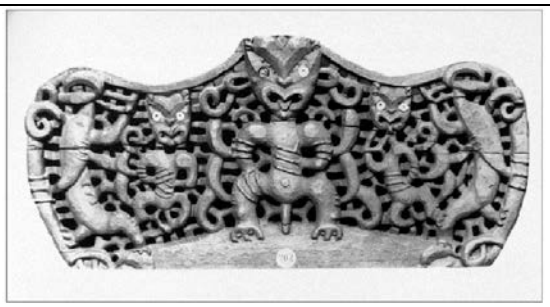
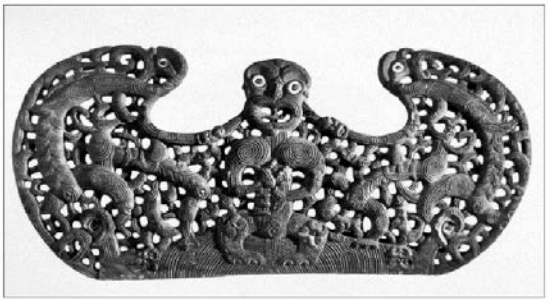
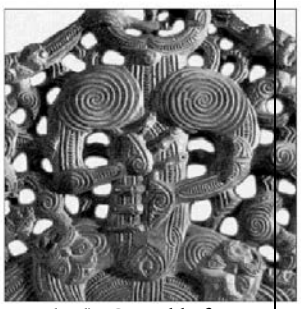
Another major theme espoused by Simmons is that *pare* symbolically connote Māori notions about life and death. This idea comes from the relationship that *pare* share with *kūwaha pātaka*. To pass through the *kūwaha pātaka* is to conceptually enter a state of 'death' and the realm of *Te Tatau o Te Po* (the gateway to the otherworld), guarded by Whiro Te Tipua and Miru (gods of death) (Simmons, 2001). This also highlights the importance of the carvings directly above the entrance way on both *pātaka* and *whare whakairo*. For both Simmons (2001) and Jackson (1972) *pare* mark the stage at which one changes state by entering or exiting the *whare tīpuna* (body of the ancestor).

*Mythology* and *genealogy* are the other major themes related to *pare* design introduced by Simmons. For Simmons *pare* always contained a cosmo-genealogical base that demonstrated a connection to *atua* (deity). This was achieved through direct representation of *atua* or through the representation of *ariki* (paramount chief, aristocrat, or first-born in a high ranking family) who have a direct lineage to *atua*. Genealogies of humans (usually chiefs), while not directly portrayed, would exist as a sub-layer of mythological themes. However, in many *pare* there appears to be no direct references to human *whakapapa*. What was most critical from Simmons' perspective is the mythological base, or *whakapapa* that connects *tangata* to *atua* and the associated narratives.

Moving beyond the major themes, Simmons also described a number of minor themes in *pare* design. These themes are found in the gestures of *tiki*, and in particular, the placement of hands and the tongue. Simmons (2001, p.31-33) list of minor design themes are presented below. A number of *pare* (Table 1, Table 2) from his analysis have been provided alongside these themes to elucidate his discussion of symbolism.

Table 1. Simmons' minor themes in *pare*

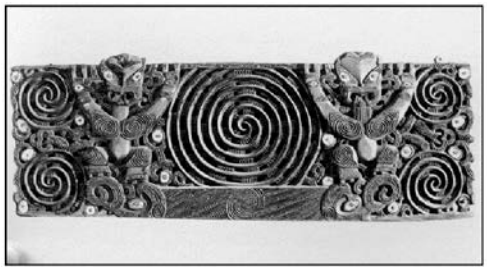
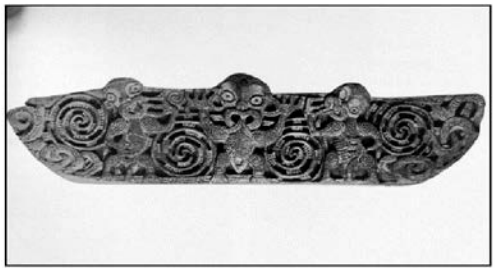
| **Minor theme description** | ***Pare* example with detail** |
|---|---|
| *Tapu* unresolved before creation: fingers together. On *pātaka*, as in the Kendall drawing, this is shown by three middle fingers being left out or touching. |   *Pare* from unknown *whare*. Gifted to the Auckland Museum (9758) in 1923 by Mr John Kenderdine. |
| The *io* (first twitch of life): top fingers separated. |   *Pare* from unknown *whare*. Presented to The British Museum in by Sir George Grey in 1854. (Oc.1854, 1229.89). |
| Conception: right hand to vulva or penis, left hand on stomach, or with the hands on the stomach, one hand to sex the other on the chest making the sign of the Koroiti. This may also be shown by placing of fingers of one hand in the mouth; |   *Pare* from unknown *whare*. Currently held within Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City (76-57) and incorrectly categorised as African.   *Pare* from Wharewhiti, Whanganui (Whanganui Museum, 1805-35-1). |

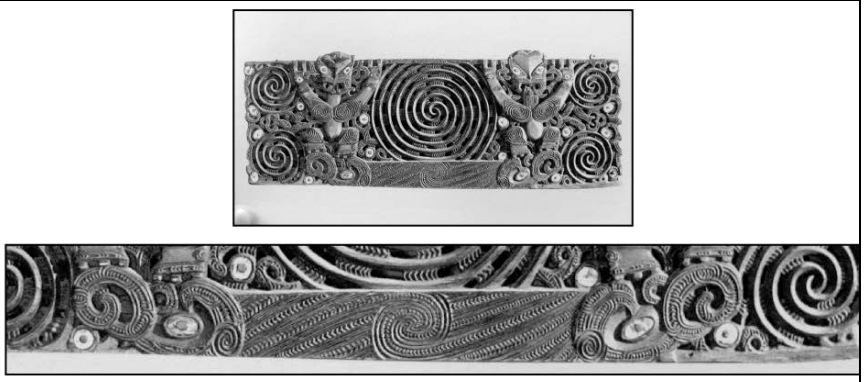
| | |
|---|---|
| Pregnancy: right hand on thigh and left hand on chest and also as two hands on the body, right to breast and left to stomach; |   *Pare* from unknown *whare*. Held within the Auckland Museum (202).   *Pare* from unknown *whare*. The Liverpool Museum (Merryside, RI 26.16). Carved before 1894. |
| Labour: left hand on thigh, right hand on chest |   *Pare* (Newman *pare*) from unknown *whare*. Whanganui Museum (51773). |

Simmons' interpretation of gestural symbolism in the first two minor themes of *tapu* and *io*, are related to Kendall's ambiguous description of the different states and how they relate to fingers of the hand. However, Simmons does not transpose Kendall's idea of 'the first and last' or 'wisdom and life' onto the gestures. Instead, he ascribes them new meanings, which appear to be arbitrary. This is not to say that the small change in position of fingers on central *tiki* is not important. For a number of *pare*, the only noticeable change in composition is the placement of fingers (see plates 3,4,5,7,8,9,10,13 of Simmons' analysis). The key problem, one that plagues Simmons' ascription of themes to gestures, is that gesture is not considered in relation to the *pare* as a whole. For example, the aforementioned *pare* displaying the theme of *tapu* or *io* do not all share the same sex, style of *tiki* or pattern, type of tongue (single, split, no tongue) or tongue arrangement (inside the mouth, outside the mouth). These design variables are not considered as pertinent to Simmons' themes of *tapu* and *io* thereby making his interpretations questionable.

Simmons elaborated on a number of other ideas. These are summarised below. As with the first set of minor themes, visual examples of *pare* are aligned with Simmons' concepts. The additional themes in Table 2 include: parenthood, gods of *Te Pō*, human genealogies, life and death, and the Papa and Rangi narrative.

Table 2. Simmons additional themes in *pare*

| Theme description | Theme examples |
|---|---|
| *Pare*nthood: central *tiki* has two hands on the chest. |   *Pare* from unknown *whare*. Photograph held within Horniman Museum, London (8.363). |
| The gods of Te Po: hands rendered as *manaia* towards the *tiki* head; their proper food is themselves. |   *Pare* from unknown *whare*. According to Simmons held in Auckland Museum (3) |
| Human genealogies: central figure is Hine Te Aparangi, is deified, her hands are *manaia*. Her two husbands have ordinary hands; they are men. |   *Pare* from unknown *whare*. Held in Museum für Völkerkunde, (NS 10563) Frankfurt-am |
| *Life and Death*: see the use of flanking *manaia* (Simmons, 2001, p.32). Also seen in "the gradual changing, coming together and development of interstitial figures, and in their culmination – as in the two small *manaia* between the central figure and the flanking *manaia*" (2001, p.32). |   *Pare* from unknown *whare*. Held within the Auckland Museum (Ethnology number 202). |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ranginui and Papatūānuku separation narrative – older lintel curved solid base. The base represents Papatūānuku. |  *Pare* detail. Unknown *whare*. Photograph from Horniman Museum, London (8.363). |
| Ranginui and Papatūānuku separation narrative: newer lintel, thin rectilinear base. The base represents Papatūānuku. |  *Pare* detail. Unknown *whare*. According to Simmons held in Auckland Museum (3) |

Simmons' final theme was 'the coming of light and knowledge into the world', which he claimed is "illustrated by the progression from no spirals to *takarangi* spirals" (Simmons, 2001, p.32). Simmons attempted to link this idea with his history of *pare* development, stating that the oldest lintels have no spirals, those in between - such as Taranaki *paepae* - have the beginnings of 'cusp' patterns, while *pare* developed more recently feature *takarangi* spirals between the central figures and *manaia*. These later *pare* featuring *takarangi* were also seen to contain the theme of the Rangi and Papa (Simmons, 2001).

### Simmons' categorisation of *pare* types:

Simmons' system of *pare* categorisation builds upon those established by Archey (1960) and Jackson (1972), where *pare* were organised according to the number of larger *tiki*. However, Simmons made significant additions to these categories by including a number of *pare* within his scheme that Jackson and Archey probably would have excluded. A notable difference between Simmons' and Jackson's categorisation of *pare* is that Simmons included single-figure *pare* where a stylised head replaces the central *tiki*.

Simmons' *pare* scheme is presented here, along with tonal variations to help clarify Simmons' ideas. The choice of *pare* examples to match Simmons' schema is conjectural. This is because while many *pare* appear to be similar there are often subtle but important differences in pattern, gesture, gender, or

configuration in *pare* that comprise similar figurative components. For example, category 1.2 of Simmons' single-figure scheme is described as "One figure, with a pair of extra *manaia* between the central figure and flanking *manaia*". However, in *pare* of this type the interstitial *manaia* might face inwards with their mouths to the central *tiki* as in figure 34, or outwards with their mouths to the backs of the terminal *manaia* as in figure 35.

Figure 34. *Pare* with interstitial *manaia* facing inwards, mouths to shoulders of central *tiki* (author's illustration).

Figure 35. *Pare* with interstitial *manaia* outwards, mouths to shoulders of central *tiki* (author's illustration).

These changes in direction, as well as differences in how interstitial *manaia* overlap with other interstitial elements, are significant. The arrangement of *tiki* and interstitial *manaia* in figure 34 is a design convention common to both *paepae pātaka* and *pare*. This possibly demonstrates the transposition of design conventions from the *pātaka* onto the *whare whakairo*. Alternatively, it also alludes to the transposition of design elements from *rauawa waka* to *paepae pātaka*. What is needed is a more extensive investigation of the categories of *pare* developed by Archey (1960), Jackson (1972) and Simmons (2001).

### Simmons' single-figure *pare* scheme

Simmons extended Jackson's single figure scheme by including four new sub-categories, and by removing the Kaitaia lintel. A key difference is 1.3, where Simmons acknowledges *pare* featuring

smaller human figures, rather than *takarangi* or *manaia*, in the interstitial space between central figure and terminal *manaia*. 1.4 of his scheme also acknowledges that some interstitial figures project beyond the outer frame of *pare*, and that these *pare* tend to have a unique background pattern similar to *matakupenga*. His single figure scheme is presented in table 1.

Table 3. Simmons' single figure scheme

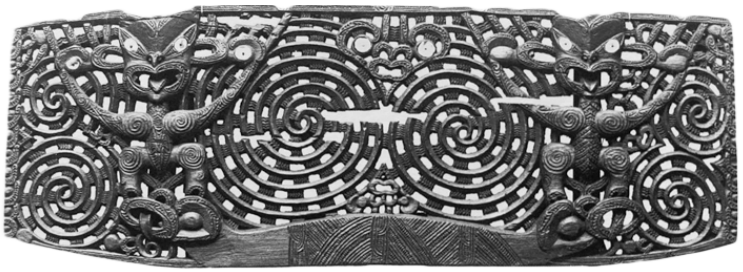
| ***Pare*** **description** | ***Pare*** **examples from Simmons' study** |
|---|---|
| **1.1**<br>One central figure with *manaia* on [sic] either-side and broken designs between. |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. British Museum (Oc1895C3.352), 1870s. |
| **1.2**<br>One figure, with a pair of extra *manaia* between the central figure and flanking *manaia*. |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City (76-57). |
| **1.3**<br>One figure with smaller figures between it and the flanking *manaia*, but contained in the border. |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Photograph in Horniman Museum, London (8.363). |
| **1.4**<br>One figure with smaller figures between it and the flanking *manaia*, smaller figures which emerge over the border. Cusp-like patterns fill in the background. |  <br>*Pare* from Patetonga, Hauraki. Auckland Museum (ethnology number 6189). |
| **1.5** | |

| | |
|---|---|
| One head with flanking *manaia* heads. |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. British Museum ( Registration number: Oc.1639) |
| **1.6**<br>Central figure with a *spiral* on either side and abstract flanking *manaia* |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Photo from Archey (Simmons, 2001, p.131). |

## Simmons' two-figure *pare* scheme

Simmons two-figure *pare* scheme aligns very closely with Jackson's, except Simmons explored two significant design elements ignored in Jackson's study: the use of *manaia*-heads as hands on figures, and the use of a central base with small *manaia* heads attached to either end. In two-figure *pare* the central *tiki* stand upon the base and have one or both feet positioned in relation to the basal *manaia*.

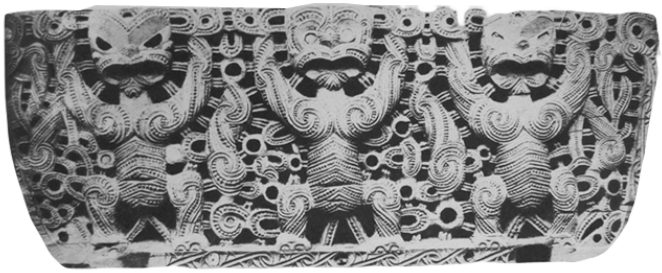
Table 4. Simmons' two-figure scheme

| ***Pare* description** | ***Pare* examples from Simmons' study** |
|---|---|
| **2.1**<br>Two figures with hands as *manaia*, arms upraised, feet on a base with *manaia* heads at either end, a large spiral between the two figures, two small spirals at each end with a head between the small heads at the upper and lower corners. |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. According to Simmons held in Auckland Museum (3) |
| **2.1**<br>Two figures with hands as *manaia*, arms upraised, feet on a base with *manaia* at either end, two spirals between the figures and two small spirals at each end. |  <br>*Pare* unknown *whare*. Photograph in Simmons (2001, p.153). |

## Simmons' three-figure *pare* scheme

In Simmons' three-figure *pare* scheme (Table 5) he separated *pare* into two distinct categories; (a) those featuring spirals and (b), those with *matakupenga* or patterns where the spirals would otherwise feature. Importantly, Simmons also considered the varied position of arms in this scheme. While a number of *Taranaki carvings* appear in Jackson's (1972) *pare* analysis, these are absent from Simmons' scheme. This is due to Simmons' assertion that the Taranaki *pare* in Jackson's analysis are *paepae pātaka*.

Table 5. Simmons' three-figure *pare* scheme

| *Pare* description | *Pare* examples from Simmons' study |
|---|---|
| 3.1<br>Three figures with hands as *manaia*, arms upraised, standing on the base with *manaia* heads, separated by spirals with two spirals at each end. |  <br>*Pare* unknown *whare*. Pomare family trust (Simmons, 2001, p.167). |
| 3.2<br>Three figures with arms in various positions, separated by spirals with a lower flanking *manaia* and an upper small spiral at each end. |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Held in Museum für Völkerkunde, Frankfurt-am NS 10563 |
| 3.3<br>Three figures with arms upraised or in various positions with *manaia*, broken figures or patterns between them (Simmons, 2001, p.15-16). |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Te Papa Museum (ME 8618). Possibly from Rotoiti.<br>  <br>*Pare* from Raurunui-a-toi, Ruatoria (1882). Associated carvers include Hone (Hoane) Taahu. |

## *Pare* anomalies: Important pieces of the puzzle

Many *pare* which appear in Simmons' book do not fit within his *pare* categorisation scheme. Specific examples include single figure *pare* (see pp.53, 73, 89, 93, 95, 125, 127, 137) and three figure *pare* (see pp. 177, 179, 185, 189, 191, 193, 195, 205, 209, 213, 217, and 221). While Simmons commented on these *pare*, he did not mention any of their unique features or the omission of these *pare* from his *pare* schema. One assumption might be that Simmons' scheme broadly covered all *pare* presented in his book. However, there are a number of anomalies that deviate from his taxonomy to such an extent that they warrant consideration as independent *pare* categories. In the discussion below, some of these anomalies are introduced and discussed. The *pare* have been organised into two main groups, single-figure anomalies and three-figure anomalies. While Simmons made notable and much needed expansions to the categorisation of *pare*, this analysis demonstrates the need to expand Simmon's categories further.

*Pare* anomalies 1.1a, 1.1b and 1.1c are similar to Simmons' single figure scheme 1.5; however, a major difference in these examples is that the central *tiki* is full figure. Importantly, a finer distinction has also been made about the direction of the terminal *manaia* (up-turned, and inward facing or outward facing), and the elements within the interstitial space (*takarangi*, *tiki* or *manaia*).

Table 6. Single figure anomalies from Simmons' study

| Anomaly description | *Pare* example from Simmons 2001 study |
|---|---|
| **1.1a**<br>Single figure, with up-turned inward facing terminal *manaia* and interstitial *takarangi*. |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Photo from British Musem (Simmons, 2001, p.127). |
| **1.1b**<br>Single figure, with up-turned inward facing terminal *manaia* and interstitial *manaia* and *tiki*. |  <br>*Pare* from Te Hauke, Hawkes Bay. Photo from Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Simmons, 2001, p.89). |
| **1.1c**<br>Single figure, with up-turned outward facing terminal *manaia*. | |

| | |
|---|---|
| |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Private Collection, England (Simmons, 2001, p.137). |

The distinctive feature in all *pare* within table 6 is the upturned terminal *manaia* heads. Here, we see a relationship between the terminal *manaia* of the *pare* and the terminal carvings found on *maihi pātaka* (Te Tairuku Potaka *pātaka*, Te Oha *pātaka*). *Pare* anomaly 1.2 is unique in that the background contains both spiral design (*takarangi*) and interstitial *manaia*. This design convention bridges the gap between the two dominant background features in Simmons *pare* scheme. Jahnke (in correspondence, 2010) has added that *pare* anomaly 1.2 also share design conventions with *tauihu* (prow figurehead), probably denoting a relationship between these different objects.

Table 7. Single figure anomalies continued.

| **Anomaly continued** | ***Pare* example from Simmons 2001 study** |
|---|---|
| **1.2**<br>One central figure with *manaia* either side and broken designs & spiral designs between. |  <br>*Pare*. Cambridge Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology (E 1905.193). |
| **1.3**<br><br>One figure with smaller figures (*manaia*) between it and the flanking *manaia*, but contained in the border. |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Hastings Museum and Art Gallery, England. (Simmons, 2001, p.95). |
| **1.4**<br>One figure, with a pair of extra *manaia* between the central figure and flanking *manaia*, flanking *manaia* large head facing inward. |  <br>*Pare*, unknown *whare*, British Museum. |

| | |
|---|---|
| **1.5**<br>Central figure with a spiral on either side and no flanking *manaia* |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Found in swamp South Kaipara. Gifted to the Auckland Museum in 1971 Daniel Quigley (Ethnology number: 45048). |

In the Ngāti Tarawhai style *pare*, anomaly 1.3, smaller interstitial *tiki* are replaced by *manaia*. Four examples of this *pare* type can be found in Neich's (2001) *Carved Histories* (p.276). Another important aspect of this *pare* is the naturalistically carved face of the central *tiki*. This is similar to rendering of the head on *poumua* (front pillar) and *poutokomanawa* (central pillar). This design trait is associated with Te Arawa carving during the twentieth century.

The most distinct feature of *pare* anomaly 1.4 is the *manaia* figures at each end, which face inward rather than outward. Also, the terminal *manaia* have an arm extending towards the centre of the *pare*. This inward direction of *manaia* possibly denotes a relationship to *paepae pātaka*, as it is common for *manaia* to face inwards on *paepae* carvings. *Pare* anomaly 1.5 features unique multi-toothed terminal *manaia*. The terminal designs closely resemble the fingers of the central *tiki*, and in a broader context, the *raparapa* (fingers) element of *whare whakairo*. Like Taranaki *paepae pātaka* the whorls of spiral are carved with surface pattern.

Table 8. Three-figure *pare* anomalies

| **Anomaly description** | ***Pare* example from Simmons 2001 study** |
|---|---|
| **2.1**<br>Three figures with hands as *manaia*, arms upraised, standing on the base with *manaia* heads, separated by two or three spirals with two spirals at each end. |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Currently in Luigi Pigorini National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography (no.377).<br>  <br>*Pare* originally carved for Mataatua (circa 1875). Associated carvers include Apanui Hamaiwaho and Wepiha Apanui. |

| | |
|---|---|
| **2.2**<br>Three figures with arms in various positions, separated by spirals with *manaia* heads (facing inwards) at each end. |  <br>*Pare* from Te Poho-o-Materoa. (Circa 1880s). Associated carvers include Riwai Pakerau and Hone (Hoane) Taahu. |
| **2.3**<br>Three figures with arms in various positions, separated by spirals with *manaia* heads (facing upwards) at each end. |  <br>*Pare* from unknown *whare*. Te Papa Museum, New Zealand (ME 3147) |
| **2.4**<br>Three figures with arms linking, separated by *manaia* with half figures as *manaia* at each end. |  <br>*Pare* from Te Hine o Paoa (circa mid-nineteenth century). |

In *pare* anomaly 2.1 the figures have either two or three spirals between the large *tiki*. While in *pare* anomalies 2.2 and 2.3 the arms of the *tiki* are not in the usual upraised positions for this type of pare. *Pare* anomalies 2.2 and 2.3 also feature terminal *manaia* heads. The use of three full-figure *tiki* and two terminal *manaia* is a design convention found in some Taranaki *paepae pātaka*.

*Pare* anomaly 2.4 features two highly unique features. In order to clarify some of these features, linear illustrations of *pare* anomaly 2.4 (see figures 36 and 37) have been created for clarity. The first characteristic is the unusual terminal figures that appear to be derived from the central *tiki*.

Figure 36: *Pare* anomaly 2.4 with abstraction (author's illustration).

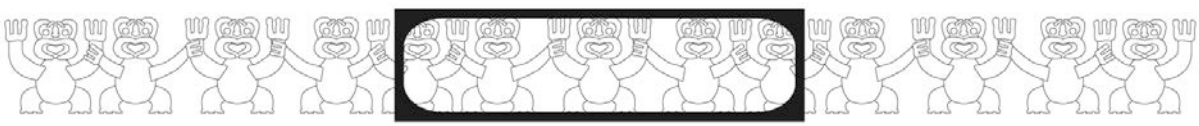


Figure 37. *Pare* anomaly 2.4 - terminal figures in continuum (author's illustration).

Here, the end figures may be perceived in number of different ways: (a), as a single-figure bi-laterally split (b), as whole figures with the outer portions of the bodies existing beyond the frame, or (c), as a

potentially endless chain of figures or a continuum of figures (figure 37). The other distinctive features of *pare* anomaly 2.4 are the interstitial *manaia* heads either side of the central *tiki*, and the *manaia* heads and small tiki in the lower spaces between the central figures.

Table 9: Three-figure pare anomalies continued

| Anomaly description | Example from Simmons |
|---|---|
| 2.5<br>Three figures with arms in various positions. They are separated by spirals and mixed patterning; *manaia* are found at each end. |  <br>*Pare* from Pikihoro (formerly at Te Karaka). Carved circa 1888. |
| 2.6<br>Three figures with arms in various positions, separated by two spirals, no terminal *manaia* or spirals. |  <br>*Pare* from Waiherehere, Koroniti Marae, Whanganui (circa 1870). Carved by Utiku Mohuia (later restoration, Hori Pukehika, Te Ture Poutama). |
| 2.7<br>Three-figure *pare* with interstitial *tiki*, carved in full frontal similar to poutāhuhu carvings. |  <br>*Pare* from Poutama, Galatea, Whanganui (circa 1884-88). Associated carvers include Te Ture Poutama, Hori Pukehika, Hawera Rehe, Hawera Rehe, Kopeke. |
| 2.8<br>Three figures with arms in various positions, central figure has naturalistic face, separated by broken designs, no terminal *manaia* or spirals. |  <br>*Pare* from Hinemihi, Clendon Park, Surrey (1880). Associated carvers include Tene Waitere and Wero Taroi, |

*Pare* anomaly 2.5 contains a unique background layer that is composed of *takarangi* and horizontal banding. The *manaia* in this *pare* are also special in that they appear to be human figures shown in profile. In *pare* anomaly 2.6 from the Koroniti *marae* (Whanganui) the lack of either terminal *manaia*

or terminal spirals is unique. The use of almost fully rounded carved figures in this *pare* is a Whanganui design convention found on many *whare* including; Huriwhenua, Tawhitinui and Wharewhiti (Phillipps, 1955, p.89, p.104-105). Two examples of these can be seen in figure 38. Fully carved figures sit abruptly upon the flat background panel with *takarangi* carved in relief. In both the Tawhitinui and Huriwhenua *pare* the basal element is like a horizontal traversal step of equal height (the basal step is removed in the Koroniti *pare*). In the Koroniti *pare* the basal *manaia* have become full-bodied *tiki* sentinels.

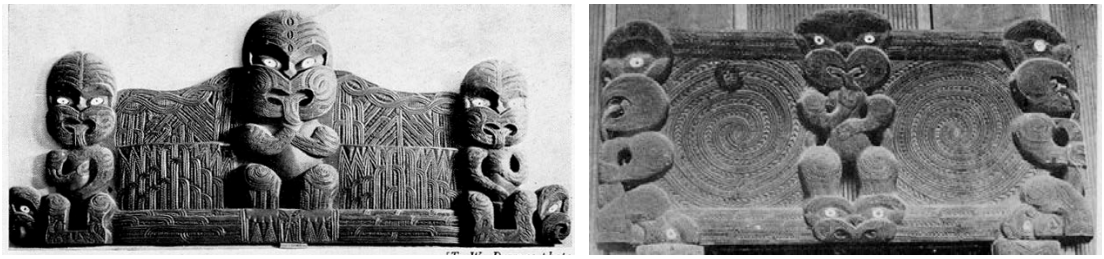


Figure 38. *Pare* from Tawhitinui (carved late 1880s) and Huriwhenua (carved late 1870s)

In the Whanganui style *pare* anomaly 2.7 the *tiki* figures are carved in the round. While the aberrant compositional forms in the Whanganui *pare* have a direct correlation to the time in which they were created (all late nineteenth century), Phillipps (1955) claimed that the rectilinear patterning on the Tawhitinui *pare* exist on much older Whanganui carvings. In addition to this Jahnke (in correspondence, 2011) suggests that the non-conventional design in Whanganui pare might relate to innovative development or production outside the parameters of tribal convention.

Pare anomaly 2.8, carved by Wero Taroi for the whare Hinemihi (1880-81), is one of the most distinct anomalies in Simmons' study. The pare features elements that are associated closely with both single-figure (central tiki figure and outer *manaia*) and three-figure *pare* (three figures in relative scale, two with upraised hands rendered as *manaia* heads). A very similar *pare* to this was carved by Te Hareti te Whanarere in 1887 for the *whare* Te Tikanga (Neich, 2001, p.89). As noted earlier, the naturalistic face-mask of the central tiki *pare* is characteristic of Te Arawa carving.

## Figure composition, relief and symbolism in *pare* design

Simmons' ideas about figure composition and relief in *pare* design aligned very closely with those of Jackson. For example, he supported Jackson's notion of split bi-lateral symmetry, the idea that *manaia* in single-figure pare are transposed profiles of the central *tiki*, and also that the transposed profiles go through a process of dismemberment, before assuming *manaia* form. Other ideas from Simmons

analyses that resonate with Jackson's research are that; *pare* composition is symmetrical and is founded upon a key central figure flanked by two others either as *tiki* or *manaia*, *pare* are symbolically connected to Māori concepts about birth, death, creation and dissolution, and *pare* are used to simultaneously expresses the unity and separation.

Simmons' ideas on *pare*, particularly those concerned with single-figure configurations, were shaped predominantly by the research of Jackson (1972). Accordingly, Simmons claimed that single-figure *pare* are characterised by the following: a central *tiki* flanked by *manaia*, bi-lateral symmetry across the larger structure, and the use of split representation. In addition to this Simmons also supported two of Jackson's principles of *pare* composition; the principle of *alternating rhythm* (based on the use of *takarangi* spirals) and the principle of *fission and fusion* (where elements appear to continuously break apart and reform).

Simmons' ideas about relief in *pare* have parallels with Jacksons, such as the idea that *pare* are composed of three distinct levels of relief, and these levels are used to establish the "emergence of complete living forms" from the *pare* background (2001, p.18). However, one key divergence was Simmons' (2001) assertion that in single-figure *pare* with interstitial figures, the interstitial figures usually occupy the highest level of relief. Another point of difference is Simmons' contention that relief layers in two- and three-figure *pare* are invariably different to those in single-figure *pare*:

> The composition of two- and three-figure lintels is different to the single-figure examples. The elements in high relief are the figures with hands upraised, standing on a base with *manaia* at either end. Between the figures and the spirals, and also between the two end spirals, are smaller *manaia* or human heads. The spirals are in lower relief, and the most recessed level is formed by the *manaia* heads between the spirals (Simmons, 2001, p.18).

According to Simmons, in two- and three-figure *pare*, the *manaia* elements between the *takarangi* spirals are on a lower-relief layer than the *takarangi*. Figure 39, shown below, demonstrates this idea through a tonal rendering of key forms within the *pare*.

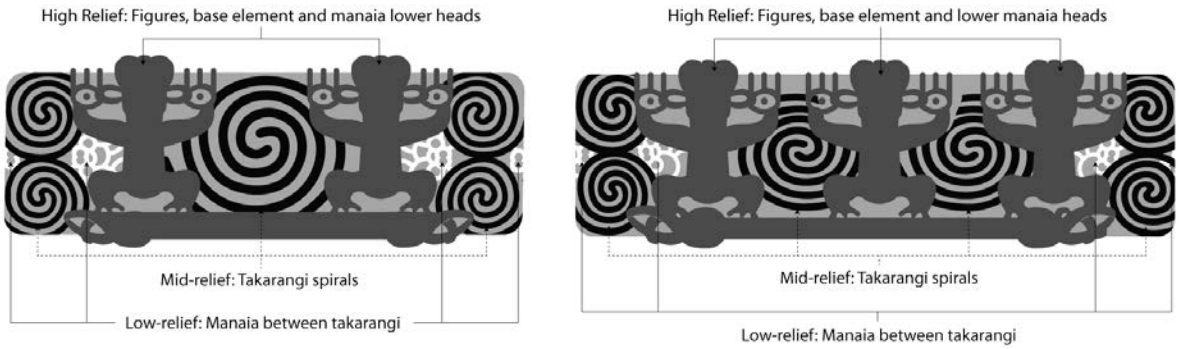



Figure 39. Simmons' levels of relief in two- and three-figure *pare* (author's illustration).

The use of relief between single-figure and two and three-figure *pare* in most cases in usually different. However, the assertion that the small *manaia* in two- and three-figure *pare* are on a lower plane than the *takarangi* is misguided. Numerous examples of *pare* within Simmons analysis (see Simmons, 2001, p.171, p.173, p.181, p.183, p.191, p.203, p.219) show that the smaller *manaia* heads between *takarangi* are often on the same level of relief as the *takarangi* spirals. Furthermore, in many Whanganui-style *pare* there are often only the lowest level of relief appears as a single plane lacking smaller manaia elements. Nevertheless, Simmons' discussion of relief in two and three-figure *pare* leads to some important questions, such as; what is the role of relief in two- and three-figure *pare*? How is this related to, or different from, single-figure *pare*? And, how does this change in relief contribute to the expression of specific tribal narratives?

Gestural symbolism and sexual symbolism were also critical aspects of Simmons interpretation of *pare*. In his discussions about gestural symbolism, Simmons connected Kendall's descriptions with ideas relating to the Māori cosmo-genealogical narratives found within *The Lore of the Whare-Wānanga* text. Although Simmons presented a varied and diverse range of interpretations for gestural symbolism and sexual symbolism, some consistencies were found in his descriptions. Often, the central tiki was interpreted as being states relating to birth. Some of the states and their associated gestures included, pregnancy (left hand on chest hand pointing towards the head; right hand on chest, left on the stomach), labour (both hands on the hips), and giving birth (hands on the hips; right hand on right thigh). Discussing sexual symbolism, Simmon's associated the penis with "the waters of life" (p.64, p.72), and the vagina with deity (p.75, p.176). The interstitial *tiki* and *manaia* elements were generally interpreted as the dual principles of *ira atua* (divine principle) and *ira tangata* (human principle).

## Conclusion

Simmons' *pare* analyses, while interesting, are problematic for a number of reasons. Firstly, he offered either little or no evidence to support his numerous ideas about gesture, symbolism, and meaning or of the provenance carvings. When Simmons descriptions of gesture were compiled in the previous section, the varied interpretations for each gesture indicate that much of his interpretation is self-referential or based on intuition rather than actual research. When Simmons did provide supporting research, the text rarely goes beyond a few sentences. The other major problem with his research was his over reliance on Kendall as a source. As shown throughout the analysis, Kendall's esoteric writings on Māori culture received widespread criticism because they are tinged with elements of Christianity. Despite these shortcomings, though, Simmons research also presents a number of important ideas.

The most important of these was his assertion that mythology and genealogy underpin the design and symbolism found in all *pare*. This makes sense as *whakapapa* and the expression of lineage from *atua* plays a key role in all customary Māori carving. The ascription of mythological content to *pare* also accounts for the appearance of female elements on *tiki* that appear to represent male ancestors or narratives where male ancestors are prominent. Simmons' extensive additions to the categorisation of *pare* types and styles are also commendable. In contrast to the earlier research of Archey and Jackson, Simmons saw the relevance of two-figure *pare* and *pare* featuring double-spirals. His extension of forms also demonstrated his awareness of the importance of details missed by earlier researchers, such as the basal *manaia* elements and the hands rendered as *manaia*. The most important aspect of Simmons approach though was the consistent attempt to interpret Māori symbolism from a Māori epistemological standpoint. This was seen in his attempts to align design form with the Māori notions about time and space, *Te Kore*, *Te Pō* and *Te Ao Mārama*. Simmons understanding of concepts such as *ira atua* (divine principle) and *ira tangata* (human principle) also enabled him to hypothesise about elements in *pare* that were either ignored or misinterpreted by Archey and Jackson.

# Chapter 4

## The Linear Pare Analyses

The goal within this chapter is to articulate the visual language found within customary Māori carving. This serves two purposes. Firstly, it helps give form to what might be described as the Maori elements and principles of design. Secondly, it helps to answer the research question, how can customary Māori carving be used to inform contemporary Māori design practice? The Māori elements and principles of design, explicated in the study of *pare* in this chapter, were used as a model for contemporary Māori design practice and were applied within the practical design component of this research project.

In order to determine the elements and principles of Māori design a number of *pare* researched by Archey, Jackson, and Simmons, using a linear diagrammatical visual analysis, are reviewed to determine the validity of their respective theoretical positions in light of contemporary developments. For example, Archey's thesis on stylistic evolution in *pare* was re-evaluated, while Jackson's ideas on fission and fusion, and relief were also tested in light of new knowledge. At the same time, the new *pare* analyses offers the opportunity to further test and refine the linear diagrammatical method of visual analysis.

The linear diagrammatical analysis method helps to provide clarity in the analysis of carved form by isolating the sectional components of *pare*. Its use and application within this research is informed by *mātauranga* Māori, gestalt theory with its corresponding ideas about visual perception, the elements and principles of design, and design conventions proffered by Paama-Pengelly in her publication, *Māori Art and Design* (2010) in Toi Raro Part 2 of the thesis. A problem with this approach is the Euro-centrism of the language and design terminology used to explain the aesthetics in *pare*. However, there is an attempt to ameliorate this bias by transposing ideas from customary Māori carving into contemporary Māori design practice. Since design is inextricably tied to European thought, the use of design terminology is both relevant and unavoidable. However, the grounding of this study, and each *pare* analysed within a Māori framework goes some way towards counter-balancing the Euro-centric nature of the study.

A secondary concern with the linear diagrammatical analysis method, from a *kaupapa* Māori perspective, is that *pare* are deconstructed, or pulled apart visually. But aesthetic deconstruction is necessary in this instance to discover, or reveal a Māori design vocabulary. As noted earlier, similar methods of analysis have been used by previous researchers into Māori art; Archey (1955, plate 2,

1960; Barrows, 1969, p.53; Mead, 1986, p.173, p.187, p.227-228, p.235; Neich, 2001, p.260). By simplifying and isolating components within a *pare*, linear and tonal isolation of form gives clarity to the system as a whole and helps to clarify the relationships between the design elements. While serving to reveal the grammar and syntax of Māori design, linear, chromatic and tonal isolation of form also assists in the comprehension of how form is used in Māori art to encode and transmit meaning, and provides insight into what Māori carvers were possibly thinking.

This chapter begins with an introduction to the design terminology and principles used throughout the diagrammatical analysis. Here, the elements and principles of design, concepts from gestalt theory about visual perception, and Paama-Pengelly's (2001) key design conventions of Māori art are explored. Importantly, an understanding of visual perception is important because it helps to explain the effectiveness of certain techniques used by artists (Cavanagh and Melcher, 2010, p.359).

Following the introduction of the design terminology, a number of *pare* are analysed using the linear diagrammatical method. *Pare* were selected on the basis of having featured in the studies of Archey, Jackson or Simmons. However, some *pare*, such as the Te Hauke *pare*, were also included because they offered the chance to discuss particular aspects of Māori carving. For example, the Te Hauke *pare* is pertinent example of the transposition of compositional form from one structure to another, in this case, from *waka* and *paepae pātaka* to *pare*. Additionally, *pare* with variations in compositions were also selected, such as single-figure, two-figure and three-figure examples to broaden compositional and stylistic considerations.

## Design Theory and Terminology

In this section the elements and principles of design, along with the principles of visual perception associated with gestalt theory, are introduced. Importantly, this provides the platform for design terminology used in the linear diagrammatical analysis of *pare*. One aim here is to bring clarity to the elements and principles of design. While numerous publications have appeared on the subject (see Arnheim, 2004; Lupton & Phillips, 2008; Poulin, 2011), there appears to be no general consensus about the exact nature of the elements and principles of design. Often, terminology from gestalt theory appears in discussion pertaining to the elements and principles of design. This is not surprising, as Gestalt theorists played a key role in developing ideas about visual perception. As Arnheim (2004) has written, "It is generally admitted that the foundations of our present knowledge of visual perception were laid in the laboratories of the gestalt psychologists" (p.4).

The outline below begins with a clarification of what constitutes an 'element' and what constitutes a 'principle' of design. Following this, the individual elements and principles of design are introduced. I have re-organised the elements of design into two categories, primary and secondary. Gestalt theory and its six key concepts about visual perception are then introduced. These concepts explain in a general way how humans perceive and process visual information. A potentially contentious issue with the application of Gestalt theory is the universal assumption that all humans visually process information in the same way. In this instance, though, gestalt theory is concerned with the more general comprehension of shape, and form rather specific imagery. Of note, Paama-Pengelly's (2001) table of key design conventions appears as a further reference in the Toi Raro part 2. In *Māori Art and Design* (2001), Paama-Pengelly succinctly drew a number of design concepts together, such as *aspective representation* and *bilateral symmetry*, which have particular significance in Māori art.

## The Elements and Principles of Design

Looking at the elements and principles of design, the two categories may be distinguished by the fact that the elements of design have physical properties, while the principles of design are conceptual. The elements of design might also be described as the tools used to create visual information, while the principles are concepts used to help organise that information. The elements of design are separated into two categories, primary and secondary.

The primary design elements, point, line and plane, are the basic units of a painting, drawing, and design. According to Lupton & Phillips (2008), "point, line and plane are the building blocks of design. From these elements, designers create images, icons, textures, patterns, diagrams, animations, and typographic systems" (p.12). Descriptions for point, line and plane are given below:

1. Point: the point is the first and simplest element of visual design. Graphically a point takes form as a dot (Lupton & Phillips, 2008).
2. Line: a line can be thought of as series of points so close together that they lose their individual identity and form a new one. A line can also be understood as an infinite series of points with geometric length, but no breadth (Lupton & Phillips, 2008).
3. Plane: a plane is a flat surface extending in height and width. A plane is the path of a moving line; it is a line with breadth (Lupton & Phillips, 2008).

The secondary elements of design are shape, texture, colour, transparency, and value. These build upon the primary elements, and can be considered as properties or attributes of the primary elements. For

example, a point or line may have a colour, value or opacity. A plane might also have a colour, shape or transparency. Basic descriptions for each of these elements are given below.

4. Shape: a shape is defined as an area that stands out from the space next to or around it due to a defined or implied boundary, or because of differences of value, colour, or texture.
5. Texture: Texture is defined as the surface characteristics of a material that can be experienced through the sense of touch or the illusion of touch.
6. Colour: Colour is the part of light that is reflected by the object seen onto the retina of the eye. Our perception of colour depends not solely on the pigmentation of physical surfaces, but also on the brightness and character of ambient light. We also perceive a given colour in relation to the other colours around it (Lupton & Phillips, 2008). Colour has a number of specific attributes including, value, shade, tint, intensity and saturation.
7. Transparency: often used not for the purposes of clarity, but to create dense, layered imagery built from veils of colour and texture (Lupton & Phillips, 2008).
8. Value: the relative degree of lightness or darkness in an object or design element.

Artists and designers use the principles of design to help organise the elements of design. They help describe how humans perceive and process visual information. By understanding the principles of design artists are better able to create and communicate meaningful messages. Often artists apply the principles intuitively. This intuitive ability to use the elements and principles of design manifests within artists after years of creating and viewing art. Within customary Māori art, learning through iteration helps provide carvers with an established design platform. This Māori design platform has inherent rules about how to use the elements and principles of design. The principles of design used within this analysis are, unity, balance, rhythm, hierarchy, movement, contrast and scale.

1. Unity: this is found in a composition or visual field when the design elements appear to have relatedness, and work together. Unity can be achieved by giving the elements similar attributes, such as scale, shape, and colour. It can also be achieved through repetition, proximity, and direction.
2. Balance: is the concept of visual equilibrium, and relates to our physical sense of balance. In art and design visual balance occurs when the weight of one or more things is distributed evenly or proportionately in space (Lupton & Phillips, 2008). There are two main systems for achieving balance, bilateral symmetry (reflection) and asymmetry. In customary Māori art, translation, rotation and slide rotation also feature.
3. Rhythm: is created through the repetition of design elements, normally at defined intervals. It is used to generate a sense of movement and direction, or can be used to establish pattern and texture. Three types of rhythm are regular, flowing and progressive.
4. Hierarchy: A good design contains elements that lead the viewer through the contents of composition in order of its significance. Content within a design should be ordered from the most important to the least. Similar terms used to describe the principle of hierarchy are *dominance, focal point* and *emphasis*. A considered use of hierarchy makes the content or narrative within any composition easier to understand.

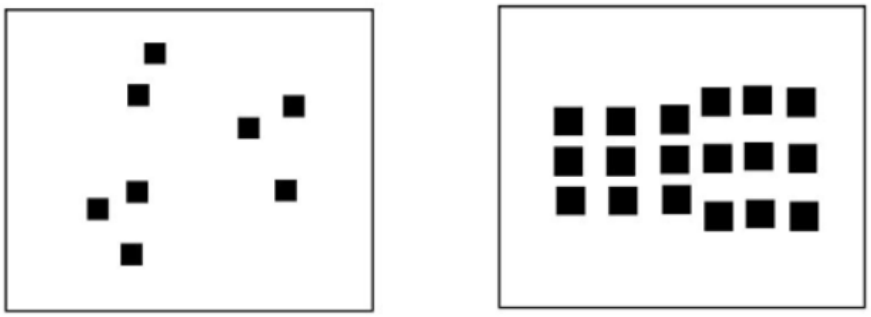
5. Contrast: designers use contrast to help articulate the differences between elements within a composition. Contrast between elements can be made through changes to colour, scale, shape and direction. High contrast can be used to create a sense of dynamic tension between design elements. Inversely, low contrast can be used to create a sense of unity.

## The Six Elements of Gestalt Theory

In my Master's level research linear diagrams were used to help identify where the six key laws of gestalt theory –proximity, closure, symmetry, continuation, similarity and figure ground segregation - in the Patetonga *pare*. Here these six key laws are reintroduced. These gestalt concepts, which are closely related to the principles of design, describe how humans perceive and process visual information. By examining the carved *pare* in relation to these concepts a clearer understanding of how the content in *pare* is arranged, and why certain responses to the aesthetics in *pare* prevail over others emerges. Illustrations have been included to help elucidate the concepts associated with each of the gestalt principles.

## The Law of Proximity

The law of proximity states that objects or shapes that are close to one another are perceived as being related and or in a group. In contrast to this elements, which are distanced from one another, are seen as being less related. According to Butler et.al (2010), "proximity is one of the most powerful means of indicating relatedness in a design, and will generally overwhelm competing visual cues (e.g., similarity). Figure 40, provides two examples of the principle of proximity.



A. B.

Figure 40. Example of the law of proximity

In the example figure 40A the formation of three distinct groups is apparent. This grouping occurs, regardless of shape, size, or colour. How objects are arranged also determines the effect of similarity and how the groups are perceived. For example, when looking at Figure 40B, two distinct groups are seen, despite the close proximity and similarity of all shapes.

## The Law of Similarity

In any visual field objects of similar appearance spontaneously appear to form groups. This type of grouping is known as the law of similarity. Difference also plays an important part within this theory, as grouping is determined by both the similarity of certain objects to one another, and by the perceived difference that those objects may have from others. As is shown in the following examples, perceived groupings and separations may be produced by a number of perceptual changes to the design elements including size, spatial orientation, brightness, and implied direction.

A. B. C.

Figure 41. The law of similarity (brightness, shape, spatial orientation)

In Figure 41, brightness, shape and spatial orientation remain similar; however the scale of the squares has been manipulated to demonstrate how grouping through similarity of size occurs. Grouping through similarity of shape can be seen in Figure 41B. While the shapes share the same brightness, the viewer naturally divides the elements into two groups, triangles and circles. In Figure 41C, similarity of brightness is used to distinguish between the related groups of elements.

A. B. C.

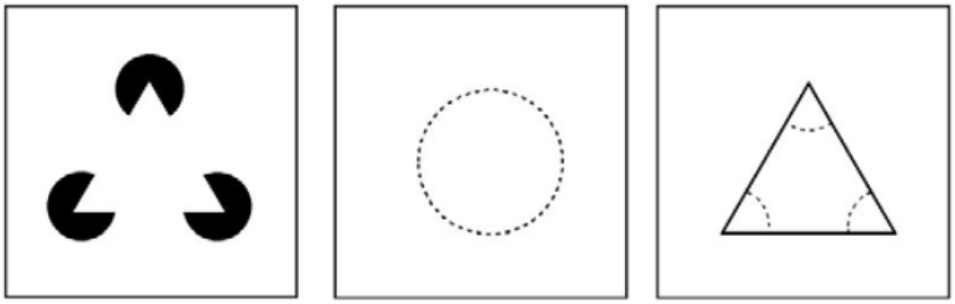
Figure 42. The law of similarity

Figure 42A, provides an example of grouping that occurs through 'nearness', 'proximity' or 'spatial location'. The circles in this example are identical in terms of scale and colour and value, however

similarity of proximity means that three distinct groups are perceived. While in Figure 42B, spatial orientation is the determining factor when it comes to perceived groupings. Again, the objects share the same scale, colour and value, yet the direction of the elements establishes two different groups. Lastly, in Figure 42C, the occurrence of grouping through spatial direction and location is evident.

## The Law of Closure

Gestalt theory asserts that by nature, humans seek closure in forms. Where forms appear broken, the mind intuitively seeks to complete these. Generally, the perceived form in closure will be that which the mind deems to be the simplest. The principle of closure is strongest when design elements approximate simple, recognizable patterns, and are located near one another (Butler, et al. 2010). An example of closure can be seen in Figure 43A. Here, the figure appears to be composed of four simple elements, a white triangle and three black circles.



A. B. C.

Figure 43. The law of closure

According to Arnheim (1974), an object or shape is presumed to be closed because, "Any stimulus pattern tends to be seen in such a way that the resulting structure is as simple as the given conditions permit (p.53). When looking at the shapes individually, it is apparent that a circle (Figure 43B) is determined by a singular unchanging contour, while the triangular shape (Figure 43C) is formed by the repetition of one angular contour change. Another important question arising from this example is why are four separate elements perceived instead of simply three wedges? Logically it might be assumed that having fewer elements would make a composition simpler. When looking at the wedge shapes in Figure 43A, it is apparent that each is comprised of three different contour changes. Thus, as Arnheim (1974) demonstrated, the simplicity of form is not determined by the number of elements present in a pattern, but by the number of contours and spatial changes. If figure 43A is perceived as being composed of three identical circles and a triangle, then spatial orientation of the elements remains

fixed. In contrast to this, if figure 43A is imagined as being composed of three wedge-like shapes, three different spatial orientations are possible.

## The Law of Symmetry

The law of symmetry in Gestalt theory is based on the notion that humans intuitively seek out symmetry in forms. Arnheim (1974) describes the Gestalt law of symmetry as 'levelling' and 'sharpening', adding that, the tendency towards perceiving symmetry is not limited to 'perfect' or reflected symmetry. In experiments first undertaken by Friedrich Wulf (1922), ambiguous figures, such as figure 44A, were presented to a number of a number of people.

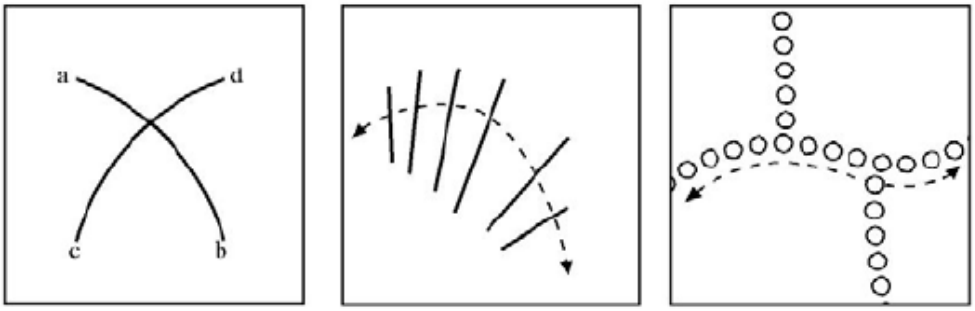
A. B. C.

Figure 44. The law of symmetry

The people were then asked to produce a drawing of what they had seen. The result was that they either simplified the image, by reducing its structural features and making it symmetrical, as in Figure 44B, or they exaggerated the symmetry, as seen in figure 44C. Again, a tendency to reduce the perceived image to the simplest configuration possible is evident. Further elaborating on each of these processes of levelling and sharpening, Arnheim (1974) writes, "Levelling is characterised by such devices as unification, enhancement of symmetry, reduction of structural features, repetition, dropping of non-fitting detail, elimination of obliqueness. Sharpening enhances differences, stresses obliqueness" (p.67). Thus, levelling acts to reduce tension inherent in visual patterns, while sharpening, works the opposite way, acting to increase tension.

## The Law of Continuation

The law of continuation is based on the notion that in visual perception, humans tend to follow established patterns, rather than deviate. An example of this can clearly be seen in Figure 15, where an observer is most likely to perceive the two curved lines of a/b and c/d, rather than deviations such as a/c, a/d, d/b or c/b.




A. B. C.

Figure 45. The law of continuation.

The reason for the perception of lines a/b and c/d over the other possible configurations, as noted earlier, is that "Any stimulus pattern tends to be seen in such a way that the resulting structure is as simple as the given conditions permit" (Arnheim, 1974, p.53). Design elements composed of consistent shapes, such as the line seen in figure 45A, will appear to stand out from other elements within the visual field. Figure 45B and Figure 45C provide two more examples of continuation.

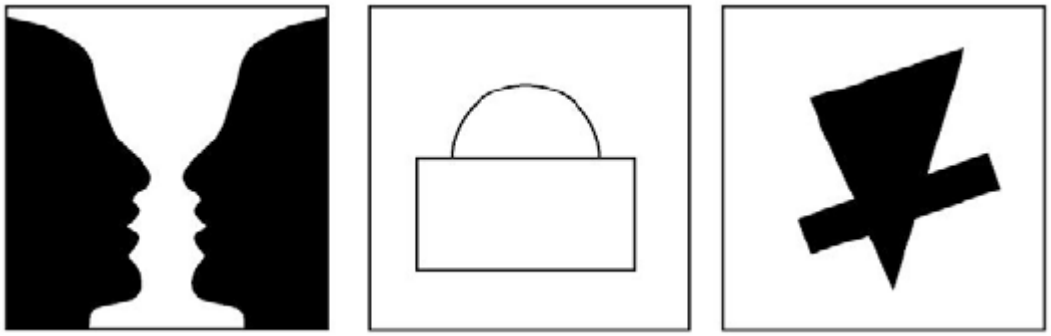
## Figure Ground Relationships

The figure-ground phenomenon has been defined as a fundamental law of perception that allows us to 'read' imagery and make distinctions between objects in the world around us. The ability to differentiate between figure-ground depends on our ability to perceive certain contrasts, such as black and white, dark and light, changes to scale, shape, and pattern. The law of closure and the law of continuity also play a part in helping to differentiate between different objects. Figure 46A, is comprised of the two simplest elements of figure ground, positive and negative space. The tree is seen to be the 'figure' (positive) in this image, as it rests upon the white area of space. The white area of space, surrounding the tree is the ground (negative), as it carries the visual image of the figure.

A. B. C.

Figure 46. Figure-ground differentiation

In Figure 46B, a more complex image is apparent. The figure (black positive space) and ground (white negative space) retain the same relationships; yet a middle ground now appears in the shape of mountains. Here, the role of contrast is apparent in helping to determine space. Without this ability to perceive figure-ground relationships the world would appear as one contorted and amalgamated form, as shown in Figure 46C. Tension is created when figure-ground relationships are made ambiguous, as in figure 47A. Here, there seems to exist two possible, and opposite, interpretations of the space. While some people may see the white space as being the positive 'figure' element, where a vase shape appears to be, others may see black space as being a positive 'figure', where there appears to be two faces in reflection.



A. B. C.

Figure 47. Figure ground differentiation continued.

In Figure 47B, an example of how simplification through the act of subdivision helps to determine figure-ground relationships is presented. In this example the viewer tends to see a rectangle placed in front of a circle, rather than a rectangle and half-circle shape. Interestingly, the contrast between objects each shape is exactly the same. Figure 47A and Figure 47C are ambiguous, though not for exactly the same reason. The black shape in Figure 47C clearly appears to rest upon the white 'ground'. In the subdivision of form, Arnheim (1974) points out, that the images is interpreted as a triangle intersected by a rectangular shape, as this is the simplest configuration. However, there does not appear to be a distinct figure-ground relationship between these two shapes. Thus, while the black image seen as a combination of two shapes, its relationship in terms of figure-ground is based on the determined black shape as a whole, which is a distinct shape resting on the white 'ground'.

Table 10. Design and gestalt terminology

| Primary Elements | Secondary Elements | Principles of Design | Gestalt Principles |
|---|---|---|---|

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Point | Colour | Unity (harmony) | Similarity |
| Line | Texture | Balance (symmetry/asymmetry) | Closure |
| Plane | Shape | Rhythm (movement) | Continuation |
| | Transparency (opacity) | Hierarchy (navigation) | Proximity |
| | Value | Contrast | Symmetry |
| | | | Figure/Ground |

## The Linear Diagrammatical Pare Analysis

The *pare* analyses proceeds with an introduction of basic information such as the current location of each *pare*, name of the donor, date of acquisition if held within a museum, and museum notes pertaining origin and provenance. Following this a description of the physical form is given. This includes the content and arrangement of *tiki* and *manaia*, the use of gesture, the sex of figures, and the types of pattern used. The goal here is to construct a general picture about each *pare* and its history. Next, the features of the *pare* are examined using the linear diagrammatical analysis. In contrast to prior research by Archey (1960), Jackson (1972) and Simmons (2001), the anomalies found within *pare* are considered to be of significance in this study because they help differentiate between *pare* of similar composition, and they provide subtle clues as to the meaning of individual elements, and of the larger narrative of each *pare*.

A number of questions addressed in this section included how were the elements and principles of design used by Māori carvers? What does this reveal about the nature of Māori design? How were scale, balance, and proximity used to express relationships between the differing elements in Māori carving? How did carvers use layering and overlapping to create ambiguity, or to express unity between figures and background elements? And, what do the design preferences such as the use of bi-lateral symmetry indicate about the Māori views of the world?

In returning to the question that the thesis seeks to answer; how can the visual language and *tikanga* of customary Māori carving be used to inform contemporary Māori design practice? The analysis of *pare* is critical as it allows for the articulation of a Māori design language pertinent to contemporary Maori design practice.

## Pare Analysis 1.


Figure 48. *Pare* Auckland Museum Ethnology number (202), width 82cm.

This *pare* (Figure 48), currently held within in the Auckland Museums collection, features in the writing of Archey (1955; 1960, p.203; 1972, p.27) and Simmons (2001, p.78-79). Very little is known about its provenance or who may have carved it. The only recorded information is a small note by the former ethnology curator Roger Neich, which states, "Rotorua vicinity from a *wharepuni*" (Chanel Clarke, correspondence, 2012). F.D. Fenton gifted the *pare* to the Museum in 1877. Simmons proposed that the *pare* was created in 1840 by a Te Arawa carver (2001, p.78), though he gives no evidence to support this date or provenance. The large *ure* (penis) of the central *tiki* suggests that the *pare* may have been created between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, prior to the widespread subjugation of sexual symbolism in Māori carving. The absence of surface pattern indicates that the *pare* is incomplete. The key elements in the *pare* are the frame, the central basal element and basal *manaia*, the central *tiki*, terminal *manaia*, interstitial *tiki* and interstitial *manaia*.

Figure 49. Interstitial tiki and manaia isolated (author's illustration).

This *pare* is unique in a number of ways. The most distinct feature is the simultaneous use of interstitial *manaia* and interstitial *tiki* (Figure 49). The only other *pare* with a similar arrangement of *tiki* and *manaia* is that from the *whare*whakairo *Porourangi*, opened in 1888 at Waiomatatini. However, in the Porourangi *pare* (figure 50) the interstitial *manaia* are rendered only in head form, and flanking the interstitial front facing *tiki*. In addition, the frame of the Porourangi *pare* is rectilinear and the heads of the *tiki* are carved in the *kōruru* style.

Figure 50. Pare from Porourangi (Te Ara New Zealand Encyclopaedia: Ngāti Porou Story, 2012).

Two further *pare* that feature this unique combination of interstitial *tiki* and *manaia* can be seen in figure 4. However, these are also compositionally different to the *pare* from the Auckland Museum collection (Figure 48). In the Te Hauke *pare* (Figure 51, left) the interstitial *manaia* are rendered in the Rongowhakaata style and occupy almost the entire space. In the second example from the Liverpool Museum (Figure 51, right) the interstitial *manaia* are much larger than the smaller *tiki*. In both of these examples the interstitial *manaia* directly connects the central *tiki* with the terminal *manaia* through overlapping planes (further examples, British Museum NZ.87, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, No. 76.57).

Figure 51. Figure 51: left, Te Hauke *pare* (Photo, Auckland Museum); right, Liverpool *pare* (Merryside, Accession no: RI 26.16)

Returning to the linear isolation in figure 49, another anomaly appears in the interstitial *manaia*, (flanking the central *tiki*) which do not connect or overlap with the interstitial *tiki* in contradiction of

the standard design convention of overlapping planes in *pare* used to express interconnectedness. While this creates a sense of tension between the interstitial *tiki* and *manaia*, the deliberate separation of *tiki* and *manaia* elements also helps establish three distinct groups; a central *tiki* group (central *tiki* and the connecting *manaia* either side) and two terminal *manaia* groups (large *manaia*, small *manaia* and interstitial *tiki*). In figure 52, the simplification of the forms within the *pare* helps to illuminate these figurative groupings. In this diagrammatical illustration, the inter-dependency between the central *tiki* and the two *manaia* which interact with it are also highlighted. Here, the central *tiki* appears to take on a maternal role. The spontaneous formation of these *pare* figures into distinct groups is related to the gestalt law of proximity. The gestalt law of proximity states that objects or shapes that are close to one another are perceived as being related, or in a single group (Butlerp, Holden, Lidwell, 2010, p.196). At the same time, design elements distanced from one another are perceived to be less related.

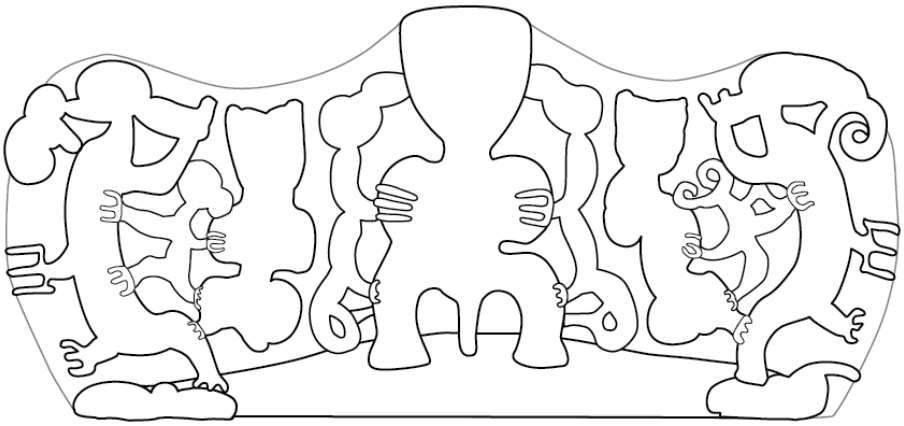


Figure 52. Simplification of elements within the *pare* (author's illustration).

The law of continuation also plays a part in the separation of the *tiki* and *manaia* into three groups. In figure 52, the limbs of the larger interstitial *manaia* lead the eye towards the central *tiki*, reinforcing the relationship between the elements of the central group. At the same time the main contour through the interstitial *tiki* directs the line of sight back to the terminal *manaia*. This example demonstrates how an understanding of the law of continuation can help determine the compositional flow within *pare*. By mapping out the implied movement a contour is established by the form and shape of the *pare* elements, which is used to both delineate relationships between *tiki* and *manaia*, and also to direct the line of sight through the larger composition.

Figure 53. Law of continuation expressed through contours of bodies and limbs (author's illustration).

The use of gestural poses in this *pare* is also unique. Often, the arrangement of limbs and position of hands on *tiki* and *manaia* are reflected bi-laterally across *pare*. However, in the Auckland Museum example (figure 48) symmetry between the interstitial *tiki* is disrupted by the different positions of the hands. The interstitial *tiki* to the left has one hand to the *puku* (stomach) and one to the chest; the interstitial *tiki* to the right has one hand on the stomach and one-hand directed towards the mouth. These changes, though small, are important. Simmons (2001, p.78) claims that the placement of the hands of the interstitial *tiki* are symbolic of conception and pregnancy, and that the figures represent *ira atua* and *ira tangata*. Discussing the gestures of the figures in this *pare*, Simmons has written:

> The flanking *manaia* have no bottom jaw and the background is not decorated with spirals. The hands of the central male figure are in the position for giving birth but the other way round, with the left hand on the chest. The figure represents creation in *Te Kore* giving life through the waiora, the living waters from which all life comes, represented by the *ure* (p.78).

As noted earlier, the inconsistency surrounding Simmons ascriptions of meaning to gesture renders his interpretations questionable. Simmons is probably correct in his assertion that the *ure* here represents the giving of life, although an argument could be made for the central *tiki* representing Tāne rather than *Te Kore* because the penis makes contact with the earth. While it is possible to argue that the downward position of the *ure* is for structural reasons, the varied arrangement of *ure* in many *pare* (see Simmons, 2001, p.51, p.63, p.65, p.173) suggests that this downward arrangement is a recurring motif. Stylistically, this downward penis convention can also be seen on the *kūwaha pātaka* of the Pukehina (Te Awhi) *pātaka*, carved around 1839 (figure 54). According to Jahnke (2012) this is the standard aspective presentation of the *ure* in its erect state that can also be found in *pane* (ridgepole extension on the porch of *whare*), *waka huia* and *poupou* as well where male and female figures are in a

state of coition. The rendering of the hands with three long-elongated fingers and the carved belly button are design conventions also shared by these carvings supporting a Te Arawa provenance.

Figure 54. Detail of *tiki* with aspective *ure* design. Left, *pare* (Auckland Museum, 202). Right, Pukehina *pātaka* (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa).

The aspective thrust of the *ure* should not be interpreted as Tāne literally procreating with his mother, Papatūānuku. Instead, this may allude to Tāne's creation of, and later procreation, with Hine-ahu-one the earth-formed maiden (Buck, 1949, p.450). In his discussion of *The Lore of the Wharewananga* text, Jahnke adds that Tāne is "…the deity selected to give life to the earth-formed woman, created from the generative clay located at Kurawaka, the fructifying 'puke' or mound of Papatūānuku, the mother earth" (2006, p.78). Here, the curved base of the *pare* is interpreted as *puke* (mound of Papatūānuku).

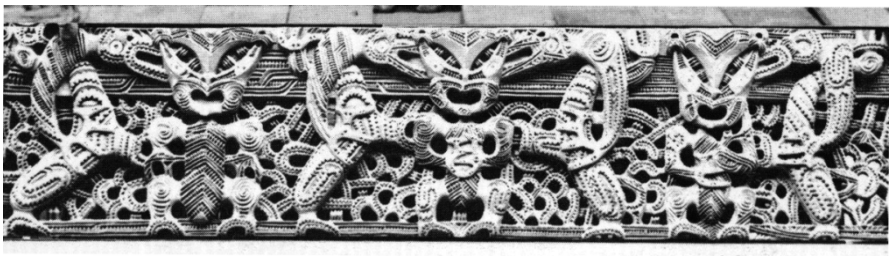


Figure 55. Detail of Te Oha *pātaka*. Illustrates central *tiki* and *manaia* composition with *manaia* biting at the ear.

Compositionally, the central *tiki* and *manaia* arrangement share a relationship with forms found on *pātaka*. The example shown here is from the Te Oha *paepae pātaka*, carved around 1825 (Figure 7.). While this is not the original *paepae* from the Te Oha *pātaka* (Neich, 2001, p.389), it nevertheless

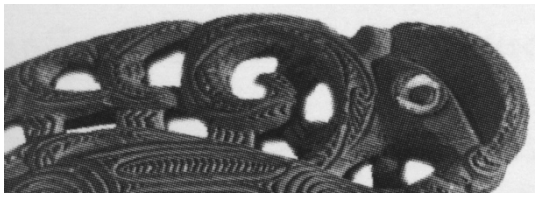
demonstrates a similarity in composition between *pare* and *paepae*. On *kūwaha pātaka* (Jahnke, 2006, p.83), male *tiki* often predominate space above the door further reinforcing a connection between *pare* and *pātaka* design conventions.

Having proposed the central *tiki* as Tāne, an important question then is: what do the smaller interstitial *tiki* represent? An important clue here can be seen in the rendering of the hands of the interstitial *tiki*. The interstitial *tiki* on the left has two human hands; however, the opposing *tiki* to the right has one human hand and one rendered in the form of a *manaia*. The *manaia* hand alludes to a spiritual significance in the *tiki*. This would support Simmons' interpretation that the interstitial *tiki* represent *ira atua* and *ira tangata*. In creating the first human, the *ira atua* (divine element) of Tāne was combined with the *ira tangata* (the human element) of Papatūānuku. Here, the interstitial *tiki* with the *manaia*-hand represents *ira atua*, while the interstitial *tiki* with human hands denotes *ira tangata*. Jahnke (2006) points out that while the notion of *ira atua* and *ira tangata* is particular to the *Lore of the Whare Wananga* cosmo-genealogical narratives, it is important because it emphasizes the differing gender roles within Māori society, in particular the association of "women with the secular context of earth and men with the spiritual realm of deity" (p.114). The presence of *ira atua* and *ira tangata* in this *pare* seems to support the notion that this *pare* possibly references Tāne and procreation.

Returning to some of the anomalies in this *pare*, the mouths of the terminal *manaia* break from *pare* design conventions in that they do not interlock with the mouths of smaller terminal *manaia* attached to the outer frame suggesting a later period of production or that the mouths of the terminal *manaia* simply interlock on themselves. Archey has given an example of this design convention (Archey, 1955, fig.56), and further examples can be seen in figures 8.A, 8.B and 8.C.

Figure 56.a

Figure 56.b



56.c

Figure 56. a. *Manaia* head detail. *Pare* Auckland museum (ethnology number 164). Figure 56.b *Pare*, manaia head detail. *Pare*. British Museum, Oc.1854, 1229.89. Figure 56.c. *Manaia* head detail. Liverpool Museum (Merryside, Accession no: RI 26.16).

However, Jahnke (in communication, 2012), agrees with Simmons' (2001) claim that the outer *manaia* have no lower jaw. This is significant if one considers Māori conceptions about knowledge, and the metaphorical connection between knowledge and the human jaw-bone. In the *The Lore of the*

*Whare-wānanga,* Māori conceptions about knowledge are described as *Te kauwae runga* (the upper jaw), and *Te kauwae raro* (the lower jaw) (Matorohanga, H & Smith, P. 1913, p.79). In his translations of Matorohanga's text, Smith gives a general outline of the meaning of each of these:

> The expressions had a clear meaning to the Maoris, the first [te kauewae runga] representing everything pertaining to the gods, the heavens, the origin of all things, the creation of man, the science of astronomy, and the record of time, etc. The second [te kauwae-raro] deals with the history, properly so called, of the people, their genealogies, migrations, the tapu, and all knowledge pertaining to terrestrial matters. We may thus say that the first represents 'Celestial things,' the second 'Terrestrial things'; though, as will be seen, the distinction is not always adhered to (Matorohanga H & Smith, P. 1913, p.80).

In light of the Tāne and Hine-ahu-one procreation narrative, the absence of a lower jaw might suggest that knowledge pertaining to the earthly realm does not exist. One interpretation, then, may be that the *pare* represents a time prior to the birth of Hine-tītama - the first child of Tāne and Hine-ahu-one, and the beginning of the lineage of humankind. Though not directly associated with this *pare*, the importance of the jaw-bone for nineteenth century Māori is further supported by various Māui narratives wherein his feats could not have been accomplished without the use of his grandmother's jawbone in fishing up Te Ika-a-Māui, or slowing down Tama-nui-te-rā.

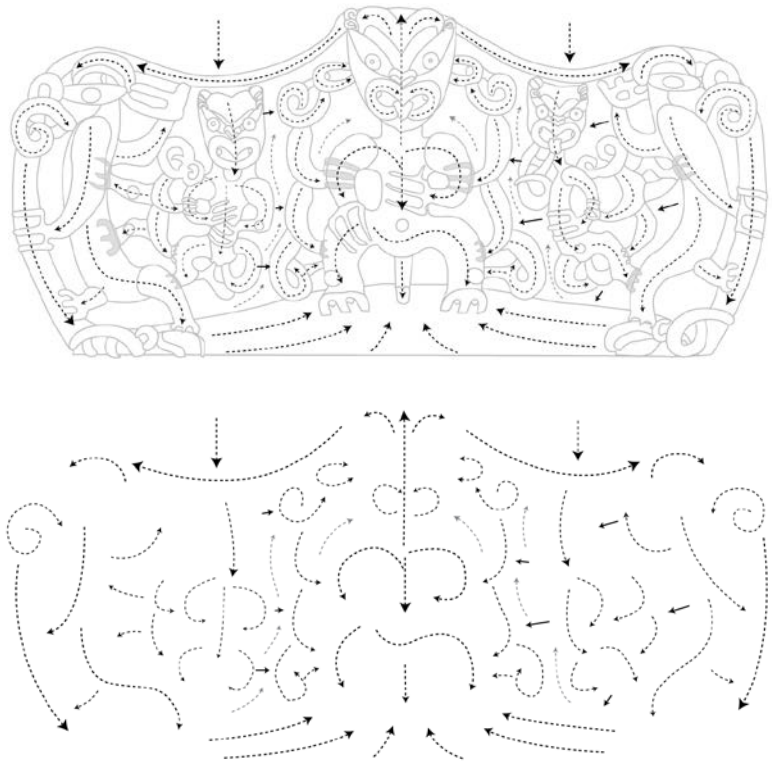


Figure 57.Two images demonstrating currents of movement with the *pare* (author's illustration).

In examining the elements and principles of design in this *pare* it is apparent that the frame plays an important role in that it connects the head of the central *tiki* with those of the terminal *manaia*. The cyclical movement, highlighted in figure 57, originates at the head of the central *tiki* flowing out towards the terminal *manaia*. From here, it sweeps down toward the base and then is re-directed back to the central *manaia* at the point of the ure. The right-hand arm of the central *tiki* also sweeps down creating a contour that leads to the *ure*. The type of movement described here has parallels with Jackson's principle of alternating rhythm. This design convention, where an implied pathway guides the viewer through the form, also correlates with Jahnke's (2006) notion of the *manawa* line in *kōwhaiwhai*. According to Jahnke, "Metaphorically, the *manawa* line is the heart pulse of the pattern that allows the eye to move from the top of the rafter to the bottom in a continuous movement" (2006, p.128). In this *pare* example, the heart pulse flows from the central *tiki* and outwards in a cyclical manner, to arrive back again at the centre. In this *pare* a *manawa* line is also evident. As with Jahnke's metaphor, it is seen as a continuous implied line. It is created in *pare* by the extensive use of overlapping and interconnection of figurative elements.

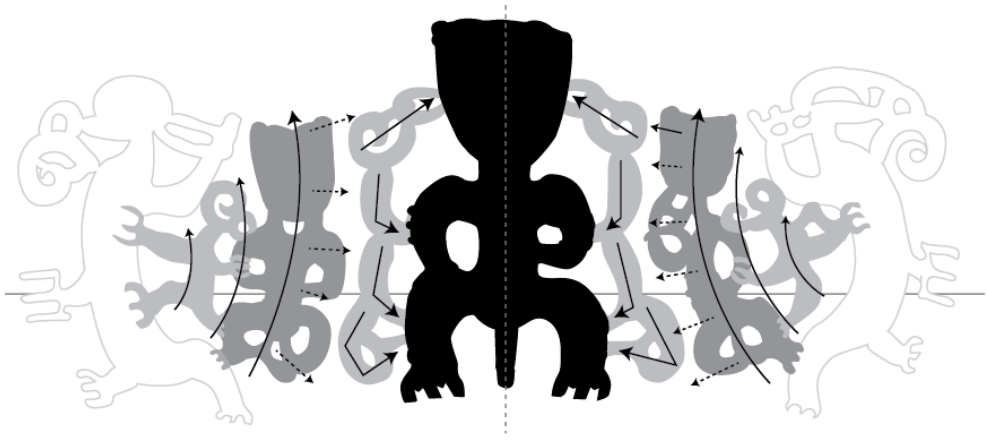


Figure 58. Visual devices used to draw attention to the central *tiki* (author's illustration).

Another theme within this *pare* appears to be the use of multiple visual devices to reassert the importance of both the central *tiki* and the most significant elements of the central *tiki*, the head and the *ure*. In figure 58, a number of these visual devices have been isolated. In the first instance, the significance of the central *tiki* is stated through its placement on the vertical central axis. According to Arnheim, the centre is the most stable position within any composition, and is generally the most important (2004), thus, identifying the central *tiki* as critically important. Secondly, scale is used to express relative importance. The central *tiki* is the largest and therefore the most important element. In terms of hierarchy, the terminal *manaia* are next in the hierarchical order, followed by the interstitial

figures. As figure 58 illustrates, the progression in scale, from small interstitial *tiki* to large entices the eye from terminal points toward the centre. This adds to the cyclical flow of movement already created through the contours. Once our attention is at the central *tiki*, exaggerated scale is used to denote the significance of the head and the *ure* of the central *tiki*. The pyramidal structure of the central *tiki* also leads the eye from the base of this figure to the head. In view of the consistent use of exaggerated scale (or contrast in scale) as a method for delineating hierarchy between the design elements in *pare*, the principle of *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by size) is proposed as a significant design principle in Māori carving. This principle asserts that in Māori carving exaggerated size was used to highlight the important figures and the important elements of figures such as genitals, heads and hands.

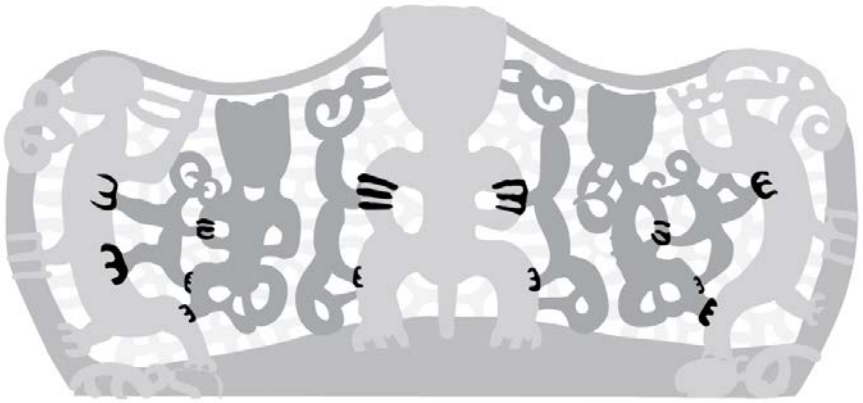


Figure 59. Figure-ground relationships and principle of *tātai mokowā* (spatial interconnectedness) (author's illustration).

In figure 59, figure and ground relationships have been isolated through tonal emphasis of figurative forms. The hands and feet of the interstitial figures, rendered in black, accentuate the overlapping that occurs between the *tiki*. This design convention, seen in numerous examples of East Coast style *pare* (see Simmons, p. 55 p.57 p.63 p.71 p.89 p.97 p.99 p.105 p.113), was used to express unity and interconnectedness between figures that occupy disparate relief planes. The *manaia* flanking the central *tiki* occupy a lower relief level than the central *tiki*. However, the placement of their hands and feet on the central *tiki* brings the figures (or at least a part of the figures) into the upper relief plane. In a similar manner the interstitial *tiki* have their feet placed on the terminal *manaia*, also connecting them with the uppermost relief plane. According to Jahnke, the transition between layers in Māori art alludes to the inseparability of the material and spiritual realms (p.115). Jackson (1972) and Simmons (2001) used the metaphor of animate and inanimate space to describe the relief layers, and aligned each layer with the cosmo-genealogical realms of *Te Kore*, *Te Pō* and *Te Ao Mārama*. The spatial organisation seen here, and the use of overlapping to denote interconnectedness between design elements, is indicative of another key principle in *pare* design - the principle of *tātai mokowā*. This

principle asserts that relief layers are not discreet or separate because carvers interconnect the layers or planes, often with hands and feet of the secondary, smaller, interstitial figures interacting with the *tiki* and *mana* in the upper planes of the *pare*. While there are examples of *pare* where definitive separation between the larger and smaller figures is evident, in most cases the strongest design theme appears to be one of interconnectedness and inseparability.

Figure 60. The principle of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry) (author's illustration).

Jackson (1972) and Simmons (2001) claimed that *pare* are bi-laterally symmetrical. In figure 60, this appears to be true, since three *manaia* and one smaller *tiki* appear either side of the central *tiki*. In general the application of Māori carving to structures or objects such as *waka*, *pātaka*, *whare puni* and *whare whakairo*, centred on bi-lateral reflection. For example, when looking at the *pātaka* or *whare whakairo* from the front, the figures and designs tend be reflected either side of the structure. *Tātai hangarite* is introduced as a term to denote this symmetrical arrangement of design elements. While the principle of *tātai hangarite* is pervasive in late and eighteenth and early nineteenth century Māori carving, it is often counter balanced by the use of asymmetrical *tiki*, *manaia* and *tauira* (pattern). Within this *pare* example symmetry is disrupted in two key places; the central *tiki*'s arms are not reflected, and the interstitial *tiki* also have their arms in varied positions (figure 60). In her description of how symmetry is applied in Māori art Paama-Pengellys has written, "Apparent symmetry in Māori art is broken by asymmetrical elements" (2010, p.19).

However, in their studies of *pare*, neither Archey, Jackson, nor Simmons made any comment on the use of broken or disrupted symmetry. For Jackson (1972), symmetry in Māori carving was an attempt by artists to bring resolution to conflict, which was an inherent part of the real world. Drawing on Levi-Strauss' notion of the artist, Jackson wrote, "The artist transposes and transforms reality, produces symmetry from imperfection, unity from contradiction" (1972, p.35). Symmetry in carving was seen

as a design principle that emphasized a desire for resolution and unity within Māori society. In contrast to this, Hanson (1983) asserted that symmetry, and in particular broken symmetry, was used in Māori art to stress the notion of constant tension rather than resolution. The consistent appearance and use of disrupted symmetry, exemplified in the *poupou* and *epa* in Te Hau-ki-Tūranga, suggests that it was an important design principle in Māori carving at least into the middle of the nineteenth century. In the earlier Te Oha *pātaka* (1825), carved by Ngāti Pikiao carvers, disrupted symmetry pervades the entire epa *pātaka* composition.

Hanson (1983), claimed that disrupted symmetry in Māori art reflected Māori ideas about the world, whereby "the fundamental quality of reality is ambivalent tension - between identity and difference, attraction and repulsions, union and separation" (1983a: 215). He believed that the formal structures expressed by the shapes and compositions in carving aligned with Māori ideas about reality. But a problem with Hanson's theory is that it does not account for the increases in symmetrical design in Māori carving after the arrival of Europeans in Aotearoa New Zealand. Following Hanson's arguement the increased use of symmetry in carving would be a reflection of reduced conflict or tension in the real world for Māori. However, with colonisation came disease, warfare, loss of land and urbanisation, all of which radically affected Māori society (Pool, 2012). Jahnke (personal communication, 2012) has suggested that there are two possible reasons for an increase in symmetry in Māori art; it was due to a break in tradition as a consequence of colonisation, or a move to expediting the carving process. While Hanson's attempt to align disruptions in social order with broken symmetry is problematic, the important question remains: what does broken symmetry in Māori art, and more specifically *pare*, mean? Looking to Jahnke's (2006) view on symmetry in *pare*, he wrote , "A disruption in the compositional equilibrium on each side of *pare* promotes the notion of transition in state from unconsciousness to consciousness, from dark to light" (2006, p.121). This has parallels with Simmons' view that *pare* expressed the transition from Te Pō to Te Ao Mārama. Furthermore, the notion of 'unconsciousness to consciousness' also resonates with Jackson's (1972) and Simmons' (2001) ideas about relief in *pare*. Both of these researchers suggested that the different levels in *pare* relief are related to Māori notions about life coming into existence.

In all of these interpretaions of disrupted or broken symmetry, there appears to be a common analogy. The disrupted symmetrical element represents the intial spark for a more dramatic change, whether that be in cosmo-genealogical realm, consiousciousness, or from light to dark. The disruptive element, or the element which breaks the symmetry, is a neccesary component in Māori art that alludes to the notion of constant flux within a balanced system. However, too much focus has been placed on this

design convention as being 'disruptive', particularly considering its often subtle application. In a similar vein to Jahnke's (2006) ideas on the female element in Māori art, the disruptive symmetrical element in Māori art should be viewed as being both generative and degenerative. A more appropriate analogy for this 'disruptive' element within the larger symmetrical structure of Māori art then might be termed *hikuwaru*. *Tātai hikuwaru* is proposed as encompassing the notion of broken symmetry within Māori carving.

Concluding the review of this *pare*, it is apparent that the linear, chromatic and tonal isolation of form is an effective tool for articulating the relationships between the design elements in *pare*. An exploration of figure-ground relationships demonstrated how the carver unified figures that occupy separate planes. A gestalt informed analysis, established by the shapes of the *pare* elements, was also pivotal in the explanation of *tātai manawa*, or the compositional flow within the *pare*. Importantly, four principles of Māori carving were also established through this analysis; the principle of *tātai mokowā* (spatial interconnectedness), the principle of the *tātai manawa* (heart pulse of the carving), the principle of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry) and the principle of *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by size).

## Pare Analysis 2.

Figure 61. *Pare* Auckland Museum (Ethnology number: 9758)

Little is known about this *pare* (figure 61), now displayed in the Auckland Museum (9758). While museum records indicate that it was donated by Mr John Kenderdine in 1923 (Archey, 1960, p.26) the catalogue description reads, "This openwork *pare* features a central figure flanked by two *manaia*. The figures and the detailed carving between them feature spirals and *unaunahi*" (retrieved, 2011). Archey mentions this *pare* in numerous texts (1955; 1960, p.204; 1977, p.26), however his comments are limited to description. Simmons (2001), on the other hand, makes a number of claims about this *pare*, some of which are explored here. Simmons claimed that this *pare* represents Te Kore. An interesting aspect of his categorisation of *pare* is that he aligned them chronologically with the themes of Te Kore, Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama. Thus, for Simmons the earliest *pare* (late eighteenth early nineteenth century) were concerned with Te Kore, while *pare* created after this period were progressively concerned with expressing themes related to Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama (2001). This blanket approach to symbolism, while reducing complexity, greatly narrowed the scope for interpretation. Simmons attempted to apply, rather than look, meaning to form.

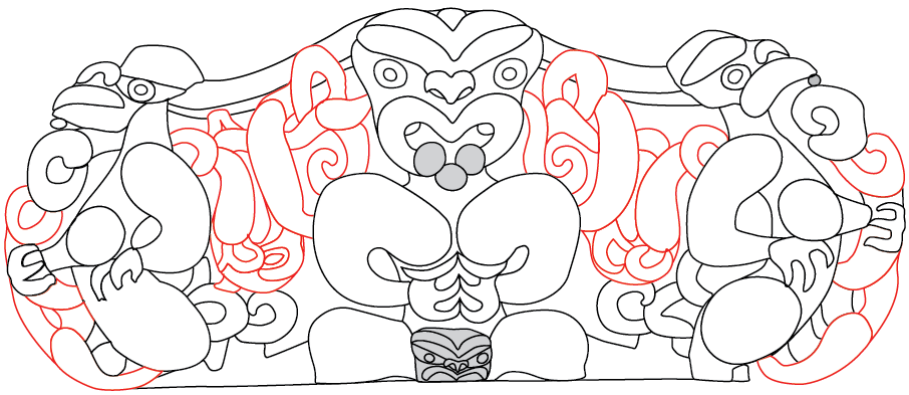


Figure 62. Main design elements and areas of interest isolated (author's illustration).

In figure 62 discreet sections of the *pare* are isolated. Here, the principle of *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by scale) helps to establish the hierarchal structure of the *pare*. The figurative elements, in order of importance are the central *tiki* (and subsidiary *tiki*), the terminal *manaia*, the interstitial *manaia* and the basal *manaia* heads. In this instance the central *tiki* and subsidiary *tiki* are considered as a connected figurative element because of the proximal relationship between these figures. The other points of interest in this diagrammatical analysis are the three spirals which cover the tongue, the smaller *manaia* integrated into the frame, the heads of the interstitial *manaia* which rest upon the upper frame element, and the hands of the terminal *manaia* which pass through the lower plane and to rest upon the frame element.

Stylistically, this *pare* features a number of design conventions specific to East Coast carving. The interstitial *manaia* share a close relationship with the *manaia* on the Te Hauke *pare* (figure 63), and those on the *rauawa* (side-strakes) of the *waka*, Te Toki-a-Tapiri (figure 64), carved around 1836 in the Auckland Museum. This type of *manaia*, synonymous with the Rongowhakaata style of carving, also appears on the *paepae* of the carved house *Te Hau-ki-Tūranga* (1842). A connection with Te Whānau-ā-Apanui style carving can be seen in the use of a small *manaia* head on the body of the interstitial *manaia* (figure 62, in red). This same design convention can found in one of the earliest examples of *pare*, collected from the Bay of Islands in 1806 (figure 65), but carved in a distinctly Te Whānau-ā-Apanui style (Brown, 2003, p.106). Additionally, the use of the *ponahi* spiral and its placement across the points of potential movement, including the joints of limbs and the facial areas of mobility (cheeks and brow), are also characteristic of the Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui carving styles.

Figure 63. *Pare*. Te Hauke *pare*. Photograph within Wellington Museum.

Figure 64. Detail of *manaia* form on Te Toki-a-Tapiri (Auckland Museum).

Figure 65. Detail of *manaia* head on body of interstitial *manaia* (Peabody Museum, accession no: E5501).

A further connection to Ngāti Porou carving can be seen in the use of a subsidiary *tiki* between the legs of the central *tiki*. However, the full figure in this instance has been substituted with a mask. A simple explanation as to the replacement of full *tiki* with the mask is that there was a lack of available space. Simmons (2001, p.43) contended that the mask between the legs of the central *tiki* is a vulva representing creation. However, his ascription of meaning to gesture must be viewed with caution. This is because he applies very different interpretations to a number of similar compositions (Simmons, 2001, p.83, p.89 p.101). While Simmons gives no reason for this ascription of vulva as *tiki* mask, he probably borrowed this idea from Jackson, who was a source for much of his theory on *pare*. In his discussion pertaining to sexual symbolism and the use of a subsidiary *tiki* or *tiki* mask between the legs of central *tiki*, Jackson wrote, "Often the features of this head are so stylised as to suggest the vagina. Perhaps this small head or figure was a later technique to disguise the genitalia after missionaries had indoctrinated the Maoris in principles of prudery" (1972, p.51). During the nineteenth century Māori carvers did develop a number of techniques for denoting genitalia implicitly (Jahnke, 2006). However, Simmons interpretation of the subsidiary *tiki* as a vulva fails to consider the existence of this design convention prior to European contact.

Figure 66. Early Ngāti Porou *poupou* with figures between legs of large central *tiki*.

Early evidence of the use of subsidiary *tiki* can be found in a carving taken from Pourewa Island by Cooks men in 1769, in a Ngāti Porou carving recovered from a river bed in Whangara - now in the Auckland museum - and in an illustration made in in 1771 by John Frederick Miller for by Sir Joseph Banks (Figure 66). This design convention, intimately associated with the wharepuni and later the wharewhakairo, can also be found in a number of early nineteenth century *pātaka*. Jahnke (2012, per comm) asserts that in the first instance the subsidiary *tiki* between the legs of the larger *tiki* alludes to the notion of *whakapapa*, continuity, and descent from an ancestor or a deity. Considering the consistent use of subsidiary *tiki* between the legs or large central *tiki* on *pare*, *poupou* and *kūwaha pātaka* (at least in East coast and Bay of Plenty carving) *tātai whakapapa* is proposed as another principle of carving relevant to Māori design. With this principle carvers demonstrated genealogical connections by the proximal placement of *tiki*. Often exaggeration of scale, such as the use of smaller *tiki* between the legs of larger *tiki*, was used to demonstrate direct lineage from parent to child. However, the principle of *whakapapa* was also expressed in some cases by the union between husband and wife in instances where the smaller *tiki* is shown in the position of coition. This latter design convention is found in *pātaka* and *waharoa* in particular, and also in the earlier carvings in Te Mana o Tūranga at Manutuke. The arrangement of figures one above the other on *epa*, *poupou*, *poutūārongo* and *poutāhuhu* was another method for denoting *whakapapa* relationships.

Simmons also claimed that the three spirals in the mouth of the central *tiki* represented the different stages of Māori genesis, *Te Kore, Te Pō* and *Te Ao Mārama* (2001, p.62). This was tied to his larger assertion that all *pare* were concerned with the stages of creation. The use of spirals here is undoubtedly significant, as the head was the most significant part of the body for nineteenth century Māori. However, Simmons assertion that these spirals represent the three states is perhaps overly simplistic. Since he provides no information as to why the spirals represent the three states (*Te Kore, Te Pō, Te Ao Mārama*), or why such states would be represented on the tongue, it is assumed that the attribution of meaning here is simply because it aligns with his ascription of three states to this *pare*. An examination of the heads of a number of central *tiki* on *pare* (figure 67) suggests that the three spirals on the tongue are rare, and are most probably an innovative way of integrating the lower-lip with the spiral form.

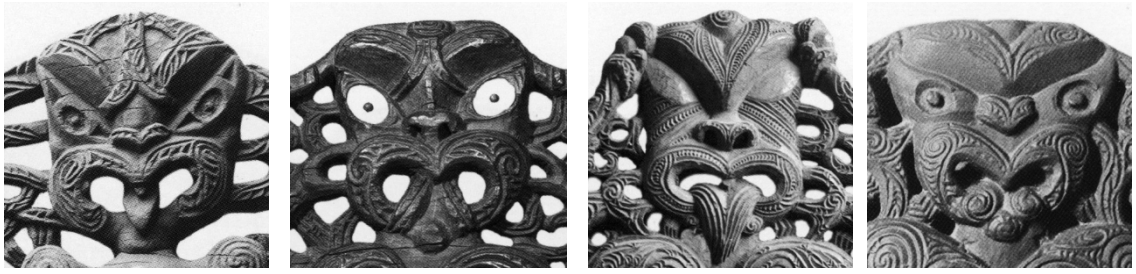


Figure 67. Detail of central *tiki* heads from single figure *pare*.

In figure 68, the elements of the *pare* have been rendered in tonal shapes to help better understand the figure-ground relationships. Here, an often overlooked but important feature in many *pare* is that the hands of the outer *manaia* pass through the lowest level of relief, returning to the secondary level where they rest upon the frame. This design convention is highlighted in figure 68, with the hands of the terminal *manaia* rendered in black. In many instances, the hands of the terminal *manaia* also pass through the lowest level with the hands coming to rest upon the top frame element (figure 69). This is an example of the principle of *tātai mokowā* introduced earlier. This design principle asserts that in Māori carving, relief layers were linked through the use of interconnecting design elements such as the hands and feet of the interstitial figures. While numerous examples of this *manaia* and frame convention can be found in Simmons' study of *pare* (see, 2001, pg.55 p.57, p.63, p.65, p.67, p.71, p.81, p.101), neither Simmons, Archey, nor Jackson commented on this aspect of *pare*.

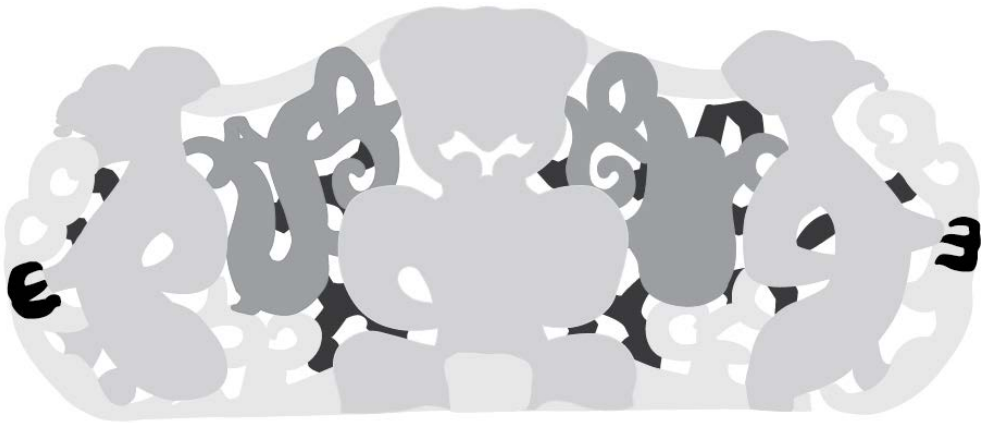


Figure 68. Simplification of figure-ground relationships (author's illustration).

Figure 69. Detail of terminal *manaia* with hands wrapped through upper frame element

The absence of any discussion about this feature is strange considering the prominence of relief in Simmons' and Jackson's theory on *pare* symbolism. For both of these researchers the levels of relief were discrete planes, connected to Māori notions about time and space. However, what the terminal *manaia* in this and many other *pare* demonstrate is that the differing levels of relief are interconnected. As evident in figure 68, the interstitial *manaia* also follow this method of relief layer interaction, with the heads of the interstitial *manaia* resting upon the upper frame element. If the levels of relief are conceptually and spiritually different planes, an important question here is: what is the significance of the design convention where a single *manaia* may simultaneously occupy differing levels of relief? In Simmons account of this *pare* the interstitial *manaia* are seen as messengers who represent the spirit world while the terminal *manaia* also represent spiritual life (2001, p.42). This interpretation may account for the notion that as spiritual entities the *manaia* are able to traverse the multiple planes of relief or existence. However, in many East Coast *pare* the interstitial *tiki* also traverse the different layers of relief, which poses another question: why are human figures also able to move between the different levels of relief?

In the Ngāti Porou account for the origins of carving, and the Tuhoe accounts for the origin of *tā moko*, human characters are able to traverse between the earthly and the spiritual realms. Whether *tiki*

or *manaia* form, the consistent theme here appears to be that of transition between physically and conceptually different spaces. That this theme of transition appears on *pare* is significant because on *whare puni* and *whare whakairo* the *pare* is placed directly above the entrance into each structure. As Jackson wrote, (1972), "…the *pare* marks and describes the highly significant passage from one social position to another. It serves to resolve contradictions between these positions while at the same time establishing and confirming the structure of discrete elements" (p.59). For Jackson, the transition or change in state that occurred when crossing this important threshold accounted for the appearance of the female form on *pare* because the female element had the power to remove tapu, and because it was associated with the cosmo-genealogical narrative of Māui and Hine-nui-te-Pō (1972). Jahnke (2006), however, contended that the prominence of the female form on *pare* highlighted the generative and life-giving aspect of the female element. Juxtaposing *whare whakairo* and *pare* with the *pātaka* structure and *kūwaha*, Jahnke pointed out that the space above the door on *pātaka* (which is associated with entry into *te tatau-o-te-pō*, the portal of death), is dominated by male figures. Despite the differences in interpretation between Jackson (1972) and Jahnke (2006), the point here is that both authors viewed the *pare* as a significant marker for transition between states or realms.

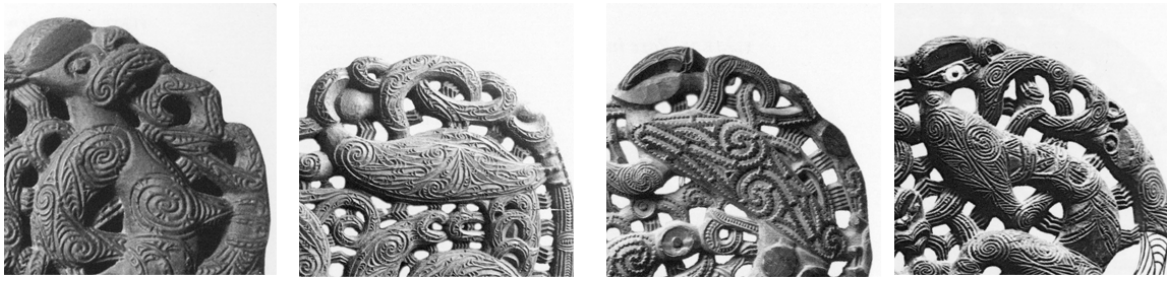


Figure 70. Detail examples of interlocking mouths of terminal *manaia* with frame *manaia*

An often overlooked, but important feature of many Tairāwhiti, Hauraki and Te Arawa style *pare* is that the mouth of the terminal *manaia* interlock with the mouth of another *manaia* which forms part of the frame. In figure 70 some examples of this design convention can be seen. This merging of elements from disparate levels of relief is another example of the principle of *tātai mokowā*.

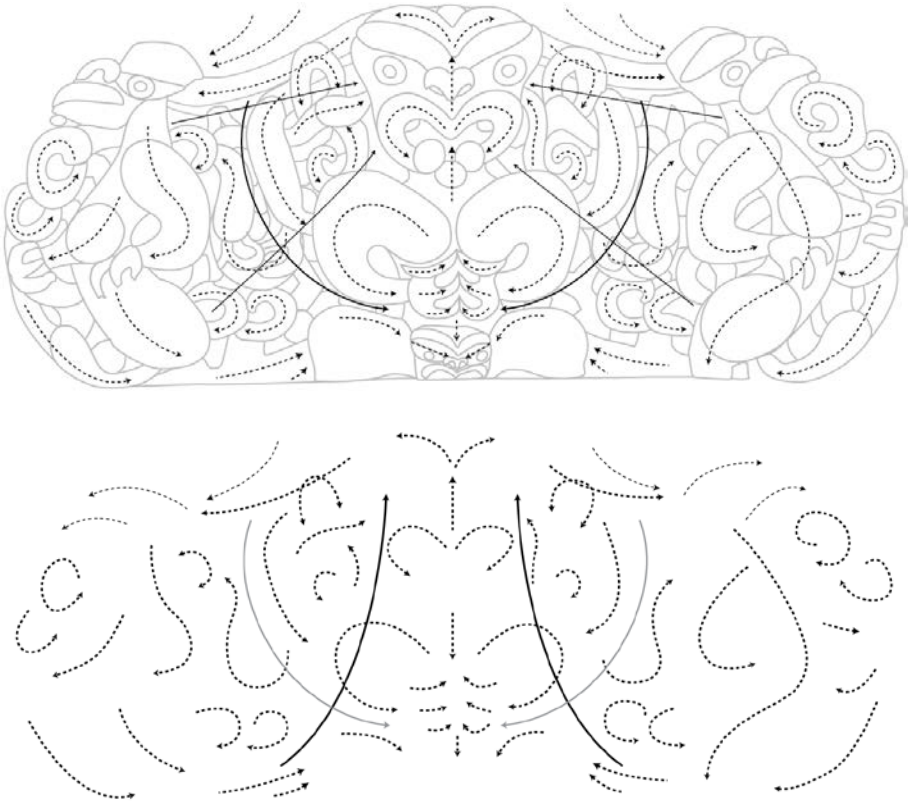


Figure 71. The *manawa* line within the *pare* (author's illustration).

In figure 71, the implied movement established by continuation reveals *tātai manawa*, or heart pulse of the composition. As with the previous example, a cyclical motion is evident that begins and ends at the centre of the *pare*. The pyramidal structure of the central *tiki* creates a funnel effect, which encourages movement from the central basal element and the genital area of the central *tiki* up towards the most important element, the head. From this point, the sweeping curve of the upper frame draws our attention out and down towards the heads of the terminal *manaia*. Thus, the frame acts as a bridge that importantly links the heads of the most significant figures, the central *tiki* and the terminal *manaia*. Finally, the main contour through the body of the terminal *manaia* moves the line of sight back down towards the other important element of the *pare*, the basal *manaia* heads. As with the previous *pare* analysis, the central design elements, the head of the central *tiki* and the genital area, are further highlighted through an underlying matrix of implied movement. In figure 71, the arms of the interstitial *manaia* connect with those of the central *tiki*, creating an arc of movement leads towards the subsidiary *tiki* mask. At the same time the larger shape of the interstitial *manaia* creates a wedge that directs our gaze to the head of the central *tiki*. The importance of the head of the central *tiki* is further emphasized by the interconnection of the terminal *manaia* heads with that of the central *tiki*

via the 'horn' element. In terms of gesture, this head-to-head connection is important in that it alludes to the *hongi* (pressing of noses), the sharing of *wairua* or the life-breath.

Figure 72. Distribution of *ponahi* and *piko-o-rauru* (author's illustration).

Figure 73. *Ngā ponahi* o Te Tairāwhiti pattern.

The analysis of carved pattern historically has been absent from the majority of studies into Māori art. This was probably due to the insistence by many early anthropologists, such as Augustus Hamilton, that the meaning of symbolism in Māori art had been lost. Here, pattern is seen as an important element for a number of reasons. Firstly, by making stylistic connections to established carving regions it is possible to determine where a carved object may have originated. Secondly, the meaning of pattern on *pare* can be explicated by juxtaposing *pare* with similarly carved structures. For example, the *taratara-a-kae* pattern synonymous with Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and Ngāti Porou *pātaka* is also used on some *pare* and *poupou* figures within some *whare whakairo* such as Te Mana o Tūranga at Manutuke in the Poverty Bay region. From this design relationship the question that arises is; what meanings from the *pātaka* are relevant to *pare* and the *whare whakairo*? The common appearance of whale forms on *pātaka* alludes to the gathering of *kai moana* and denotes a connection to Tangaroa, the deity of water realms. Jahnke (2006) also associates entry into the kūwaha *pātaka* and entry into the *pātaka* with the Māui and Hine-nui-te-Pō narrative. In figure 72 the spirals, the majority of which are of *ponahi* type, have been isolated. In this example unity is established through the repetition of consistent shape and pattern. Pattern is not just used to clothe form, it is used to delineate and express unity between the elements. The tonal isolation in figure 72 also highlights the Ngāti Porou, Te

Whānau-ā-Apanui and Rongowhakaata design convention whereby spirals are located on the thighs, shoulders, cheeks, wrists and hands of the *tiki*. Another feature of the Tairāwhiti tradition, seen in figure 73, is a pattern, which follows the design principal of a *pākura*. However, in this Tairāwhiti version the crescent rhythms that normally echo the spiral are freely composed, and the spiral used here is the *ponahi* type rather than *piko-o-rauru*. Jahnke (2012) has suggested that this unique type of patterning be named *Ngā ponahi-o-Te Tairāwhiti*. As will be shown throughout this analysis, the *Ngā ponahi-o-te Tairāwhiti* pattern was used extensively by East Coast carvers during the nineteenth century.Finally, examining the symmetry in this *pare* example, the larger structure is bi-lateral, with correspondence in the size, form, and arrangement of parts on both sides of an axis of symmetry.

Reflection of this sort makes images easier to read because each half represents the composition as a whole. Reflection creates paired groupings of design elements. For example, the interstitial *manaia* become a pair, while the terminal *manaia* also become a pair. While bi-lateral symmetry helps to reduce tension and create a sense of balance, it is counter-balanced in this *pare* by the fluid and vagrant rhythms of the limbs of the *tiki* and *manaia* that serve to give this composition a sense of bursting energy. Also contributing to this energy is the compressed appearance of the figures, particularly the interstitial *manaia* which are simultaneously pushed and pulled from the centre.

Figure 74. *Pare*. Detail of disrupted symmetry of pattern.

For the most part, the patterns are reflected within the *pare* structure; however there are a few instances where pattern is not reflected. In figure 74 the most obvious example of disrupted symmetry in this *pare* is highlighted. Here, the principle of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry) operates. One reason for this change in design could be that the carver simply wanted to make the composition more interesting. Hanson's commentary on bi-lateral symmetry is relevant here, as he noted that disruption to symmetry in Māori art was seen in the form (the *tiki*, *manaia* and *takarangi*), and the manner in which pattern was applied. Hanson (1983) pointed out that in *tā moko*, very small changes to the larger bi-lateral pattern subtly disrupts the symmetry of the design. Prior to European contact kōwhaiwhai also contained an element of disrupted symmetry, which was applied subtly as in *tā moko*.

In Hanson's assessment of the Te Oha *pātaka* he noted that while the *tiki* and *manaia* are reflected across the central vertical axis, the patterns on either side were substantially different (1983, p.84). For Hanson, these subtle changes were an example of his notion of ambivalent tension, whereby breaks in the symmetry in Māori art were thought to align with the Māori world where tension was constant. However, as shown in the previous analysis, Hanson's structuralist approach to disrupted symmetry does not account for the increases in symmetry prior to European arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In revisiting this *pare*, the analysis of form and pattern revealed an intimate connection to the Tairāwhiti carving tradition. While the most poignant example of this was the *manaia* form specific to Rongowhakaata carving, the central *tiki* and subsidiary *tiki* arrangement along with the use of pattern also demonstrated connections to Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui carving. The analysis of pattern also resulted in the creation of a new term for the Tairāwhiti type of *pakura*, *Ngā ponahi-o-Te Tairāwhiti*. Importantly, the articulation of this pattern helps to expedite the process of stylistic attribution. An isolated example of this had been added to the glossary of carvings terms within this thesis. Enquiry into the design convention whereby a large central *tiki* shares a close proximal relationship to subsidiary *tiki* also demonstrated the presence of another principle of Māori design, the principle of *tātai whakapapa* (proximal *tiki* relationships). With this principle carvers demonstrated whakapapa, or genealogical connections through the proximal placement of *tiki*. While exaggerated scale was often used to express direct lineage from parent to child, in some cases the union between husband and wife was shown through coition between two *tiki*. The linear and tonal isolation of form also helped to reveal a number of insights into how the carver intuitively used the elements and principles of design. An exploration of figure-ground relationships highlighted the role that terminal *manaia* play in expressing the notions of interconnectedness and transition. Here, the principle of *tātai mokowā* is apparent. Through isolating the use of continuation, a cyclical *tātai manawa* line was also found within the structure.

## Pare Analysis 3

Figure 75. *Pare*. Kokiri *whare*. Photograph within Wellington Museum.

This *pare* (figure 75) is from a *whare* which once stood at Te Hauke, in the Hawkes Bay (Archey, 1960). It appears in the research of both Archey (1960) and Simmons (2001). Unfortunately, its current location is unknown, and all that seems to exist is a photograph within the Wellington Museum's collection. While there is almost no recorded information about this *pare*, an extensive search within the National Library of New Zealand's collection has revealed it original location. In figure 76, a photograph, taken between 1880 and 1900 by Samuel Carnell, shows a *whare* in a somewhat dilapidated state. The notes associated with this photograph have two important pieces of information. Firstly, the *whare whakairo* in the background is said to be Kahuranaki, carved around 1877. Secondly, research by Neich (1993, p.300) suggests that the name of the *whare* is Kokiri. The image of Kokiri (figure 76) shows that apart from the *pare*, *kōruru* and *tekoteko*, the outside of the *whare* lacked embellishment or other carvings. This limited use of external carving, common in the earlier *whare puni*, highlights the critical role of the *pare* as marker at the entry into the house.

Figure 76. *Pare*. National Library of New Zealand (Ref: 1/1-019372-G).

Figure 77. *Pare*. Detail from photo of Kokiri revealing *pare*. National Library of New Zealand (Ref: 1/1-019372-G).

In figure 77, a close up of the *pare* on the Kokiri confirms the match with the photograph in figure 75. On first impression it appears that the Kokiri *pare* may have originally belonged to another *whare*. Firstly, this is because the sophisticated *pare* design appears to be incongruous with the simple design of the *whare*. Secondly, the *pare* contains design conventions specific to the Rongowhakaata carving. However, the *tekoteko* and *kōruru* assemblage suggests that the *pare* and the assemblage belong together. Not all *whare* had carved *maihi*. The use of carved *maihi* is really a Te Arawa convention that spread to other areas. In this analysis the *pare* will be referred to as the Kokiri *pare*.

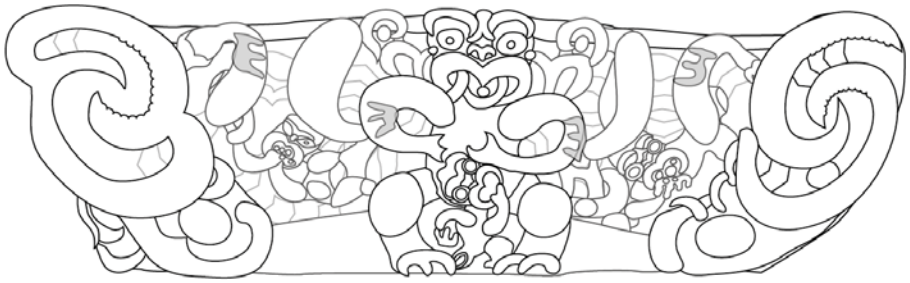


Figure 78. Sectional components of Kokiri *pare* isolated (author's illustration).

In figure 78 the discreet sections of the Kokiri *pare* have been isolated through line and tone. Perhaps the most interesting feature here is that large upturned *manaia* heads are in the position usually assumed by full *manaia* figures. This design convention, seen in figures 79a and 79b, appears at the terminal point of some *maihi pātaka* from the Te Whānau-ā-Apanui carving region, and in an even earlier illustration of a *tau ihu* from Pourewa Island in the Poverty Bay. Stylistically this *pare* also shares a number of other design conventions with Tairāwhiti carving traditions. The interstitial horned *manaia*, which have their mouths to the shoulders of the central *tiki*, are carved in the Rongowhakaata style. Examples of this can be seen in the *rauawa* of Te Toki-a-Tapiri *waka* (1836) in the Auckland Museum.

Figure 79a

Figure 79b

Figure 79a. *Maihi pātaka* detail. Te Tairuku Potaka (Auckland Museum, 22064.3). 79b. *Maihi pātaka* detail. Te Oha *pātaka*. Rotorua Museum.

The dominant form of patterning on the Kokiri *pare*, ngā ponahi-a-Te Tairāwhiti, is also synonymous with the East Coast tradition. Finally, the important design convention whereby a small subsidiary *tiki* appears between the legs of a much larger *tiki* is prominent in Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Porou and Te Whānau-ā-Apanui carving. This feature, introduced in the second *pare* analysis, is an example of the principle of *tātai whakapapa* (proximal *tiki* relationships). Using this principle, carvers reinforced genealogical relationships, such as direct lineage from parent to child, and husband and wife, through proximal *tiki* arrangements and exaggerated scale contrasts. This exploration of stylistic relationships demonstrates that the Kokiri *pare* is composed of elements from both *pātaka* and *waka*.

In terms of the principle of *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by scale), the exaggerated scale of the terminal *manaia* head puts them in direct competition with the central *tiki*. This deviates from the usual design convention in *pare* whereby the central *tiki* is the largest and most important figurative element. The interstitial *manaia* and interstitial *tiki* groups also compete with the central *tiki* group for primacy, creating uncertainty in terms of hierarchal order. This tension is further heightened by the placement of the interstitial *manaia* above the central *tiki*. In this position, the interstitial *manaia* appear as ominous figures looming over and confronting the central *tiki*. However, the location of the central *tiki* group, at most stable location in terms of perceptual structure, means that the central *tiki* group remain more important than the interstitial *manaia-tiki* group.

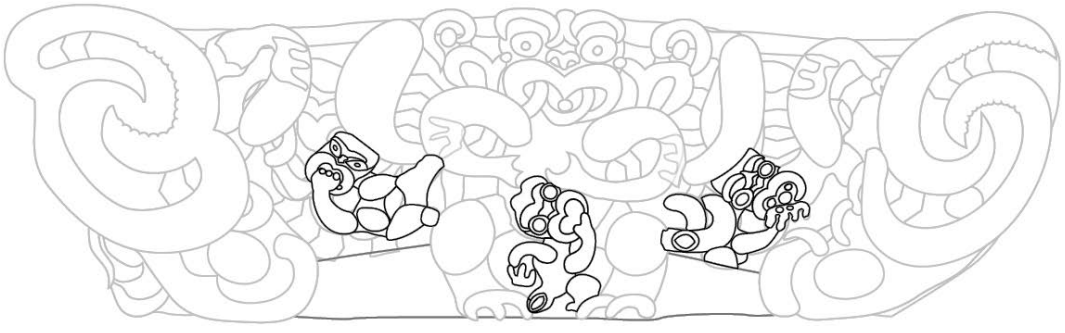


Figure 80. Subsidiary *tiki* and basal element isolated (author's illustration).

Two other design features; the simultaneous use of interstitial *tiki* and interstitial *manaia*, and the rectilinear form of the basal element contribute to the uniqueness of this *pare*. In figure 80, each of these features has been isolated. While the appearance of a head (*tiki* or *manaia*) on the body of the interstitial *manaia* is the Rongowhakaata style, the carver has extended this convention by using the whole *tiki* rather than just the facial mask on the torsos of the interstitial *manaia*. As figure 80 shows, this creates a bond between the interstitial *tiki* and the central subsidiary *tiki*, as all three are similar in scale and gesture (hand to the mouth). In the basal element, the use of straight as opposed to curved lines is uncharacteristic of East Coast *pare* but typical of *pare* from the Te Arawa region.

Revisiting earlier research into the Kokiri *pare*, Archey (1960) was mostly concerned with the terminal *manaia*. He claimed the terminal *manaia* in the Te Hauke lintel (Kokiri *pare*) were a modified version of the basal *manaia* head which is common on many *pare*. This aligned with his theory that carvers were endowed with the authority to make creative changes to *pare* at will. As Archey wrote, " It is most unusual to find the heads of the base forming part of the terminal *manaia* combat; it shows the freedom the artist could claim to modify the content of the normal *pare* figure group in favour of his design concept" (Archey, 1960, p.206). Archey's claim that the terminal *manaia* are an extension of basal head *manaia* is plausible. However, in most *pare* the scale of basal *manaia* is small compared to the other *pare* elements. Jahnke (personal communication, 2012) argues that while basal *manaia* may be small in scale, they carry a connotative weight, which adds to their significance. The central basal element and *manaia*, according to Jahnke, are significant because they represent Papatūānuku. In addition to this Jahnke (2012, communication) suggests that the two *manaia* commonly seen on the basal element are probably a reference to *ira atua* and *ira tangata* or alternatively the bipolar attributes of Hine-nui-te-pō. However, an alternative interpretation, as noted earlier, is that the upturned terminal *manaia* heads in the Kokiri *pare* are a design convention transposed from the terminal points of maihi *pātaka* onto *pare*.

Simmons on the other hand put forward a number of theories about the content and symbolism within this *pare*. He associated the terminal *manaia* with the narrative of Kae and Tinirau. In this narrative, the protagonist Kae ate the pet whale of Tinirau. In retribution for this *hara* (transgression), Tinirau sent out a party of woman who identified Kae by making him laugh, thus revealing his overlapping front teeth. The term *taratara-a-Kae* refers to the crooked teeth of Kae. Commenting on the terminal *manaia* in the Kokiri *pare* Simmons wrote, "The spiral form of the figure's mouth recalls

the first killing of Kae, and indicates that the owner was one who sat in judgement with the power of life and death" (2001, p.88). While a connection between the Kae and Tinirau narrative with the terminal *manaia* in the Kokiri *pare* is plausible, it is not because their mouths are in the *pakake* form. The Kae and Tinirau narrative has resonance here because *taratara-a-kae* constitutes the surface pattern. Thus, the transposition of the *pātaka* styled *manaia* head onto the Kokiri *pare* implicitly denotes a connection to this important narrative. Simmons' contention that "the owner [of the *pare* or *whare*] was one who sat in judgement with the power of life and death" (2001, p.88) appears to relate to the narrative where Tinirau killed Kae in retribution for his *hara*.

One of the stranger points of Simmons account of the Kokiri *pare* was his description about the mouths of the *manaia*. As Simmons wrote, "The crescent mouths of the *manaia* represent the moon giving bones or substance to creation. The overall form would suggest that the lintel is not of this world but of Te Pō" (Simmons, 2001, p.88). While he provides no evidence to support this notion, this statement highlights his tendency towards literalism when interpreting Māori symbolism. The notion that mouths of the *manaia* represent the bones of creation, while incongruous with his descriptions of similar carved designs, also does not account for the fact that nineteenth century Māori carving tended to be figurative rather than naturalistic.

Simmons further contended that the Kokiri *pare* depicts the labour of Papatūānuku, and that the upward-facing *manaia* reference *Te Pō* (2001, p.88). While the theme of *Te Pō* is consistent with the period in which Papa would have been in labour, Simmons failed to explain why the *pare* is indicative of Papa, or Papa in labour. However, this could be an attempt to rationalize the increase in the scale of the basal *manaia* with are normally minor elements beneath the terminal *manaia*. In addition, the gestures of the central *tiki* in the Kokiri *pare* do not align with his other interpretations of labour; central *tiki* with both hands on hips (p.132), or central *tiki* with the left hand on thigh, right hand on chest (p.76).

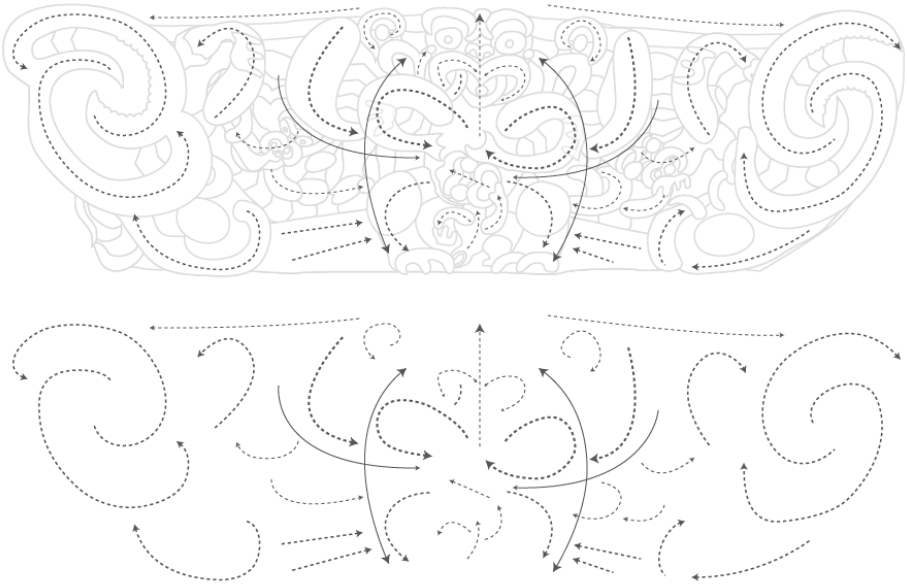


Figure 81. The principle of *tātai manawa* isolated within the *pare* (author's illustration).

Moving beyond the ideas from earlier researchers, this analysis now examines how the elements and principles of design were applied within this carving. In figure 81 the principle of *tātai manawa*, or heart pulse of this *pare* has been isolated. Again, a cyclical motion is evident that begins and ends at the centre of the *pare* is apparent; however, the movement in the Kokiri *pare* appears to be both weaker and less natural than in the first *pare* examined. There are two key reasons for this; firstly, the central *tiki* extends only marginally above the upper frame element, and secondly, the arc of the upper frame descends very subtly. The result of these design conventions is a rhythm that appears unusually tense.

Another way in which this *pare* deviates from single-figure *pare* conventions is that the perceptual shape of central *tiki* is cylindrical, rather than pyramidal. While the pyramidal *tiki* structure reasserts the importance the head of the central *tiki*, the cylindrical structure distributes the focus more evenly across the central *tiki* area. Visually, this creates a more balanced relationship between the head of the central *tiki* and subsidiary central *tiki*. As with *pare* analysis 2, the connection between the arms of the interstitial *tiki* and central *tiki* also creates a contour that leads towards the central subsidiary *tiki* figure, further stating the significance of the subsidiary *tiki*. The subsidiary *tiki* is also differentiated from the larger *tiki* by the use of a contorted asymmetrical pose. Here, the carver appears to have made a conscious decision to express a complimentary, rather than parental, relationship between the large central *tiki* and the subsidiary *tiki*. Additionally, the contrast in poses between the figures expresses an element of tension in the central *tiki* group.

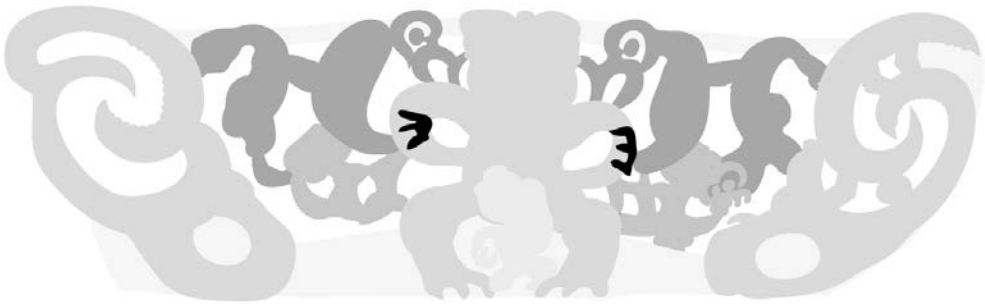


Figure 82. Simplification of figure-ground relationships (author's illustration).

In figure 82, the figurative components have been simplified to demonstrate the dynamics of relief in the Kokiri *pare*. Here, the central and subsidiary *tiki,* along with the terminal *manaia,* appears to be on the highest relief level. While the head and large arms of the interstitial *manaia* are also on the highest relief level, the torso, legs and vagina merge with the secondary relief layer. Here, the principle of *tātai mokowā* (spatial interconnectedness) is evident. This design principle was used to express the inseparability of the material and spiritual realms. It was also used to show unity between the design elements on seemingly disparate planes. A further example of this principle is seen in the hands of the interstitial *manaia,* which overlap with the arms of the central *tiki*, creating a further link between the relief layers. Interestingly, the head and legs of the interstitial *manaia* also rest upon the upper frame element. This creates a powerful effect whereby the *manaia* appears to penetrate the physical space beyond the *pare*.

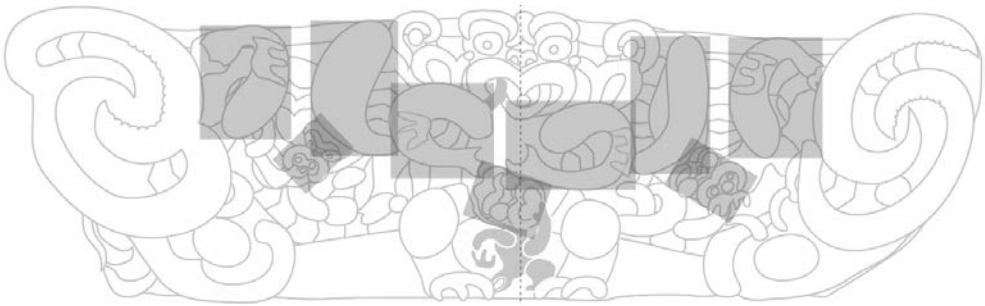


Figure 83. *Tātai hikuwaru* design principle (disrupted symmetry) (author's illustration).

Figure 84. *Pare* detail, the principle of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry) in pattern on arms of central tiki

In figure 83, the *tātai hikuwaru* design principle (disrupted symmetry) is seen in a number of places; the arms of the central *tiki* are at differing heights, the tongue of the central *tiki* extends left of the centre, the asymmetrical body of the smaller central *tiki* is aligned with the central axis, and finally the tilted head of the smaller central *tiki* disrupts the reflection of the other two smaller interstitial *tiki*. The sporadic and varied use of pattern also disrupts the symmetry across the larger structure. The most striking change is seen in the patterns on the shoulders of the central *tiki* (figure 84). While the left shoulder is rendered in a type of *ponahi* spiral, the right hand shoulder and arm contains two spirals and a mixture of *pākura* like patterns. The absence of a large spiral at the shoulder point of the central *tiki* is a very rare design convention in any Māori carving. Although there is a Ngāti Porou convention where the shoulder spirals are replaced by shoulder straps. Further examination of the interstitial *tiki* also demonstrates the absence of bi-lateral reflection. Within the Kokiri *pare*, the use of pattern is consistently asymmetrical. Other than a few very clear ponahi spirals, such as those on the legs of the central figure and on the mouths of the terminal *manaia*, the rest of the patterns are a freely composed version of *ngā ponahi-a-te Tairāwhiti*. The carver appears to have approached pattern as if working on a *papahou* box, creating an all over mesh affect.

This review of the Kokiri *pare*, importantly, has helped to shed light on the possible provenance, and origins for its creation. While the contextualisation of the *pare* within the broader spectrum of Māori carving revealed a number of stylistic connections to the Tairāwhiti region, it also proved invaluable in demonstrating the transposition of carving elements from *waka* and *pātaka* to *pare*. Alternative interpretations to both Archey's and Simmons' ideas on the Kokiri *pare* were also put forward in this *pare* analysis. While Archey's notion that the terminal *manaia* are an extended version of the basal *manaia* element is plausible, this design convention might equally be a transposition of the terminal *pakake* head from the *pātaka*. Simmons' contention that the Kokiri *pare* is connected to the Tinirau and Kae narrative is valid but his claim that the crescent shaped mouths of the *manaia* are symbolic of the moon giving bones or substance to creation comes directly form Kendall's writings on Māori art. The linear and tonal isolation of form also revealed a number of insights into how the carver intuitively used the elements and principles of design. Here, the presence of a number of Māori design principles including; the principle of *tātai mokowā* (spatial interconnectedness), the principle of *tātai whakapapa* (proximal *tiki* relationships), the principle of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry) and the principle of *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by size), further endorse the presence of a Māori language of visual design. The use of the *tātai manawa* (heart pulse of the carving) was shown to be notably different in the Kokiri *pare* to the earlier *pare* analyses. Within this *pare*, the carver used ambiguous figure-ground relationships, all over application of the *ngā ponahi-te Tairāwhiti* pattern, and dramatic contrasts in

scale and gesture to simultaneously express unity and tension. Of final note, the female element was highlighted in the Kokiri *pare* through the consistent use of female genitalia on *tiki* and *manaia*. The important female element on many *pare* is explored in further detail in the subsequent *pare* analysis.

## Pare Analysis 4

Figure 85. Pare. Auckland Museum (18681). From Simmons, p.75, 2001.

This *pare* - recovered from a swamp in Thornton Bay, Thames - was gifted to the Auckland museum in 1923. Museum records associate it with the Tainui *waka* and a carved house which once stood in Paeroa named Te Pae o Hauraki. As will be shown throughout this analysis, this *pare* has a number of distinct features which ground it with the Hauraki tradition of carving. Its relevance within this study is highlighted by its appearance in the research of both Archey (1960) and Simmons (2001). While Archey wrote very little about this *pare*, Simmons put forward a number of ideas about the stylistic attribution and symbolism found in the Thornton Bay *pare*.

Figure 86. Thornton Bay *pare* simplified (author's illustration).

In figure 86, the key figurative elements of the *pare* have been isolated using line, tone and colour. The exaggerated scale of the head of the central *tiki*, while demonstrating the principle of *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by scale), quickly establishes the central *tiki* as the most important figure. Following this, the terminal and interstitial *manaia* are next in importance. They are considered as a couple because of their close proximal relationships; however the interlocking arms of the *manaia* on the right indicate a more intimate relationship between these figures. Lastly, in terms of hierarchy, the two small *manaia* heads are attached to the square basal element. Beyond the key structural elements, other distinctive

features of this *pare* include the explicit rendering of genitalia, the patterning on the central basal element, the inter-locking arms of the *manaia* on the right, and the placement of the small *manaia* heads at the top of central basal element. There is also a unique notched pattern on both the basal element and limbs of the interstitial *manaia*. This *ngau pae* notching, according to Jahnke (in communication, 2012) is a carryover of the edge notching convention prominent in earlier carving traditions, and is particularly evident in Hauraki *pare* and Taranaki *paepae pātaka*.

Figure 87. *Pare* detail. Examples of Tairāwhiti design convention whereby the terminal *manaia* heads rest atop the central basal element.

Figure 88. *Pare* detail. Examples of Hauraki convention with inward facing *manaia* head biting the central basal element.

While Archey's (1960, 1977) commentary on this *pare* was very brief, he did identify the smaller *manaia* heads on the basal element as being a significant detail. According to Archey (1960), these basal *manaia* heads are an extension of the theme commonly seen in the East Coast *pare* whereby a small *manaia* head appears on the lower basal element. In figure 87 two examples of the Tairāwhiti *pare* design convention can be seen. While this ideas has merit, another interpretation is that the smaller *manaia* heads on the Thornton Bay *pare* are an extension of the Hauraki convention where a smaller *manaia* is seen biting the central basal element. Examples of this can be seen in figure 88. In the case of the Thornton Bay it seems that the carver has simply moved these *manaia* up to the central element. What seems to be important in the Hauraki and Tairāwhiti traditions is the consistent appearance of the *manaia* relative to the basal element.

Summarising Simmons' ideas about the Thornton Bay *pare*, he claimed that the central figure is in the position of conception; the smaller *manaia* are male and female representing *ira atua* and *ira tangata*; the lack of background spirals means that this *pare* represents *Te Kore*; the square base element represents Papatūānuku; and the *pare* was carved in the eighteenth century by a Ngāti Maru artist of Hauraki using stone tools (Simmons, 2001, p.74). In an earlier reference to the Thornton Bay *pare* he claimed, "Ira atua on the right links arms with the flanking *manaia*, that is, part of the spirit world, while ira tangata is being fended off by the foot of the *manaia* on the other side" (1985, p.75).

Simmons' attribution of the theme of *Te Kore* to the Thornton Bay *pare* relates to his idea that the *takarangi* spiral was symbolically associated with *Te Ao Mārama* (the world of light), thus where *pare* did not feature spirals he contended that these either represented *Te Kore* or *Te Pō*. Commenting on the Thornton Bay *pare*, Simmons (2001) stated, "Note that there are no spirals in the background, therefore this lintel depicts *Te Kore*, the era which issued in Te Pō" (p.74). One problem with this interpretation is that it conflicts with Simmons other ideas about this *pare*. For example, he claimed that Papatūānuku appears in the Thornton Bay *pare* and the elements of *ira atua* and *ira tangata.* However, the cosmo-genealogical realm of *Te Kore* is seen as a void and place of absolute emptiness (Hiroa, 1949) or a place of potential becoming (Marsden). In the Hiroa (1949) account of Māori cosmology, Papatūānuku does not form until the period of *Te Pō*.

Another problem with Simmons' ideas is that he fails to provide information that might support the idea that spirals were really a later development. Paintings of the *whare Kaitangata* by George French Angas, and accounts from Colonel Wakefield (1839) demonstrate that *pare* with spirals were in production by at least the 1840s. *Takarangi* within Māori art can also be seen as early as 1769 in Sydney Parkinson's illustration of *waka* but not necessarily *wharepuni*. Simmons' contention that the outer *manaia* exist in a spiritual plane separate from that which forms a platform for the central *tiki* and interstitial *manaia* is plausible. However, his suggestion that *ira tangata*, the interstitial figure to the left of the central *tiki*, is being fended off by the foot of the outer *manaia* seems absurd considering that on the right hand side the outer *manaia* has its foot in exactly the same position. A possible approach to deciphering meaning within the Thornton's Bay *pare* would be to examine it in the context of other Hauraki *pare*. In figure 89, the Thornton Bay *pare* is juxtaposed with the Newman and Patetonga *pare*.

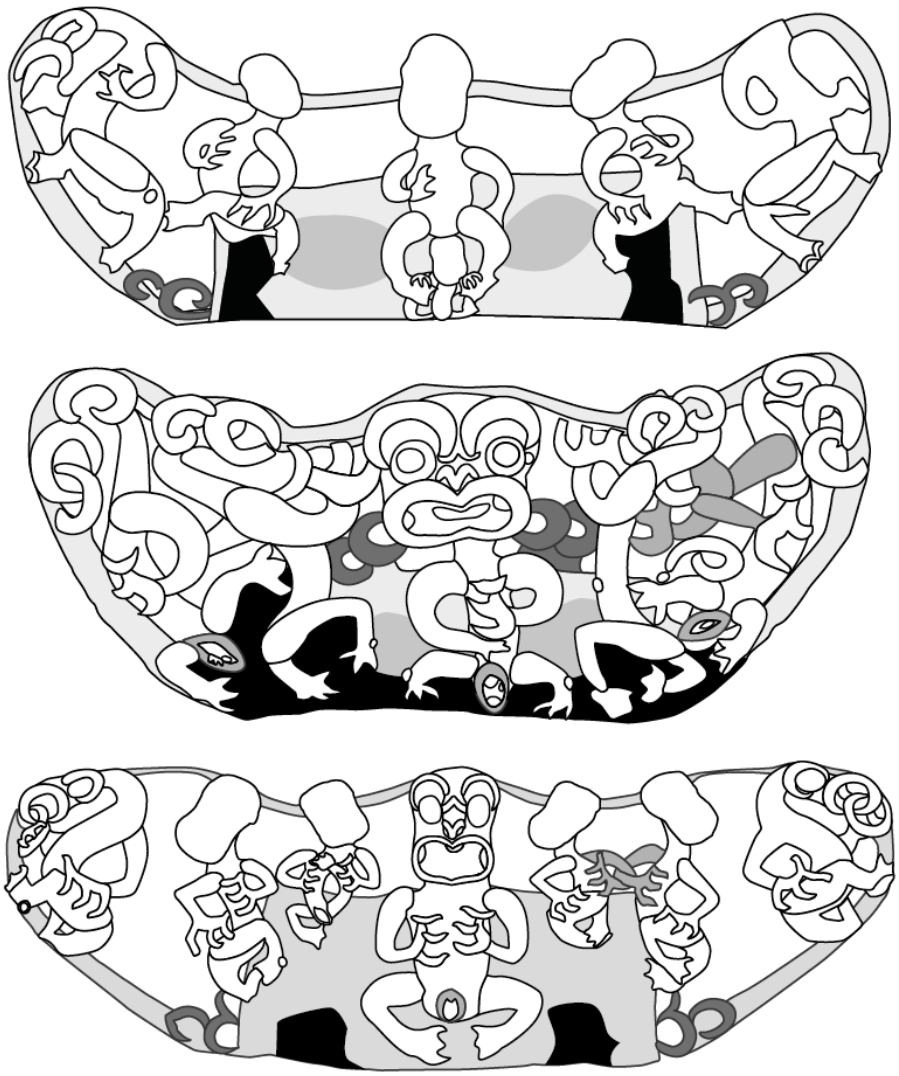


Figure 89. Hauraki *pare* comparison. Newman *pare* top, Thornton bay *pare* centre and Patetonga *pare* bottom. In these examples the area rendered black indicates the absence of pattern (author's illustration).

While the number of *tiki* and *manaia* varies in each *pare*, shared design conventions include; a central rectangular base, a central female *tiki*, interstitial figures overlapping the outer frame, and overtly rendered genitals. The use of plain or un-patterned areas on the basal element, seen in black (figure 89), is also consistent across the three *pare*. The Thornton Bay *pare* also shares a number of design conventions specific to the Patetonga and Hauraki *pare*. Comparing the Thornton Bay *pare* with the Patetonga the linked arm convention features in both between interstitial figures as an expression of the principle of *tātai mokowā* (spatial interconnectedness), whereby the differing layers of relief are interconnected through overlapping planes. In addition both *pare* feature a central *tiki* with large dilated vagina. The prominence of the female genitals here not only asserts the importance of both the central female figures but also the importance of the female sexual and re-productive organs. A comparison of the Thornton Bay and Newman *pare* reveals a unique design convention where the

interstitial figure's feet only just make contact with the outer *manaia*. In the Thornton Bay *pare* this is reversed, with the foot of the outer *manaia* only just making contact with the interstitial figure. These two *pare* also feature a type of edge notching that Jahnke (2012, personal communication) refers to as *ngau pae*. There are also some key differences between these three *pare*. In the Newman and Patetonga *pare* there is a clear segregation between the central *tiki*, the interstitial *manaia* and terminal *manaia*. This deviates from the more common design convention in *pare* design whereby the figures are united through direct contact or the overlapping planes. The Newman *pare* also features a full *tiki* between the legs of the primary central *tiki*. Jahnke's commentary goes some way towards explaining the symbolism of the Newman *pare*. He supports Simmon's (1985) assertion that the Newman *pare* is connected to the Māui and Hine-nui-te Pō narrative writing, "The position assumed by the subsidiary *tiki* suggests either a struggle to part the limbs in an attempt to escape from crushing limbs or a struggle to enter the vulva of the primary *tiki*" (2006, p.112). Jahnke (2006) elaborated on this suggesting that what is really important in *pare* and *paepae* is the consistent use of the female forms at the terminal points of each structure. In contrast to earlier researchers, Jahnke contended that the female genitalia denotes 'generative and degenerative power' and is connected to different states of human existence (2006, p.113). For Jahnke, the consistent appearance of female *manaia* also highlighted the role and spiritual function played by women in Māori society (2006). Discussing the spiritual power of woman, Higgins and Meredith (2012) noted that within traditional Māori society women were associated with the notion of *whakanoa* (to remove *tapu*, or make normal). The position of the female element above the doorway into the *whare whakairo* structure is highlighted in their following statement:

> Because of women's ability to whakanoa, they were never to purposely walk over a man, for fear of removing his mana and tapu. However, when warriors returned from war they would crawl between the legs of the ruahine to whakanoa themselves from the killing and bloodshed, which had rendered these men extremely tapu. During the opening rituals for houses women took the integral role of being the first to enter – usually a puhi selected by the hapū would enter first to whakanoa the house (Higgins & Meredith, 2012).

Additionally, an important Ngāti Rangiwewehi story recounts how Te Ao Kapurangi protected her people from attack by having them enter a house through a doorway she was straddling. According to Higgins and Meredith (2012), their protection was afforded by Hongi Hika, the leader of the enemy who spared only people who had passed beneath the thighs of Te Ao Kapurangi. This further demonstrates the power of the female element, and importantly in this case its protective power. The meanings associated with the word *pare*, as a verb and a noun are significant here. As a verb the word

*pare*(a) means to turn aside, ward off, divert, fend, go to one side, avoid, while as a noun *pare* means protection, fortification (Te Aka Māori-English online dictionary, n.d).

In light of Jahnke's (2006) research, the consistent use of the female *manaia* on both *pare* and *paepae pātaka* (Jahnke, p113), and eighteenth century and nineteenth century Māori notions about the spiritual power of woman, *mana wahine* is proposed as a design principle applicable to *pare* that promote the empowerment of women or the female element. This is supported by Jahnke's survey of over 200 *pare* where only one example of male *manaia* was discovered (2006, p.113).

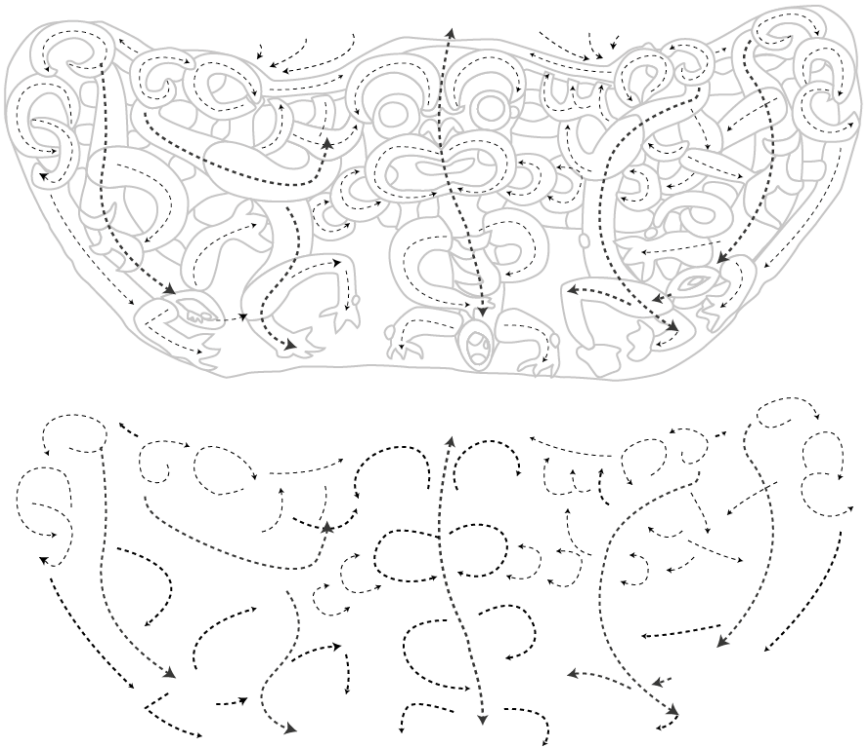


Figure 90. The principle of *tātai manawa* isolated within the Thornton Bay *pare* (author's illustration).

Having contextualised this *pare* within the Hauraki tradition, this section analyses the use of the elements and principles of design in the Thornton Bay *pare*. In figure 90 the *tātai manawa* principle within the *pare* has been isolated. On first viewing, an irregular flow of movement is apparent. This flow is created by the tangled and contorted limbs and the abnormal disruption to the overall bilateral symmetry in the *pare*. This creates a sense of dynamism and tension. The only stable element appears to be the head of the central *tiki*, fixed to the central axis and rendered more significant than the other elements through the use of scale. When compared with the Newman and Patetonga *pare* the Thornton *pare* demonstrates a more arbitrary and spontaneous approach to symmetry with a cramping

of the figurative forms on the right hand side of the *pare* and stretching on the left with appropriate figurative distortion relative to left and right. This *pare* is a clear example of one carved by a carver whose training appears to be outside the 'school' of Hauraki carving. This is further reinforced by the arbitrary nature of the pattern applied to the basal area that are not dictated by any other rationale apart from the shape of the space to be filled.

However, the sectional isolation does reveal a consistent underlying arrangement of form. As seen in previous examples, there is a cyclical flow of movement that begins at the central *tiki*. The eye line is enticed along the upper frame, through the heads of the interstitial *manaia*, only to return in a downward trajectory towards the centre through the outer arc of the terminal *manaia*. In figure 90, the contours of the interstitial *manaia* counter balance those of the terminal *manaia*. Additionally, the main contour of the terminal *manaia* creates an arc which projects the line of vision back towards the most important part of this *pare*, the central *tiki*.

Figure 91. Thornton Bay *pare*. Distribution of *ponahi* spirals (author's illustration).

Repetition is a powerful element in Māori carving and is often used to create a sense of unity. An example of this can be seen in figure 91, where the distribution of the pinched spirals has been highlighted in yellow. This image also demonstrates the convention of placing spirals in or near the areas of anatomical mobility like the shoulders, hips and wrists. Repetition of shape is also used to emphasise movement. In Figure 91, this movement is seen in the chain of crescent shapes (grey) drawing attention to the central *tiki*. In this example, the mouth of the central *tiki* translates into the profile of the *manaia* heads at the top of the basal area.

The review of the Thornton Bay *pare*, while helping ground it within the Hauraki tradition of carving, also demonstrated that the carver who created it probably had training beyond Hauraki. While this *pare* lacks the finesse of sophisticated refinement of many other examples, linear, chromatic and tonal isolation of form in this visual analysis shows that the carver was able to create a sense of dynamism

through the varied use of contour, movement and counter movement. At the same time, though, the approach to symmetry appears arbitrary, rather than expressing the principle of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry), there is a probabilty that this carver did not fully understand or intend to imitate closely the formal design language of carving. This often happens with carvers who are not trained within a carving school environment or are self-trained. A number Māori design principles such as *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by scale), the principle of *tātai mokowā* (spatial interconnectedness), and the principle of *tātai manawa* were found within this *pare*. However, the most striking feature is the prominence of the female genitalia, seen on the key figures, the central *tiki* and terminal *manaia*. Importantly, this has led to the development of a further principle of Māori design, the principle of *mana wāhine* (the female element). This principle asserts that the important spiritual role of woman within Māori society was reflected in the consistent and deliberate of use of female genitalia across *pare* and other carved forms.

## Pare Analysis 5

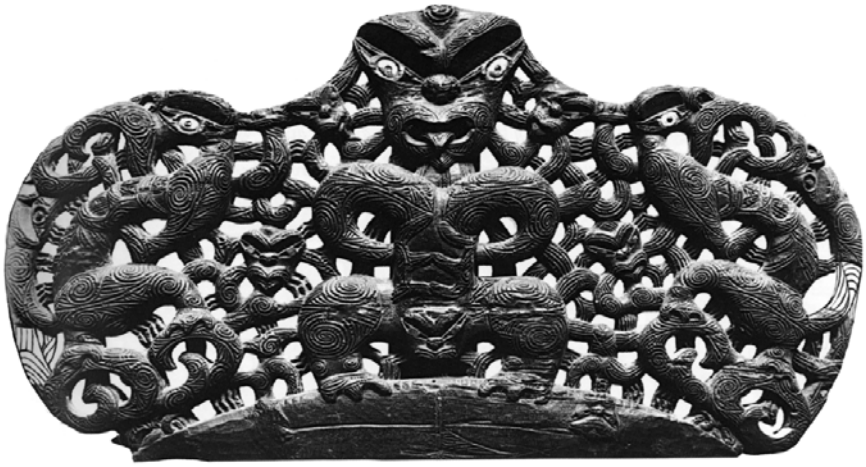


Figure 92. *Pare*. British Museum (Oc.1854, 1229.89).

This *pare* was presented to the British Museum by Sir George Grey in 1854. It features in the *pare* analyses of Archey (1960), Jackson (1972) and Simmons (2001). While Archey did not discuss the tribal carving style, Jackson (2001, p.44) states that this *pare* is in the East Coast style and Simmons identifies the *pare* as Rongowhakaata (2001, Simmons, p.96). Here, the use of *wheku* style heads on *tiki*, the subsidiary *tiki* between larger *tiki*, and the *ngā ponahi o Tairāwhiti* patterning support the Rongowhakaata stylistic ascription. On first viewing, the principle of *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by size), is prominent; the largest and most important element is the central *tiki* (and subsidiary *tiki*), followed by the terminal *manaia*, and lastly the basal *manaia* element. Interestingly, the relatively large basal *manaia* align closely with *manaia* forms on early *maihi pātaka*, denoting a connection to both the *maihi pātaka* and the Rawheoro School of carving.

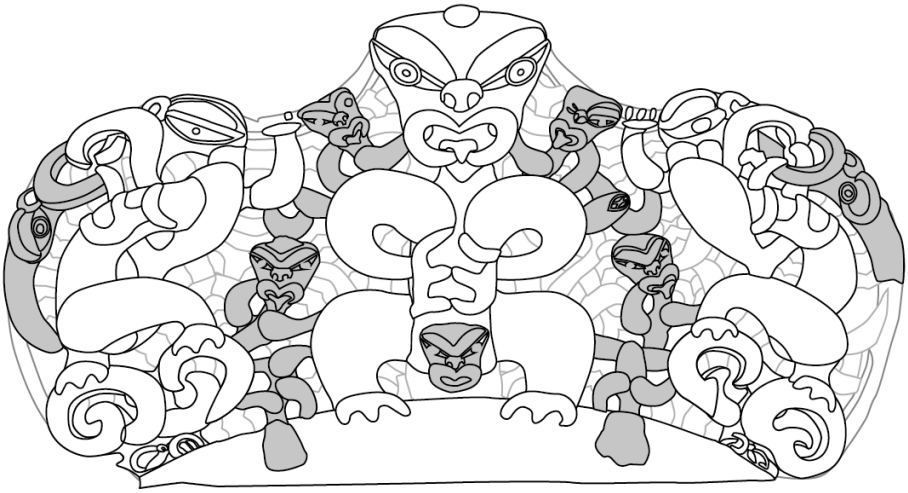


Figure 93. Frame merged *manaia* and the principle of *tātai mokowā* (spatial interconnectedness) (author's illustration).

While Archey's examination of this *pare* was limited to description, he did go into some detail about its appearance. Archey (1960) identified two unique features; the *manaia* forming part of the framing element (*manaia* interlocking with terminal *manaia*); and the heads of the smaller interstitial *tiki* that overlap the basal element. Both of these elements have been highlighted in figure 93. The principle of *tātai mokowā* or interconnectedness is seen in the interstitial *tiki,* which connects the differing relief planes. Transition between differing planes of existence, or realms appears in a number of important Māori cosmo-genealogical narratives, such as the Ngāti Porou account of the origin of carving, or the Tuhoe accounts for the origin of *tā moko* where key human characters move between the realm of humans and deity. The interweaving of smaller *tiki* with one another also expresses the idea interconnectedness and inseparability. Archey's identification of the *manaia* element, which forms part of the frame and interlocks with the terminal *manaia*, is important because both Simmons and Jackson seemed to ignore this important element. The significance of this design feature is highlighted by its consistent appearance in carving from the Tairāwhiti, Hauraki and Te Arawa style regions. This merging of elements from disparate levels of relief is another example of the principle of *tātai mokowā*.

Although Simmons' made a number of hypotheses about this *pare*, his analysis was brief, and devoid of evidence to support his assertions. Simmons (2001) claimed that the separated fingers of the central *tiki* represented the beginning of genesis or 'the io'. However, inconsistency in his ascription of meaning, particularly pertaining to gesture, renders this interpretation suspect. In addition, both Hīroa (1949) and Simpson (1997) questioned the validity of 'io' as an authentic Māori concept. Hiroa, wrote, "The discovery of a supreme god named IO in New Zealand was a surprise to Maori and Pakeha alike" (1949, p.526). The notion of Io, he suggested, was a Ngāti Kahungungu response to Christianity (1949).

Secondly, Simmons (2001) claimed that the interstitial *tiki* represent the children of Rangi and Papa and "…at the same time the beginning of creation itself" (p.96). This is interesting because in the Rangi and Papa narrative their children are all male, however in this *pare* the interstitial *tiki* are female. According to Jahnke (2012, per comms) Simmons was able to side-step contradictions that arose as a consequence of gender because he claimed that *pare* contained the simultaneous use of genealogical and mythological themes. Considering the role of *whakapapa* in all Māori carving, the presence of both genealogical and mythological themes is logical. While the practice of carving denotes a connection to deity who were responsible with creating the arts, the processes involved and the use of material such as wood and shell are also connected to deity such as Tāne and Tangaroa. However, that Simmons does not mention the sex of the figures at all. The prominence of the female form, not only in the

interstitial *tiki*, but across the entire *pare*, emphasises the principle of *mana wāhine* introduced earlier. This principle alludes to the 'generative' power of the female form and the role and spiritual function played by women in Māori society (Jahnke, 2006, p.113). Importantly, this design feature aligns with Ngāti Porou *marae tikanga* whereby women are given speaking privileges on the *marae ātea*. The role of the women as *kaikaranga*, the first voice calling visitors onto the marae, further alludes to the importance of the female element at the point of entry to the *whare*.

Jackson's discussion of this *pare* (1972) centred on his principle of *fission and fusion*. He claimed that the interstitial *tiki*, and their constituent parts were a symbolic representation of the central *tiki* going through a process of dismemberment, only to be recomposed as the outer terminal *manaia* (1972, p.45). The use of similar patterns across the central *tiki*, smaller *tiki* and outer *manaia*, was according to Jackson further evidence of this (1972, p.45). However, Jackson's notion of fission and fusion is problematic because he viewed the interstitial *tiki* as dismembered limbs and body parts rather than whole figures. In figure 93, the smaller *tiki* can clearly be seen as whole figures, and not dismembered parts as Jackson suggests. The deciphering of the interstitial *tiki* is complicated through overlapping planes, that is, the central *tiki*, basal *manaia* and terminal *manaia* overlap parts of the interstitial *tiki*. Here, the principle of *tātai mokowā* is operational. This principle asserts that relief layers are not discreet because carvers unified the layers or planes through overlapping, often with hands and feet of the secondary, smaller, interstitial figures. Also, while pattern is used to help denote a relationship between the *pare* forms, a key difference between the central *tiki* and the terminal *manaia* is that the *manaia* have a distinctive patterning across the ribs.

Figure 94. Left images, detail of poupou figure from Te Tairuku Potaka *pātaka*. Right images, detail of *manaia* form.

In figure 94, a *poupou* figure from Te Tairuku Potaka *pātaka* has been juxtaposed with the *manaia* figures from the *pare*. This example demonstrates a transposition of pattern between the *pātaka* and *pare* carvings and a connection between this *pare* and the Te Whānau-ā-Apanui school of carving. Importantly, the lack of this ribbed feature on the central *tiki* brings Jackson's assertion about fission and fusion into doubt because Jackson claimed that the terminal *manaia* in single-figure *pare* are based

on the central *tiki*. If this were true, one would expect to see this pattern on both the *tiki* and *manaia*. Finally, two interesting features that all three researchers failed to mention include the appearance of two very minutely carved heads below the basal *manaia* heads, and the use of interlocking elements similar to those used in spaces of the perforated *takarangi* spiral. While the use of the rectilinear interlocking elements has a coincidental design relationship to those used to hold *takarangi* spirals together, the meaning behind the use of the very small basal *manaia* heads remains a mystery.

When this *pare* is compared with four similar examples from Penn Museum, the Liverpool Museum, the Waiapu valley and the Horniman Museum, a number of shared design conventions (figure 95) becomes evident. The most significant of these is the appearance of the ribbed pattern on the terminal *manaia*, found in early Whānau-ā-Apanui carvings including the Te Tairuku Potaka *pātaka*. This relationship relates back to a shared carving tradition between Whānau-ā-Apanui and Ngāti Porou through the Rawheoro School at Uawa and the continuity of the Rawheoro style through the Rongowhakaata style of Raharuhi Rukupo (Jahnke, 1996).

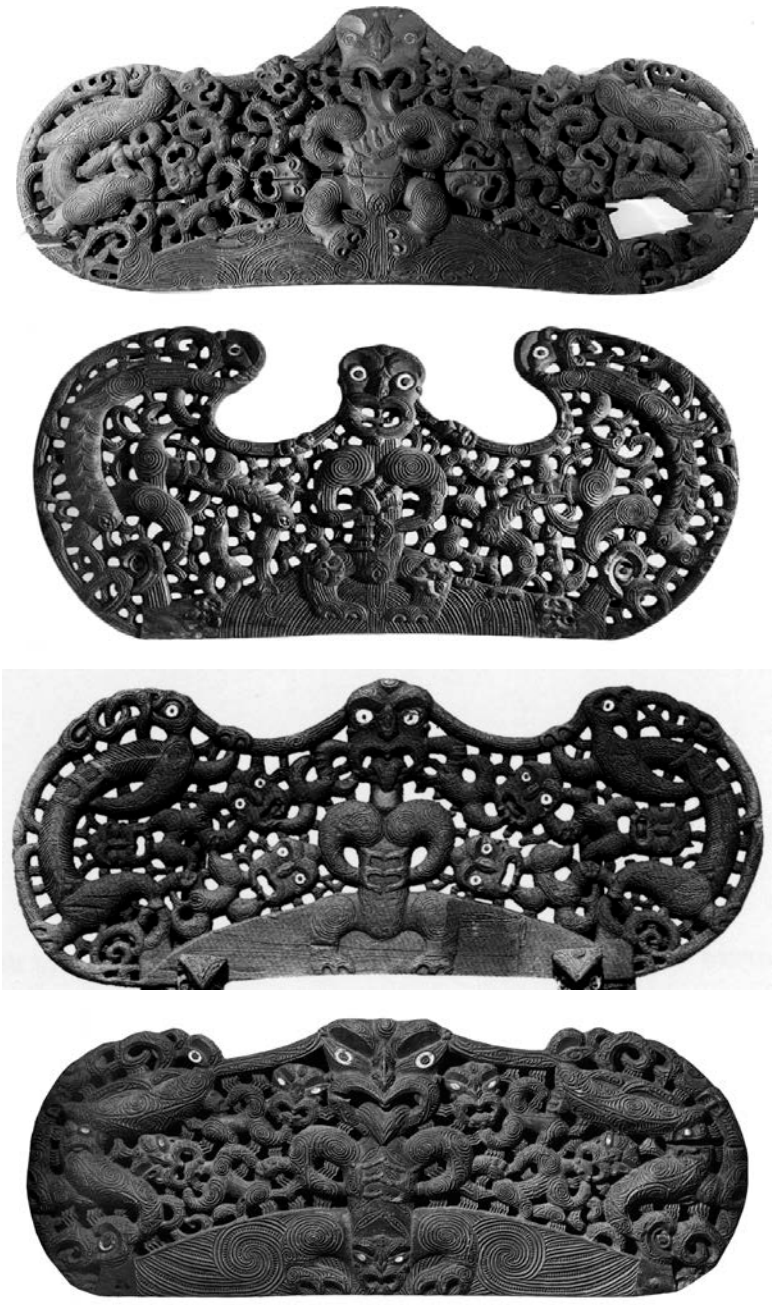


Figure 95. Top *pare*, Penn Museum (18129). Second from top, Liverpool Museum (R1 26-16/30). Third from top, *pare* from Waiapu Valley, now in Auckland Museum (164). Bottom, photo of *pare* from Horniman Museum, London (8.363).

Other stylistic similarities with the Penn Museum and Liverpool Museum *pare* are the principle of *tātai mokowā* (spatial interconnectedness), where the interstitial *tiki* overlap with the lower central basal element and also with the upper frame element, and the principle of *tātai rahinga* (arrangement by size). In the Waiapu *pare*, the use of a plain un-patterned basal element is evident. An interesting element on the Penn Museum, Horniman Museum and Waiapu examples is the appearance of a pointed-oval shaped pattern on the bodies of the central *tiki*. This appears to demonstrate a transposition of pattern from the ribs of the *manaia* to *tiki*.

There are also some major differences between these four *pare* and that from the Auckland museum. The Penn museum example is unique in that the interstitial *tiki* have both male and female genitals, and the hands and fingernails of the central *tiki* are naturalistic rendered in Ngāti Porou style (early examples of seen on carvings recovered from Whangara in the Auckland Museum). The unique aspects of the of the Liverpool Museum *pare* are the simultaneous use of interstitial *tiki* and interstitial *manaia*, the appearance of the distinct *aute taringa* ear feature from Ngāti Porou, and the unique patterning on the basal element. Furthermore, the piko-o-rauru spiral, rather than the usual ponahi type, is used on the points of movement such as the shoulders, hips and cheeks. In the Waiapu and Horniman *pare* the interstitial *tiki* do not overlap the basal element.

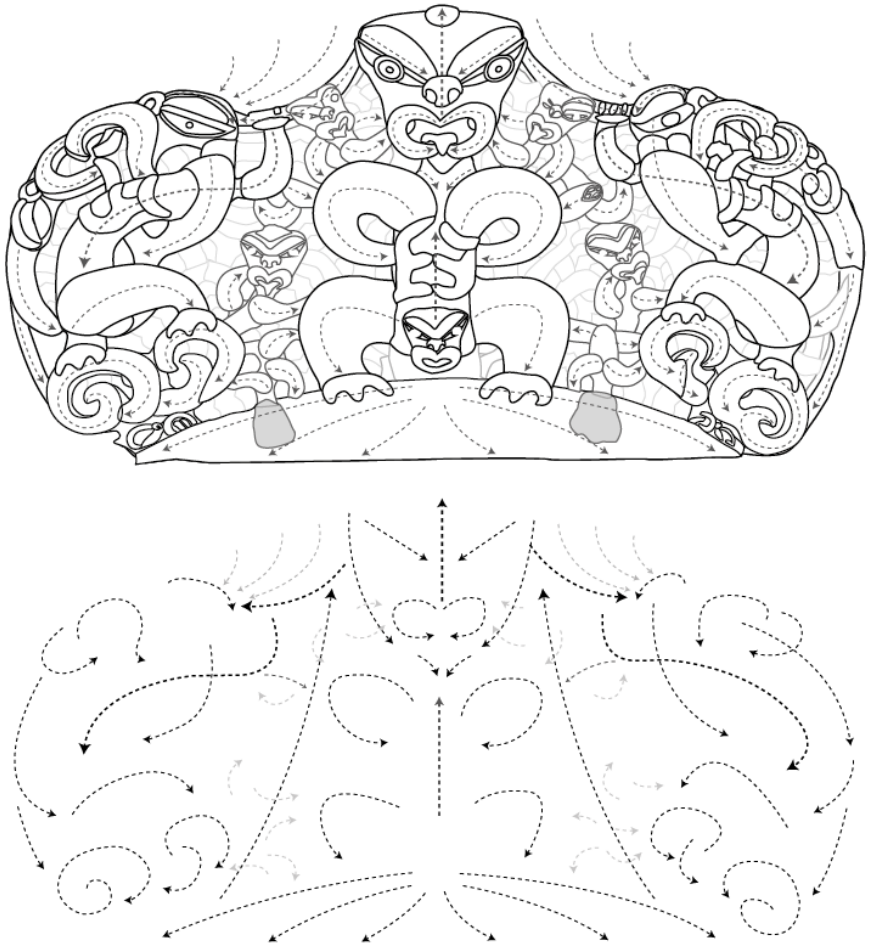


Figure 96. Principle of *tātai manawa* (author's illustration).

Having contextualised this *pare* within the stylistic tradition of Tairāwhiti, this analysis now looks at how the carver intuitively used the elements and principles of design. In figure 96 the movement created by shapes of the limbs has been isolated. Here the 'the heart pulse' or *tātai manawa* is seen within the structure. A reoccurring theme of *pare* design seen here is that the limbs of the central figure

are used to direct the eye towards the centre. While the placement of the central *tiki* on the vertical central axis firmly grounds it within the composition, the pyramidal structure moves the eye from the subsidiary *tiki* up towards the other critical element, the head of the central *tiki*. For nineteenth century Māori, the head was the significant because it was the channel through which *tohunga* mediated with deity. From the head of the central *tiki* the curvature of the upper frame element draws the eye back down through the heads of the terminal *manaia*, finally coming to rest at the basal *manaia* heads. Thus, a cyclical movement is created within the structure. While all figures appear to be locked in place, the fluid rhythms of the limbs of *tiki* and *manaia* produce a sense of energy and tension within the *pare*, best highlighted in the interstitial space where the viewer struggles to find a navigable path through the tangled arrangement of *tiki* and interlocking elements. The exaggerated arched backs of the terminal *manaia* adds to this tension, arranged as if in a slingshot waiting to be released.

Figure 97. Principle of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry) (author's illustration).

There is an almost perfect correspondence in scale, form, and arrangement of parts on both sides of the vertical axis in this *pare*. The carver has also meticulously attempted to mirror the application of pattern on either side of the axis of symmetry. As noted earlier, bi-lateral reflection of this nature reduces tension within compositions and makes images easier to read because each half represents the composition as a whole. The larger reflected structure also counter balances the vagrant rhythms of the limbs of the interstitial *tiki* and connecting elements. While bi-lateral symmetry informs the larger structure, there are also elements of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry) most notably the bodies of the interstitial *tiki* and patterning applied to the leg of the central *tiki*. In figure 97 these examples of the principle of *tātai hikuwaru*, or disrupted to symmetry, have been isolated. Disrupted symmetrical elements in carving metaphorically represent the spark or catalyst for dramatic changes in realm, consiousciousness, or from light to dark. In this *pare*, the principle of *tātai hikuwaru* is also used to draw attention to one of the most important elements in the *pare*, the subsidiary *tiki* which appears between the legs of the central *tiki*. This configuration of *tiki* and subsidiary *tiki*, common in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ngāti Porou carving, is an example of another principle of

Māori design, the principle of *tātai whakapapa*. Placed between the legs of the large central *tiki*, the subsidiary *tiki* expresses the concept of *whakapapa* and ancestry from an *atua*. As shown in this example, a hallmark of this principle is the use exaggerated scale contrasts to also express parent-child relationships.

Concluding the review of this *pare*, the most prominent theme appears to be that of unity. Unity was expressed through the use of overlapping elements and through consistency in terms of shape, scale, gesture and pattern between design elements. The web of interstitial *tiki*, while binding the design elements together, also stressed the notion of *tātai whakapapa* and *whanaungatanga* (family interconnectedness). The other prominent theme within this *pare* appears to be *mana wahine*, and the important spiritual role that women play in Māori society. The consistent and explicit rendering of female genitals on *tiki* and *manaia* forms reinforces this theme. The contextualisation of this *pare* within the Tairāwhiti tradition also revealed a number of stylistic connections to the Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and Rongowhakaata schools of carving. In the first instance, this was seen in the use of the *ngā ponahi-o-te Tairāwhiti* pattern across the *pare*. The scale and design of the basal *manaia* also demonstrated a connection to the *pātaka* structure and to the Rawheoro School of carving. Finally, the linear diagrammatical analysis helped articulate the *tātai manawa*, or compositional flow within this *pare*. As in the previous *pare* analysed, an underlying cyclical rhythm that moves through the central *tiki* is apparent.

## Pare Analysis 6

Figure 98. Pare. Liverpool Museum (Merryside, RI 26.16).

This Liverpool *pare*, introduced in the previous *pare* analysis, appears in the writing of both Archey (1960, Plate 38) and Simmons (2001, p.98-99). While the only information on record within the museum indicates that the *pare* was created before 1894, Simmons (2001, p.98) contends that the *pare* is carved in the Ngāti Porou style. Jahnke supports this ascription, stating:

> The critical factors that support a Ngāti Porou provenance are the kōruru style head of the central figure with taringa aute (the ear detail featuring rolled aute through the ear witnessed by Cook and his men at Uawa). It is a motif shared by the carvers of the Tūranga or Rongowhakaata, Rawheoro, Iwirākau and Tūkaki (Te Whānau-ā-Apanui) schools, and more specifically the tongue that laps the side of the mouth. Another critical element includes the upper profile presentation of the interstitial and terminal *manaia* with frontal lower torso. (2012, personal communication, November 6).

Additionally, the extensive use of the *rauponga* pattern is associated within the Iwirākau tradition; and the ribbed patterns on the body of the *manaia* denote a connection to Te Whānau-ā-Apanui carving (see the Te Tairuku Potaka *pātaka*). The naturalistic rendering of the hands, with knuckles and finger nails, also suggests a connection to Ngāti Porou carving (see the Pourewa island carving). In appearance, the Liverpool *pare* shares some design conventions with the previous *pare* analysed (figure 21, British Museum, Oc.1854, 1229.89) including; interstitial *tiki* whose heads overlap the basal element and the upper frame (the principle of *tātai mokowā*), terminal *manaia* and interstitial *manaia* featuring a distinctive patterns across the belly (similar to the *pou* figures on the Te Tairuku Potaka pātaka), *manaia* merge with the outer frame, and the prominence of the female element (the principle of mana wahine) expressed through the consistent use of female genitals. However, there are also a number of unique elements within this *pare*. These, which have been highlighted in figure 99 include the large interstitial *manaia*, interstitial *tiki* overlapping the thighs of the central *tiki*, the *rauponga* pattern across the basal element (interrupted by two smaller *tiki* heads), smaller *manaia* on the outer

frame that appearing to bite the larger terminal *manaia*, the *taringa aute* feature on the head of the central *tiki*, and finally the eyes of the smaller *tiki* rendered as *piko-o-rauru* spirals.

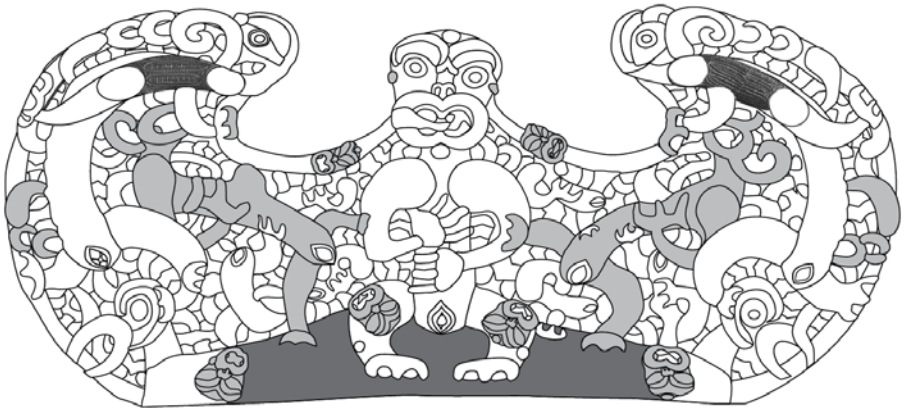


Figure 99. Unique elements of Liverpool *pare* isolated (author's illustration).

For Archey (1960), the key points of interest in this *pare* were the arrangement of interstitial *tiki*, particularly those that overlap with the basal element, and the smaller terminal *manaia* constituting part of the outer frame. Pictorially, the arrangement of upturned *tiki* makes the interstitial somewhat enigmatic because gravity appears to be absent. While the figures do not appear to be floating in space, the cramped *tiki* and ambiguous spatial orientation alludes to the narrative of the separation of Rangi and Papa. Considering the exclusive use of *tara* on *tiki* and *manaia* this interstitial space may also allude to ideas about birth and the space within the womb. Moving onto the smaller terminal *manaia* feature, the important question here is why do these figures consistently appear in single-figure *pare*? In terms of design, the close proximal relationship with the larger *manaia* and scale contrast echoes the parent-child relationship of the *tātai whakapapa* principle.

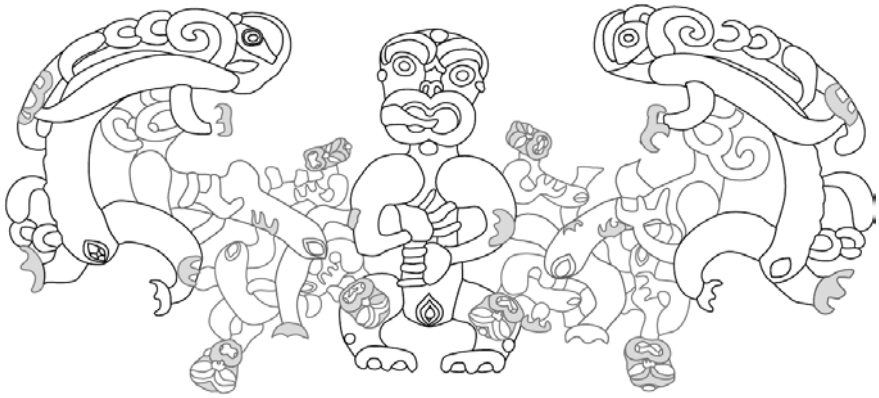


Figure 100. Principle of *tātai mokowā* (spatial connectedness) and the principle of *tātai whakapapa* (author's illustration).

In Archey's discussion of the Liverpool *pare*, he also noted that unity appeared to be the dominant theme. As Archey wrote, "Indeed in all six *pare* of this group we see this same theme of natural forms,

human figures, rendered in variations of different degrees of complexity, but always retaining an unbroken harmony of content and form" (1960, p.209). In the first instance, unity between the figures is achieved by the use of touching, grasping and overlapping. In figure 100, the *tiki* and *manaia* have been isolated. Here, the figures are inextricably connected to one another in a powerful expression of *whanaungatanga* (family interconnectedness). The placement of the smaller *tiki* heads on the thighs of the large central *tiki* demonstrates the principle of *tātai mokowā*. These interconnected relief planes, while contradicting Jackson (1972) and Simmons (2001) notion of disparate layers, alludes to the inseparability of the material and spiritual realms.

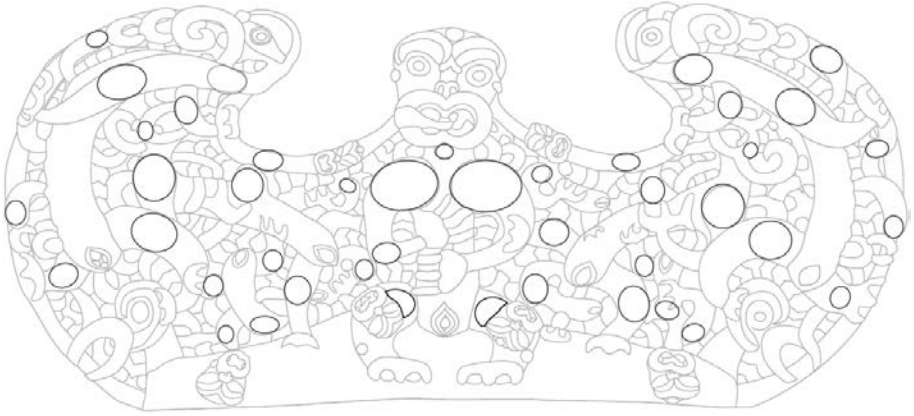


Figure 101. Distribution of *piko-o-rauru* spirals isolated (author's illustration).

Repetition is also an important design principle used throughout Māori carving reinforcing the notion of unity. In figure 101, the consistent distribution of the *piko-o-rauru* spiral has been isolated. In this *pare* the *piko-o-rauru* spiral was applied to the knees and shoulders of all *tiki* and *manaia*. It was also used to render the eyes of the smaller *tiki* figures. Unity between the central *tiki* and *manaia* forms is also expressed by the shared use of *pākati* and *haehae*. At the same time, the absence of this pattern on the smaller *tiki* helps distinguish them from the larger more important design elements. The consistent use of female genitalia demonstrates the use of repetition to unify the *tiki* and *manaia* forms. Here, the principle of *mana wahine* can be seen. This principle, while asserting the important spiritual role of women in Maori society, also alludes to the generative and degenerative power associated with the female genitals. While the vagina is portal from which man entered the world, it is also the place in which Māui perished resulting in mortality for humankind.

Simmons, in his analysis of this *pare*, made a number of assertions regarding the narrative content in this *pare*. According to Simmons the central *tiki* is pregnant, the interstitial *manaia* represent *ira atua* and *ira tangata*, and the protruding tongue of the central *tiki* gives the ancestors and descendants the

right to speak (Simmons, 2001, p.28). As noted earlier, it is difficult to determine the validity of many of Simmons' statements on Māori art because there is pattern of inconsistency in his descriptions. Another problem is that Simmons' interpretations are often literal. For example, Simmons interprets the central *tiki* as being pregnant because the figure has female genitals and because it has one hand across the stomach area. While this idea is plausible, Simmons gives no evidence or rationale for this conclusion. His assertion that the tongue of the central *tiki* symbolises the right to talk is plausible, but devoid of evidence to support his claim. If a literal perspective on Māori carving is adopted, a more important question is, why do carved female figures have protruding tongues at all, considering that it was only men who used this gesture in *pūkana*? While women also performed the *haka*, in the female *pūkana* the mouth remained closed while the chin is thrust forward and eyes are enlarged.

One the most unique aspects of this *pare* that Archey and Simmons failed to mention was the use of both interstitial *tiki* and interstitial *manaia*. Although there are extant *pare* with *tiki* and *manaia* in the interstitial space, the composition of *tiki* and *manaia* in each of these is very different. The amalgamation of *tiki* and *manaia* here expresses a complimentary relationship, perhaps alluding to the inexorable connection between *tangata* and *atua*. In the Liverpool *pare*, the proximal relationship between the interstitial *manaia* and terminal *manaia* also unifies these elements into groups, reasserting the significance of the *manaia* within this composition. In this *pare*, it seems that the large interstitial *tiki* are used to help create a balance between *tiki* and *manaia* forms.

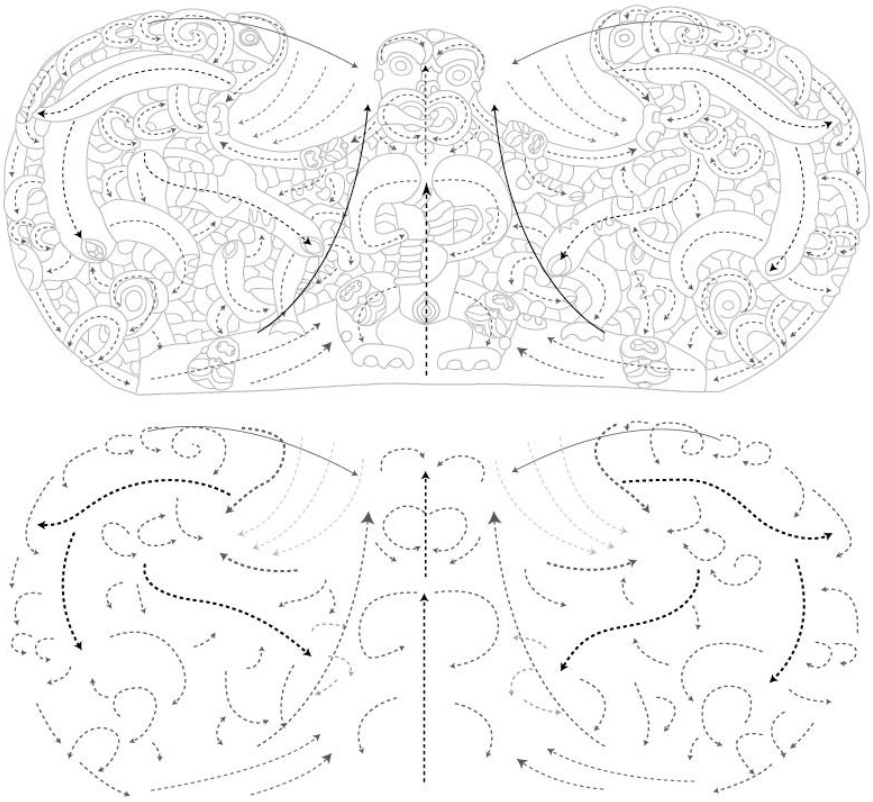


Figure 102. Principle of *tātai manawa* (author's illustration).

Looking at the elements and principles of design, in figure 102 the principle of *tātai manawa*, established by the contours through the forms of the *tiki* and *manaia* have been isolated. At the centre the curved basal element and pyramidal structure of the central *tiki* create a funnel of movement that culminates at the head. Here, exaggerated scale is used to reinforce the importance of the head on the central *tiki*. In figure 102 the arched back of the terminal *manaia* and the framing element creates a contour that leads to the head of the central *tiki*. In a counter rhythm to this the ascending curves of the frame move the eye from the centre towards the heads of the terminal *manaia*. From this point contour draws our attention down through the body of the terminal *manaia* to the basal *manaia* heads where the cyclical flow of movement repeats itself. Critically, the sweeping curves of the interstitial *manaia* also culminate at the *tara*, which through a commonality of shape leads the eye to the *tara* of the central *tiki*. Thus, prominence is once again given to the female element at the centre of the *pare*.

In terms of symmetry, the *pare* aligns with Paama-Pengelly's definition, where there is general correspondence in the size, form, and arrangement of parts on both sides of an axis of symmetry. However, the principle of *tātai hikuwaru* (disrupted symmetry) is asserted forcefully through the asymmetrical pose of the central *tiki*. Here, the arms, the tongue, and the tilted head give a vitality and vigour that is usually lost through bi-lateral reflection. Another noticeable break in symmetry is seen in

the application of the *rauponga* pattern to the basal element. Here, an example of bilateral symmetry is apparent, similar to that used in *kōwhaiwhai* (rafter paintings). However there is a deliberate disruption of perfect symmetry with the different *whakarare* compositions on either side of the axis of symmetry. As noted earlier, the disruptive symmetrical element symbollicaly represents change and the potential for growth.