

**Exhibiting Connections, Connecting Exhibitions:
Constructing trans-Pacific relationships through museum
displays in Oceania (2006-2016)**

Volume I

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Abstract

This research explores the correlation between exhibitions and networks in the context of the 21st century Pacific. Firstly, exhibitions are envisioned as relational and connective practices that trigger interactions through their making. Secondly, exhibition-products are regarded as the result of these relationships, which bring together a wide range of agents including makers, things, spaces and epistemologies. Applying the Actor-Network-Theory to the field of exhibition studies, this thesis follows the path of six trans-Pacific museum displays. These case studies were developed between 2006 and 2016 by three major institutions of Oceania, located in Aotearoa New Zealand (Auckland Museum), Hawai'i (Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum) and Taiwan (Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts).

After a theoretical and methodological introduction, Chapter 2 dwells on the history of the institutions included in this research and pieces together the genealogical grounds for each exhibition case study. Short-term exhibitions and their capacity to open new museum routes are explored in Chapter 3. Long-term displays and the musealisation of temporary pathways are presented in Chapter 4. While reassembling the trajectories of each exhibition in Chapter 3 and 4 and connecting their genealogies, this study examines the existence of parallels, translations and echoes amongst the case studies in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 further emphasises these relationships and equally dwells on the limitations and impacts of connective narratives by analysing the Pacific maps displayed in these trans-Pacific exhibitions.

By and large, this research explores the increasing development of a trans-Pacific culture of display in Oceania, which is examined through the lens of exhibitions developed and presented in this region at the dawn of the 21st century.

***“We need to show and learn that we are bigger,
that we belong to a bigger family, Oceania.
As a part of this family, we have a stronger voice.
And, after all, we are too many islands to show them all.”***

Taueva Fa’otusia, docent in *Pacific Hall*,
Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai’i, October 2014.

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List of Acronyms

AAG	Auckland Art Gallery/Toi o Tāmaki
ADCK	Agence de Développement de la Culture Kanak
AM	Auckland War Memorial Museum/Tāmaki Paenga Hira
ANT	Actor-Network-Theory
AOT	Across Oceans and Time: Art in the Contemporary Pacific
ASC	Arctic Studies Center
BPBM	Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum
CAAP	Contemporary Austronesian Art Project
DAPEX	Département des Arts Plastiques et des Expositions
EDL	Ecole du Louvre
FAKCO	Fonds d’Art Contemporain Kanak et Océanien
FESTPAC	Festival of Pacific Arts
HNM	Hawaiian National Museum
HH	Hawaiian Hall
KMFA	Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts
LF	Le Folauga: The Past Coming Forward
MAA	Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
MAI	Marson Architects Inc.
MOA	Museum of Anthropology
MQB	Musée du quai Branly (Quai Branly Museum)
NMNS	National Museum of Natural Science
NMP	National Museum of Prehistory
NMS	National Museum of Scotland
NTM	National Taiwan Museum (former Viceroy’s Office Museum)
PAA	Pacific Arts Association
PAG	Pacific Advisory Group
PG	Pacific Galleries
PH	Pacific Hall (former Polynesian Hall)
PIMA	Pacific Island Museums Association
RAA	Ralph Appelbaum and Associates
ROC	Republic of China (Taiwan)
SCVA	Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts
TCC	Tjibaou Cultural Centre (Centre Culturel Tjibaou)
TGJ	The Great Journey: In Pursuit of the Ancestral Realm
TOM	Tangata o le Moana: New Zealand and the People of the Pacific
TPT	National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
UH	University of Hawai’i at Mānoa
VM	Vaka Moana: The Voyages of the Ancestors
VOM	Viceroy’s Office Museum

Preface

As this research focuses on the ways in which interactions shape and nurture specific endeavours, I would like to take the chance to ground this study in the journey that led to its development.

This journey began in 2010, when I travelled to Aotearoa New Zealand to intern at the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (TPT). Following TPT's request to repatriate the collections of *toi moko*/Māori mummified heads held by French institutions, and a first agreement by the Museum of Natural History of Rouen to return its *toi moko* (in 2007), the French government revised and voted to enact a law that enabled this process in May 2010. As a student of the undergraduate programme dedicated to the history of the Arts and Cultures of the Pacific at l'Ecole du Louvre (EDL, Paris, France), I had followed this moment with great attention. Connected to TPT through Philippe Peltier (Curator for Oceania and Insulindia at the Quai Branly Museum) and Prof. Jonathan Mane-Wheoki (then Professor at Elam School of Fine Arts in Auckland), I flew to Aotearoa to integrate the programme "Karanga Aotearoa" in July 2010. Since 2003, this programme had been tasked by the New Zealand government with the mission to conduct local and international repatriations. Upon my arrival, I was welcomed through a formal greeting by the head of the programme Te Herekiele Herewini and his team, by Rhonda Paku and the Mātauranga Māori/Māori Knowledge Department, by Sean Mallon and the Pacific team, as well as by Carolyn Roberts-Thompson and Hema Temara, TPT's *kuia*/elder and advisor for the Iwi/Communities Relationships Department.

My role at TPT, and as a temporary member of the *karanga*/call, was to piece together the trajectory of the Māori *toi moko* from New Zealand to France in order to facilitate their future return to Aotearoa. Simultaneously, I was also being trained and mentored by Rhonda Paku at the Mātauranga Māori Department and by Sean Mallon and Sakua Akeli in charge of the Pacific (non-Māori) collections. Researching TPT's bicultural policies and learning Te Reo Māori (and English), I became aware of the difference of status between the *tangata whenua*/people of the land (Māori) and the *tangata*

moana/people of the Pacific (non-Māori islanders) at the National Museum. I remember paying a visit to TPT's galleries before starting my work shift and wondering why Māori and Pacific collections were not displayed together, as was the case at the Quai Branly Museum (MQB) in Paris. Discussing this observation with the Pacific Curator Sean Mallon, I realised that, in New Zealand, mapping Aotearoa as a part of the Pacific was not a given. My internship organised between the Repatriation, Mātauranga and Pacific departments made me aware of both my own positioning and understanding of Oceania as a student of a French institution, and of the complexity of articulating local and regional Pacific heritages in museums and displays in Oceania.

A year after this life-changing experience, TPT and the MQB – where I had returned as a temporary staff member – collaborated on the touring of the exhibition *E tū Ake: Standing Strong* from Wellington to Paris. At the time, I was in the master's programme for Museum and Curatorial studies at the EDL. Marked by my time at TPT, I focused my masters research on the modalities of transposing *E tū Ake* from TPT to the MQB (Christophe, 2012). My dissertation, titled "*Māori by Māori*" – *Quand l'invité devient l'hôte (When the Guest Becomes the Host)*, was the product of a collaboration with the MQB's teams enabling this transposition on the ground, and the outcome of various conversations with Rhonda Paku (in charge of the project) and the teams who had travelled from TPT to Paris for the installation of the exhibition. Supported in this research by the museologist Prof. François Mairesse (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle, Paris) and Magali Mélandri (Oceanic Collections Manager, MQB), I developed a comprehensive approach of the process of "transposition", which was then applied to both cultural values and exhibition materials. While reassembling this particular type of translation and researching the history of Pacific/Māori exhibitions, I was struck by the role played by museum displays in constructing and negotiating cross-cultural and cross-institutional dialogues.

While I was finishing this dissertation in 2012, I volunteered in another innovative institution, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA) in Cambridge (England). Collaborating with Dr. Julie Adams and Dr. Lucie Carreau on the projects *Artefacts of Encounter* and *Fijian Art*, I had the privilege to team with a crew of

passionate caretakers who were reaching out and engaging with the Pacific from England and through museum practices. Simultaneously, I had applied for a PhD position at the Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas (UEA, Norwich) where, unexpectedly, some of these professionals had themselves been trained. Selected for an interview, I travelled from Cambridge to Norwich to meet those who would later mentor and support my PhD project: Prof. Steven Hooper and Dr. Karen Jacobs. In my original PhD proposal, I had offered to explore the relationships between various museums of the Pacific, notably established through the means of exhibitions. Believing in the feasibility of this project before I even did, Steven and Karen offered me a PhD position. Having completed my research on *E tū Ake* and being awarded the Robert Sainsbury Scholarship a few months later, I moved to Norwich (England) to embark on the journey that this thesis captures.

I would like to acknowledge and thank those who, in Oceania and in Europe, shared their knowledge and their passion with the young woman that I then was. These people – their scholarship, their care and their generosity – certainly influenced the early trajectory of this research and I am extremely grateful that our paths crossed. Additionally, this study would not have been possible without the inspiring support and hospitality of the curators, practitioners, scholars, artists and other agents who shared their stories about/across Oceania. Precisely, I would like to dedicate this manuscript to the makers and the movers, who, at *home* and *overseas*, demonstrate through their trajectories, their aspirations and their actions, that relationships transcend borders and redefine belonging.

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Chapter 1:
Setting the Scene, Unveiling the Stage

<u>Ngā iwi e</u>		<u>‘Ōiwi E</u>	
Ngā iwi e! Ngā iwi e!	<i>All you people! All you people!</i>	‘Ōiwi E, ‘Ōiwi E	<i>Native born, native born</i>
Kia kotahi ra te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa E i a i e	<i>Be united as one like the Pacific Ocean</i>	E kāhea ana e nā iwi e Ua ‘ike mai nei (2x) Ku‘u one hānau e	<i>Calling all native born I know, I know my birthplace</i>
Kia mau ra! Kia mau ra!	<i>Hold on firmly! Hold on firmly!</i>	Eia mai la (2x) Nā kupa‘āina o Hawai‘i nei	<i>Behold, Behold the native born of Hawai‘i</i>
Ki te mana motuhake me te aroha E i a i e	<i>To your separate identity and to compassion</i>	Kāko‘o mai nei (2x) kūpa‘a lōkahi e	<i>Support given here Support given here, stand firm in unity</i>
Wahine mā! Wahine mā!	<i>All you young women! All you young women!</i>	E Kīkilo e nā iwi, kīkilo e nā iwi e nā mamo e Nā kini makamaka e	<i>Look all ye life-givers Look all ye life-givers, the choicest, the multitudes</i>
Maranga mai, Maranga mai, kia kaha E i a i e	<i>Rise up, rise up, be strong All you young men! All you young men!</i>	E Kūpa‘a ke kanaka, kūpa‘a ke kanaka Hanohano ha‘aheo e	<i>Stand firm everyone, Stand firm everyone, glorious and proud,</i>
Tāne ma! Tāne ma!		Kū ke kanaka Kūpa‘a ke kanaka Hanohano ha‘aheo e	<i>Stand everyone Stand firm everyone, glorious and proud,</i>
Whakarongo tautoko kia kaha E i a i e	<i>Listen, support, be strong</i>	Kahi, lua, kalu, ha! Hi ora hi!	<i>One, two, three, four! Life!</i>

This song was shared with the researcher by Marques Hanalei Marzan (Cultural Resources Specialist) and Michelle Kamalu du Preez (Assistant Collections Manager) in the context of the renovation of *Pacific Hall*, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Honolulu, Hawai‘i), in August 2013.

1.1 – Opening and Introducing the Thesis

In the islands of Oceania where this research was conducted, opening a space for encounters and negotiations often begins with a speech, a prayer or a song. The waiata/mele/song reproduced above in Te Reo Māori/Māori language (*Ngā iwi e*) and in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i/Hawaiian language (*‘Ōiwi e*) not only serves as an opener to this thesis, but also encapsulates the core dynamics explored in this study. The lyrics, as well as the process of composing them, tell the story of relationships across Oceania, relationships

that are not limited by borders or coastlines but that develop through and beyond the expanse of the Pacific Ocean, Te Moana-nui-a-kiwa (The Great Sea of Kiwa). This song, shared in both languages by the staff of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum during fieldwork in Hawai'i in 2013, also connects cultural relationships with museum networks. It acts as a reminder of the role of cultural institutions in Oceania and their ability to facilitate trans-Pacific conversations and dialogues as well as to construct trans-Oceanic identities and networks.

This waiata/mele is either described as a unique bilingual chant – existing in two versions, one in Māori and one in Hawaiian – or as two different songs. It was composed by the Māori author Hirini Melbourne (Ngāti Tūhoe, 1949-2003) in the 1970s under the title *Ngā iwi e (All you People)*. Written to honour the peoples of Te Moana-nui-a-kiwa, it sought to spread the following message: Pacific Islanders are “united as one, like the Pacific Ocean” (see lyrics). The journey of this song continued and shifted when it was presented to the Hawaiian kumu/teacher John Keolamaka'āinana Lake upon one of his visits to Aotearoa New Zealand. Lake (1937-2008) was the founder in 1975 of Hālau Mele, a school/community dedicated to learning “all things Hawaiian”, which played a key role in the Hawaiian cultural renaissance. The kumu received the song and took it back to Hawai'i. It is said that by the time he reached the shores of his island, Lake had forgotten the lyrics of the waiata, but could still recall its melody and its core message very distinctively. Willing to pass on this song to the members of his hālau/school, he decided not to translate the Māori waiata into Hawaiian but, instead, to entirely rewrite it from memory, in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. As the translations in English presented above demonstrate, the mele that he composed under the title 'Ō*iwi e* is not a literal translation of the Māori song *Ngā iwi e*. Yet, Lake's translation transposes the meaning of the song into Hawaiian and maintains its essence, while adapting it to a different-yet-connected cultural context (Marques Hanalei Marzan, interview, 16/10/2014).

In 2013, the mele 'Ō*iwi e* became a key element of the conversations triggered by the renovation of *Pacific Hall*, the gallery dedicated to Oceania at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Honolulu, Hawai'i) – a case study for this research. As museum staff were

preparing for the reopening of the hall, they invited the Māori choreographer Jack Gray (Ngāti Porou, Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahungunu) to create a piece for the occasion (see Chapters 5 and 6). During the early stages of this collaboration, two staff members and Hawaiian cultural practitioners affiliated with Hālau Mele, Marques Hanalei Marzan and Michelle Kamalu du Preez, shared the song with the choreographer and with the group involved in the project. By doing so, they were first paying tribute to Lake, their kumu/teacher who had taught them the words and the motions. As hosts, they were also showing respect to Gray, their guest, who had come from the island where Lake himself had been treated as a guest of honour. Circulating back and forth across the Pacific region, the mele/waiata and its history intertwined with the renovation of the exhibition itself. The process of teaching/learning this connective song while creating the performance piece for the exhibition's opening mirrored that of bridging Pacific cultures and artefacts within the new museum display. Discussed and rehearsed in both Hawaiian and Māori by the artist and the staff, *‘Ōiwi e* and *Ngā iwi e* epitomised the complexity of trans-Pacific conversations. Binding the participants through melodies and motions, it highlighted both the current determination to emphasise the ties that bind Pacific peoples, as well as the variations in expressing and representing these connections within each island context. It also brought forth the challenges of translating and negotiating meaning across cultures, and the complexity of acknowledging diversity while maintaining a unique and unified message.

This thesis explores the role of exhibitions in constructing and staging Pacific relationships and connections across Oceania. It focuses on museums of the Pacific and its so-called “Rim” within and through which the identity of the region as well as the very meaning of this regionalism are being renegotiated and transformed. Exhibitions, regarded here as both processes and products, are at the core of this dynamic. They not only absorb and stage these negotiations, but also act as catalysts of their construction. This research follows the path of the making and the presentation of six exhibitions developed between 2006 and 2016 by three museums located in Aotearoa New Zealand (Auckland War Memorial Museum), Hawai‘i (Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum), and Taiwan/Republic of China (ROC; Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts). Rooted in different island and museum cultures, these exhibitions share a common focus on the

Pacific as a whole (rather than on specific areas or groups). Although they engage with this common feature in different ways, all six exhibitions represent and define Oceania as an interconnected space (trans-Pacific exhibitions), where islanders are “united as one” like their Ocean (see lyrics, *Ngā iwi e*). On the one hand, this comparative and connective study seeks to highlight the variations in the means by which Pacific cultures, artefacts and artworks are brought together and juxtaposed in these distinct-yet-connected display contexts. On the other hand, it aims to investigate the parallels and links existing amongst these exhibitions, which are not only connected by a common message, but are also tied by shared epistemologies and intertwined networks. By and large, this thesis attempts to capture the early stages of a shift in perspective – from fragmented local approaches to interconnected regional discourses – happening in three Pacific museums at the dawn of the 21st century. Exhibitions are here examined and discussed as assembled vessels that facilitate, frame and communicate the terms of this shift, leading to the progressive development of a trans-Pacific culture of display in Oceania.

1.2 – Pacific Museums and Exhibitions: Theory and History

1.2.A – Museum, *Museality* and Networks

Giving an essentialist definition of a museum is a complex task. Its role as well as the ways in which a museum engages with its environment have not only transformed throughout time but have also varied according to cultural context. In 2007, the International Council of Museums (ICOM) attempted to capture its significance and (re)defined the museum as:

[...] a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment. (ICOM Statutes, 2007)

Although this definition is a useful basis to understand and explore the museum-entity and its missions, it should not be and was never conceived as a unique doorway to approach this institution. Summing up essential museum functions – including the main focus of this research, “exhibiting” – it seeks to build a community of organisations working towards similar goals, yet overlooks the importance of constructing museum models aligned with specific cultural contexts. Further, this definition, which serves as a corporate vision, does not acknowledge the challenges and the practicalities faced by institutions and their staff while engaging with museum practices.

Another and more fitting way to approach the museum in the context of this research is to consider it, not as a specific organisation with pre-coded rules and functions, but as a phenomenon that triggers distinctive relationships to *reality* (Stránský, 1980; Gregorová, 1980). The term *reality* designates here the world in its totality, which can be described as separated-from but also connected-to *museality* (Deloche, 2011: 235-250; Stránský, 1980; Waidacher, 1996). The latter is the very result of a specific mode of interaction with the world, referred to as *musealisation*, which includes but is not limited to collection, inventory, preservation, transmission and exhibition (Malraux, 1947; Baudrillard, 1968; Stránský, 1978, 1995). When performed, this process transforms the status, the role and the function of the various agents involved, agents that comprise people, things, concepts, places etc. (Kopytoff, 1986; Gell, 1998; Latour, 2005; Henare et al., 2007).

This reading, originally formulated by Stránský and the Czech school of museology, limited the definition of the museum by depicting it as a means to serve a semi-anthropological purpose or need. Yet, it can be credited for having shifted the focus of the reflections on the museum from an institutional space to a protean process deploying through a set of practices, and for opening the museum to anthropological reflective methods (MacDonald, 2006; Desvallées & Mairesse, 2007; Thomas, 2010b). As such it also paved the way for the renewal of museology as a discipline, and both influenced and challenged the progressive transformation of museums and cultural institutions after the 1980s (ICOM, 1974; Rivière, 1989; Vergo, 1989; De Varine, 1992; Van Mensch, 1992; Ames, 1992; Witcomb, 2003). In other words, this perspective

encouraged the museum to consider itself as an actor of social and material transformations, and to investigate the existence of a link between the process of *musealisation* and its impact on the museum space. Hinting at a correlation between the back and the front of house, the parallel development of the New Museology in the 1980s redefined and reformed the field of museum studies. It also generated reflections and innovations towards the processes of learning and engagement in museum institutions, and created a push to serve a broader community of agents. This quest for relevance and meaningfulness was followed by a wide range of museums around the world, including in Oceania (Mead, 1983; Eoe, 1990; Eoe & Swadling, 1991; Message, 2006a; Stanley, 2007a).

Envisioning the museum and *museality* as the result of the process of *musealisation* emphasises two elements that are at the core of this research and that are investigated throughout this thesis. Firstly, this approach suggests that the museum is the nexus of a set of practices, which include the main foci of this research: exhibiting (process) and the exhibition (product). Secondly, this reading opens horizons for considering the museum as an entity in the making, or as a phenomenon made of and shaped by interactions. This entity is no longer regarded as a space where knowledge and objects are (already) collected, preserved and exhibited, but is redefined as a place where makers fabricate representations of these elements through relational practices. In this context, the museum becomes a community and an entity constructed through *activities*. As such, it is a platform that enables encounters and is nurtured by relationships.

Progressively, this understanding of the museum converts into a “contact zone” and a relational agent (see Chapter 5; Pratt, 1991; Clifford, 1997; Gosden et al., 2007; Larson et al., 2007; Harrison et al., 2013; Silverman, 2014). As addressed by post-colonial studies, this “zone” is not exempted from asymmetries and power relations, which are at play between the various parties involved in museum practices. As this chapter will later explain, the ethnographic museum, in particular, was embedded in and fed by historical, colonial and inter-cultural relationships and frictions. Early encyclopaedic and ethnographic museums (and some of their heirs today), separated the “Self”, a group or

culture of reference from which museum activities were undertaken, from the “Other”, a culture or figure to *musealise* (De L’Estoile, 2007: 12-15; Karp et al., 1991, 1992, 2006; Hallam & Street, 2000). This thesis notably aims to demonstrate how museums and their makers define a cultural and institutional bias, and negotiate the establishment of these figures in a multicultural context. This work also nuances the association of the figures of “Other” and “Self” with that of “indigenous” and “non-indigenous” by showing how such divisions are challenged by complex museum networks.

In this thesis, the museum is not envisioned as a collateral outcome of what Latour describes as the social (Latour, 2005). Instead, the museum is regarded as embodying, performing, negotiating and (re)defining the social. As an actor of the social sphere, it is embedded and participates in power relations of which it becomes a product, a negotiator and a catalyst. Dwelling on the literature on the museum as a relational entity, and in the light of the Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) (Callon, 1986; Law, 1986; Latour, 1988, 2005), this thesis defines the museum in general, and the exhibition in particular, as assemblages and as results of processes of translation. For Latour, these processes constitute a *sine qua non* condition for the construction of networks and for the study of these relationships (see Section 1.3). In this context, museums and exhibitions can be understood as forces that combine and transform multiple networks composed of actants (actant-networks), which encompass *humans* and *non-human* entities, including *things* (objects temporarily performed through relations) (Latour, 2005: 52-70). These actants (or actors in the process of acting) inscribe entangled traces and agencies into the conceptual and physical museum (Kopytoff, 1986; Thomas, 1991; Gell, 1998). ANT seeks to piece together these traces in order to shed light on the processes of translation (Latour, 2005), which nurture museum being and making. Within the study presented here, the researcher examines the implications of using ANT as a research method in the field of museum and exhibition studies, as well as its resonance with Pacific perceptions of relationship and space making (McCarthy, 2016: 7-8). By applying this constructivist theory to the analysis of six exhibitions taking place in Pacific museums between 2006 and 2016, it bridges ANT as a reassembling method with the practice of assembling museum displays.

1.2.B – Museums in the Pacific versus Pacific Museums

The development, in the 1980s, of an understanding of the museum through the spectrum of *musealisation* and *museality*, opened new horizons for the exploration of the diversity of museum-like forms in time and space. Suddenly, the label “museum” was no longer limited to the institution born in Europe from the Cabinet of Wonders in the 17th century, and mushrooming across the globe during the joined processes of colonisation and nationhood in the 19th century (Prösler, 1996). In Oceania, this reading notably led to reassembling the genealogy and the history of museum-like entities before the colonial period. Indigenous strategies in collecting, preserving and exhibiting their own cultures as well as that of settlers can be illustrated through three examples found in the literature. In 1983, the Māori scholar Sidney Moko Mead published a simple yet groundbreaking article on indigenous and pre-contact museum-analogues in the Pacific (Mead, 1983). The paper listed a few of these entities, such as the Māori marae/meeting space in Aotearoa New Zealand, or the canoe houses of Santa Ana in the Solomon Islands. In both of these indigenous spaces, artefacts were preserved, transformed, transmitted and sometimes displayed for ceremonial purposes. Another account by Jenny Newell reveals that during the exploration of the Pacific by western navigators in the 18th century, Pacific islanders were also constructing their own “cabinets of curiosity” with European items. While crews were collecting the artefacts that would later become the highlights of European museums, indigenous protagonists too were engaging with this practice and were integrating its outcomes in local ceremonies and exchanges (Newell, 2005; Thomas, 1991, 2010a; Thomas & Losche, 1999; Hooper, 2006). Finally, Stacy Kamehiro – who notably pieced together the history of the development of the Hawaiian National Museum in Honolulu in the 1880s (see Chapter 2) – demonstrated how the Hawaiian royalty used the western museum model to orchestrate and promote the construction of an indigenous nation, ruled by Hawaiian monarchs (Kamehiro, 2009).

Reintegrating Pacific actants and agencies into the history of *museality* before, during and after the period of contact with Europeans is necessary and should be further encouraged. Yet, it can be argued that the establishment of museum institutions in

Oceania transformed local relationships to *museality*, and instigated new power relations within both indigenous and museum cultures. Travelling with settlers coming from the West, the institutional museum was implemented in the Pacific in the 19th century, co-existing, over-taking or merging with local analogues, which were themselves rooted in established and shifting networks and power relations. The institutions opening, for instance, in Auckland (1862), Wellington (1865), Honolulu (1881 and 1889), Nouméa (1895), and Taipei (1908), should neither be regarded as purely colonial transplants nor as systematised versions of the local models defined by Mead in 1983. Echoing western museum entities in terms of shape and method, they were also re-invented and re-imagined on the ground. They matched local aspirations and missions while being nurtured by networks ramifying locally, regionally and globally (see Chapter 2; Henare, 2005; McCarthy, 2007, 2011; Kamehiro, 2009).

While attempting to capture the changes happening during this dramatically transformative period, these encyclopaedic museums and their displays, played the role of interfaces between indigenous and settler communities. Exhibitions, in these 19th century institutions, presented taxonomies and structures largely inherited from western museums and their display methods. While this organisation emphasised the “otherness” of targeted cultures – which were thought to be disappearing – these displays also incorporated the agencies of various indigenous actors, playing with the very conceptualisation of “otherness”. In Hawai‘i, for instance, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum was not only created to honour the memory of the Hawaiian ali‘i/chieftess Bernice Pauahi, it was also established on the basis of the collections of the Hawaiian monarchs and integrated displays that glorified the regalia of this dynasty (see Chapter 2; Brigham, 1903; Rose, 2005; Kamehiro, 2009). While the establishment of a strong distance between “local” indigenous and settler communities varies from one museum to another, this research shows that “foreign” Pacific cultures often embodied a certain “otherness” in local displays. Dwelling on this observation, this study demonstrates how the distance between local and regional Oceania in Pacific exhibitions has been renegotiated in the 21st century.

Despite these entangled microhistories, the general history of museums as elements of a colonial package designated the museum-institution as an ideal candidate for decolonisation (Apffel-Marglin, 1994; Bennett, 2004). In the 1980s, not only was the museum, as a holder of cultural treasures, regarded as a gatekeeper, but it was also confronted with the obsolescence of its founding models. Described as “immature transplants from elitist cultural milieu of nineteenth century Europe” (Eoe quoting Makagiansar, 1990: 29), museums struggled in renewing their image. To a certain extent, they had begun to musealise themselves and were further drifting away from the reality that they sought to capture. Accompanied by the development of the New Museology and by paralleling movements of cultural revival in the 1970s and 1980s, Pacific museums faced the need to “change or die” (Eoe, 1990: 29). The growth of cultural awareness and the rise of nationalism in various parts of the Pacific triggered unprecedented changes in museum practices. Slowly but surely, museums in the Pacific aimed to become museums of and for the Pacific. These institutions, invested by new agencies and upgraded to the status of political actors, were thought to notably have the capacity to act as “development catalysts by assisting governments [...] to better serve the people of both today and tomorrow” (Eoe, 1990: 30). Asked to acknowledge this responsibility, museums and their makers attempted to engage with a wider audience, including source/host communities themselves (Peers & Brown, 2003).

These transformations laid the groundwork for the development of endeavours that visibly bound communities and museums. These endeavours promoted both the new openness of these institutions and the need to construct partnerships with indigenous stakeholders. Specific island nations and exhibitions played a major role in the renewal of museum practices locally and regionally. In this regard, the touring exhibition *Te Maori*, put together in Aotearoa New Zealand, is often described as a turning point (McCarthy, 2007: 135-156; Mead, 1984; Hakiwai, 1990). Upon its first opening on September 10th, 1984, at the Metropolitan Museum in New York, *Te Maori* and its makers had begun a profound renovation of the museum’s modalities of engagement with Māori communities/iwi. The latter were consulted during the making of the exhibition and also accompanied the show on its way to New York to open the space according to Māori protocols. From its conceptualisation in the early 1980s until its

return home to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1986, *Te Maori* and its support network – including Mead, the co-curator – had also articulated the concept of cultural treasures or “taonga”. This concept designated the collections presented in the exhibition as “symbols of identity” (Mead 1990 in McCarthy, 2007: 138). This initiative of turning the “exhibited” into an “exhibitor” entangled the role of exhibitions with aspirations for further changes, a matter that is discussed throughout this thesis. With *Te Maori*, the (touring) exhibition became a means to demonstrate publicly and visibly that the museum space too could nurture the mana/prestige/authority of Aotearoa New Zealand’s tangata whenua/people of the land (Māori). Through these self-determined endeavours, Māori communities could also develop further connections with their heritage while leading its promotion locally and globally.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, the temporary exhibition *Te Maori*, and other initiatives developed around this time, had a long-term impact on the museum structure. Paired with the model provided by the New Museology, it led to the formation of the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (TPT), born from the merger of the National Art Gallery and the National Museum in 1992. In 1998, this institution opened in a brand-new building in Wellington’s harbour. Honouring the principle of the Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi – the country’s contested founding document (see Chapter 2) – it sought to embody the principle of “biculturalism”. Museum practices and spaces were envisioned as resulting from a partnership between the tangata whenua/people of the land and the tangata tiriti/people whose presence in Aotearoa was legitimised by the Treaty of Waitangi (McCarthy, 2007; 2011). Placing Aotearoa New Zealand at the epicentre of a museological transformation driven by self-governance/tinorangatiratanga, the touring exhibition *Te Maori* and the establishment of TPT resonated beyond their local context of development. Supported by a wide range of concomitant dynamics, they inspired the construction of new museum and display models across the Pacific region. These museums were notably bound through the establishment of the Pacific Islands Museums Association in 1994 (Blake, 2006).

1.2.C – Pacific Museum Models Regionally and Binding Agents

Despite the transformative nature of these initiatives, it can be argued that both *Te Maori* and the establishment of TPT were oriented towards the promotion and the empowerment of the communities that were “local” to the context of their development – Māori communities in this case. Pacific collections and communities from the rest of the region did not benefit from the same treatment locally, bringing forth the distinction between local (non-diasporic) and regional (or “foreign”) Pacific cultures as staged in the early museums of Oceania (see Chapter 2). In other words, these endeavours tied local indigenous self-determination to the museum space, encouraging institutions to engage with the “people of the land” but partly leaving aside those coming from other islands. As already suggested by Mead in the 1983 paper *Indigenous Models of Museums in Oceania* (emphasis added), the renewal of the museum model in Oceania in the 1980s-1990s sought to be plural. Coming hand-in-hand with self-governance and nationalism, newly created institutions and older museums in the process of renovation claimed a stronger affiliation with local (non-diasporic) communities. Although new sites, like the Tjibaou Cultural Centre (TCC) opened in 1998, attempted to address the idea of a link (or “destin commun”) between various communities (local, regional, foreign) in the exhibition space, paying tribute to local cultures and bringing them together remained a priority (see Chapter 2; Healy & Witcomb, 2006; Morrison, 2014).

Further, although this renewal was partly rooted in mirroring relationships from one island to another and one museum to another, the literature produced at the time reflected a strong and rigid parallel between Oceanic and museum geography. Eoe and Swadling (1991), for instance, presented various museums and cultural institutions of the Pacific, but divided them according to the categories of “Melanesia”, “Micronesia”, “Polynesia” and “Australia”. Within these categories, each writer described an institution, matching with a geographical locality. Dwelling on individual and situated museum scholarships, the “islandisation” of museums in museum-focused literature continued in the early 2000s (Cameron, 2012). Constructing individual historical and analytical accounts, this invaluable literature emphasised the diversity of museum forms

but oversaw the links between these institutions and their makers (Eoe & Swadling, 1991; Healy & Witcomb, 2006; Stanley, 2007). This thesis demonstrates how museum exhibitions can be employed and studied in order to reassemble these various trajectories and to connect individual institutional endeavours.

While Pacific museums in the 1980s-1990s strongly attempted to empower local communities notably through their exhibition programming, beyond the museum's walls, other Pacific channels began to (re)construct representations of Oceania as an interconnected space. The creation of the first South Pacific Festival of Arts in 1972 (Suva, Fiji) and the following editions taking place across the region every four years since (under the name "Festival of Pacific Arts" FESTPAC), created a space for inter-island conversations rooted in visual and performing arts (Kaepler, 1987; Carell, 1992).¹ In 1974, the Pacific Arts Association was also founded to facilitate "dialogue and awareness about Pacific art and culture" and to connect "individuals and institutions" engaging with these matters around the world (PAA website, 13/02/2016). Simultaneously, a group of scholars and navigators based in Hawai'i – including Ben Finney and Nainoa Thompson – were preparing the revival of indigenous Pacific voyaging techniques. Recovering these techniques by reaching out to the master navigator Mau Piailug based in Satawal (Caroline Islands), the Polynesian Voyaging Society reconstructed a full-scale replica of a Polynesian double-hulled voyaging canoe called the Hōkūle'a. The launching of this canoe in 1975 and her first journey and arrival to Tahiti in 1976 was a key moment in the history of this revival (Finney, 1994; Howe, 2006). It also reactivated a sense of cross-Oceanic connectivity by performing ancient ties into the present.

A few years after this revival, Pacific scholars and writers increasingly developed and articulated the poetic aspect of Oceanic connectivity, setting the stage for a regionalist movement. The work of Albert Wendt and Epele Hau'ofa (1939-2009), in the 1970s-1990s, transformed the perception of the Pacific Ocean (Wendt, 1976, 1999; Hau'ofa, 1994, 1998, 2008; Hau'ofa et al., 1993; Jolly, 2001, 2007). These writers were both

¹ Taiwan (ROC) was invited to attend FESTPAC for the first time in 2004 (Palau), and participated in the

members of diasporic Pacific cultural elite groups, originating from so-called “central Polynesia” and having developed their scholarship across Oceania. Wendt was born in 1939 in Apia (Sāmoa), and studied in Wellington (Aotearoa New Zealand). Hau’ofa, also born in 1939, grew up in Papua New Guinea from a Tongan missionary family and was educated in Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Australia and Canada. The trajectories of both scholars intersected notably through the University of the South Pacific in Suva (Fiji), where they both taught and found temporary anchor. Partly developing their philosophy in diasporic settings and themselves experiencing trans-Pacific displacements, both writers preached for a redefinition of Oceania not as empty space, but as a connective web. For Hau’ofa, the Pacific had for too long been conceptualised as a space between continents, or as a gap between economically powerful landmasses (Asia and America). Founding part of his approach on the relationship between “Islanders” and “Outlanders”, he also brought forth the importance of exploring the relationships amongst “Islanders”. Writing a paper for a conference in Hilo (Hawai’i), Hau’ofa pieced together the concept of a *Sea of Islands* (Hau’ofa, 1994), which investigated the ties amongst islanders living both inside and outside of Oceania (Hau’ofa, 2008). As such, the Tongan scholar not only constructed a poetic of Pacific connectivity, but also based this poetic on the experience of Oceania by the Pacific diaspora. Simultaneously unearthing and developing the concept of “Va” (later spelled “Vā”), Wendt’s philosophy also emphasised the need for unity. The poet defined this concept as “space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All”. In the context of this semiology, the ocean was described as “Vasa”, from Va (space) and sa (sacred) (Wendt, 1999: 402-403). As such, Wendt’s thinking equally highlighted the importance of nurturing the relationships within this space. The Pacific Ocean became, in the view of these groundbreaking epistemologies, a *Blue Continent*, an Ocean of connections (Hau’ofa, 2008; see Chapter 5).

The endeavours of the Hōkūle’a as well as the philosophy developed by Wendt and Hau’ofa were at the core of many of the exhibitions studied in this thesis. Like the exhibitions themselves, such stories spoke to the establishment of a connective model. Used as key articulations within and between the exhibition case studies, these endeavours also became inspiring in the development of the thesis’ framework at a

later stage. This research argues that these connective endeavours, undertaken in and through the Pacific, can inform the study of museum displays by highlighting the role of exhibitions as both relational processes and images of these relations.

1.3 – Researching Trans-Pacific Exhibitions Across Oceania

1.3.A – General Focus and Research Questions

This thesis seeks to explore the ways in which the Pacific is represented in museums of the region, and how exhibitions and their making may have transformed these representations in the 21st century. It focuses on six exhibitions developed in three cultural institutions of Oceania (including Taiwan, ROC) between 2006 and 2016 (see below). Rather than showcasing one cultural or artistic group, these exhibitions sought to cover the Pacific at large with the intent of depicting this region as an interconnected space. As such, they are here referred to as “trans-Pacific exhibitions”. On the one hand, this research examines exhibition-products by looking at the ways in which connections were articulated amongst display sequences, each presenting a culture, a theme, or an artist. On the other hand, it investigates the means by which exhibiting processes triggered relationships between the various agents involved. In this context, a main goal for this study is to explore the correlation between the connectivity established in exhibition narratives and that constructed through museum practices.

A series of questions define the scope and the foci of this research:

- How is the Pacific represented/constructed in and through exhibitions taking place in various museums of Oceania in the 21st century?
- To what degree do these renewed representations vary according to their contexts of creation? Despite these variations, what are the commonalities that bind these shows?
- Through which channels and networks are connections constructed between museum exhibitions, their makers and the cultures that they showcase?
- To what extent are institutional and cultural networks projected onto the materiality of Pacific exhibitions and, in return, to what degree do exhibitions transform such

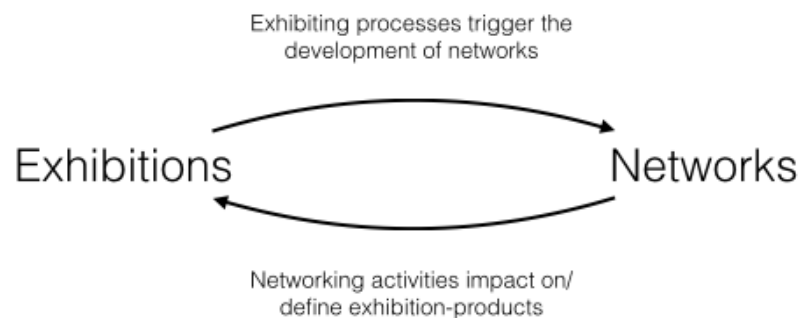
relationships?

- What are the impacts and the limitations of these renewed exhibition narratives about/in Oceania developed in the 21st century Pacific? Who/what do they include, exclude and empower?

1.3.B – Approach: Exhibitions versus Networks

Articulations

A main goal for this thesis is to explore the ways in which the study of exhibitions can inform the development of a connective museological approach, referred to here as connective museology (*muséologie du lien*; Christophe, 2015a) (see Chapter 5). As this research will demonstrate, a connective museology focuses on the parallels, links, connections and echoes between various museums' endeavours, with the purpose of further emphasising the role of these institutions as connectors and as sites of trans-localism (Matsuda 2012: 5 in Dürr & Schorch, 2016: xviii). This approach does not deny the differences and divergences between museum and exhibition models, but claims that oppositions and contrasts may be, from a museological perspective, as binding as connections and links. To achieve this goal, this research investigates the correlation between museum displays and networks. On the one hand, exhibitions, their making and their narratives are nurtured by ramifying networks (actant-networks) that include people, things, spaces, epistemologies, etc. (Latour, 2005). On the other hand, these networks (or the lack thereof) mark exhibition-products, and provide a foundation for future renegotiations and re-inventions. This correlation can be synthesised as shown in this diagram:



By deconstructing and reassembling exhibiting processes, this thesis aims to shed light on the practices that support the development of these displays, and on the means through which connections were established through/between them. In this study, museum institutions are not regarded as unanimous sites but as complex social platforms, composed of multiple agents, entangling people and things through existing and transforming relationships (Kopytoff, 1986; Thomas, 1991, 2010b; Shelton, 2006). Thus, this research deliberately positions exhibition makers at the core of the study of museums and displays. It examines how the interactions between these makers – and the entangled trajectories of the museum collections, histories and epistemologies employed to construct exhibitions – impact the materiality of these shows. By and large, this study explores the parallel between cross-Oceanic relationships (cultural and institutional) and their depiction and (re)activation in/through museum displays in the 21st century Pacific.

Exhibition product and process

In the context of this thesis, the concept of exhibition is approached as a space (the gallery/exhibition-product) and as a process (exhibition making/exhibiting process). Combining both qualities, the exhibition can be envisioned as a medium which is based on a narrative. The purpose of the exhibition-medium is to communicate one or several messages to a specific audience through the means of various display components and practices (Davallon, 1999). French-speaking museologists have defined these components as “expôts”, a category that covers both collection items (artefacts and artworks) and exhibition material (labels, text panels, display structures, etc.) (Davallon, 1999; Desvallées & Mairesse, 2011: 133-174). In this context and as a process, an exhibition brings together “makers of objects, exhibitors of made objects, and viewers of exhibited made objects” (Baxandall, 1991: 36). Although museum displays rely on codified rules – which seek to unify these various components through a *system* in order to convey a message – this study moves away from semiotic analysis. Instead, it emphasises the role of exhibitions, their making and their narratives, as the result of power-performances and negotiations which transform what they stage (Foucault, 1969, 1975; Gordon, 1980). As such, this thesis challenges the definition of museum

displays as “explicit visualisation[s] of absent facts through objects and displays used as signs” (Schärer, 2003 in Desvallées & Mairesse, 2011: 134; translation by the author). By exploring exhibitions from the perspective of the practices and the makers that shape them, this study argues that both revealed and concealed *things* are the result of negotiated agencies and presences.

Attempting to define displays in the context of Pacific museums, and considering the significance of this space in cultural revivals since the 1970s-1980s, this research turns to the exhibition’s capacity to produce specific representations through performed relationships. From the perspective of museum and visual anthropology, exhibitions are not merely rituals, but ceremonies/performances in the making (Coote & Shelton, 1992; Gell, 1998; Ballini, 1999). As will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, these endeavours are also technical and relational practices that come with new needs, schedules and activities, which are specific to the temporality of the exhibiting process. During this temporality, the exhibition is constructed through a set of operational sequences, which weave the agencies of the makers into the materiality of the show. Although, as explained by Davallon (1999), the purpose of an exhibition is ultimately to communicate a message, it can be argued that the significance of this message builds up through the process of making and negotiating the final product. In other words, the journey matters as much as its result. As they capture and turn this process into a constructed stage, moments such as the opening and the closing of a show are crucial. The ways in which visitors, artists and practitioners inhabit the space after the opening also shed light on the performing nature of exhibitions, and on their key role in constructing a presence rather than substituting an absence.

Networks and genealogies

Depicted as such, exhibitions can be strongly associated with the concepts of network and genealogy. Although these concepts are partly universal, they resonate with the epistemologies developed in a Pacific context (McCarthy, 2016: 8; Tengan et al., 2010; Toren & Pauwels, 2015). Networks, like exhibitions, can be defined as relational assemblages. They bring together various agents connected through specific pathways

that both precede these interactions and transform through them (Latour, 2005). Using the concept of network as defined by Callon (1986), Law (1986) and Latour (1988, 2005) in the ANT allows the researcher to deconstruct and reassemble the various elements (actant-networks) entangled through these associations. This theory also establishes continuity between the concepts of translation, interaction and agency which, as this thesis will demonstrate, can greatly enrich the study of exhibitions and their making. As illustrated through the story of the mele/waiata/song presented in the first section of this chapter, the process of translation or movement is a *sine qua non* condition to generate interactions. For Latour, it is through this translation that actants (actors in the process of acting) encounter and interact. By doing so, they form, un-form and reform a renewed system of actants defined as the actant-networks. Dwelling on these articulations, Latour presents the concept of agency as the trace that actants leave on/through one another during the process of translation-networking. As ANT theorists believe that this method of association-tracing applies to *human* as well as *non-human* agents (things, animals, plants, spaces, etc.), it can be argued that this reading echoes the concept of genealogy as pieced together by Pacific scholars (Salmond, 2013 in Dürr & Schorch, 2016: 9). For indigenous Oceanic anthropologists such as Tengan, Ka'ili and Fonoti, "genealogies create conditions for debate". "Genealogical work" can be defined as a method for "the search for, production and transformation of connections across time and space" (Tengan et al., 2010: 140; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Associating exhibitions, networks, and genealogies, this research also integrates a last component to the analysis of exhibition connectivity: Foucault's reading of genealogy and power/knowledge. Foucault's philosophy is here employed as a means to distinguish comparative from connective methods. The philosopher himself went from exploring an archaeology of knowledge (1969) – in which he compared a set of discursive formations – to establishing a genealogical approach (1975). According to this second reading of history, historiography is constructed by investigating the transitions between various forms of knowledge and knowledge-making. Hinting at a correlation between this phenomenon and power relations, Foucault demonstrated how such relations shape the establishment of institutionalised understandings (Gordon, 1980). In other words, Foucault defined knowledge and knowledge-making as the result of a genealogy of strategized power plays. Through this channel, this thesis aims to investigate how

making and performing knowledge in exhibitions is nurtured by existing power relations, and how, in return, these power relations are being transformed by exhibition making.

1.3.C – Case Studies Selection and Methodology

Selection process

At an early stage, a main goal for this research was to explore the connections amongst Pacific museums through the scope of exhibitions in the 21st century. This goal encompassed two types of connections: 1) the articulations staged in exhibitions, which juxtaposed cultures and artists and therefore bound them through a narrative, 2) the relationships created through exhibitions developed between Pacific museums. Combining these two foci, the researcher wondered whether a link between narratives and processes could be unearthed: were the articulations between Pacific cultures and artists represented in the gallery informed by the relationships created through the making of these shows?

In this context, the first step was to select exhibition case studies (rather than museum case studies) that enabled this exploration. There were, at the time, several criteria for selecting these cases studies. Firstly, the selection should include displays that did not ostensibly promote themselves as isolating one cultural or artistic group. The Pacific at large should be the primary focus of these shows, no matter how this space was represented. Secondly, although exhibitions targeted in this research had to be developed by “Pacific museums”, the understanding of the term “Pacific” should not be limited to the so called “Pacific basin”, or confined by the geographical categories of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. Rather, the selection sought to include exhibitions developed on “the Rim” as well as within the region, in order to investigate the potential differences in representing the Pacific from one locality to another. Thirdly, the selection aimed to transcend the categories of “art” and “ethnographic” museum displays, as these categories are contested by Pacific stakeholders today, and had also been challenged by the journey of exhibitions such as *Te Maori* in 1984.

Additionally, these exhibitions could be developed by both “old” and “new” museums. The researcher purposefully avoided institutions that claimed to be “National Museums” in order to concentrate on exhibition discourses oriented towards the region rather than towards the nation. Finally, the selection aimed to cover both temporary and long-term displays to examine whether these two types of endeavours differed in terms of their making and of the articulations that they triggered/showcased. Focusing on renovations of long-term displays also highlighted the very limitation of the idea of “long-term” exhibition.

Following the progressive development of these criteria in the first year of the PhD, research was undertaken to inventory the programming developed by various museums of the Pacific region. Through resources such as the map of Pacific museums accessible on PIMA’s website at the time (2013), each of the museums figuring on this map were scrutinised and their exhibitions listed. In parallel, this list of exhibitions was also enriched through conversations with the PhD supervisors, Prof. Steven Hooper and Dr. Karen Jacobs, who had a good grasp of these happenings. After this first inventory and further explorations through the literature available on individual museums of the Pacific, five exhibition case studies were chosen:

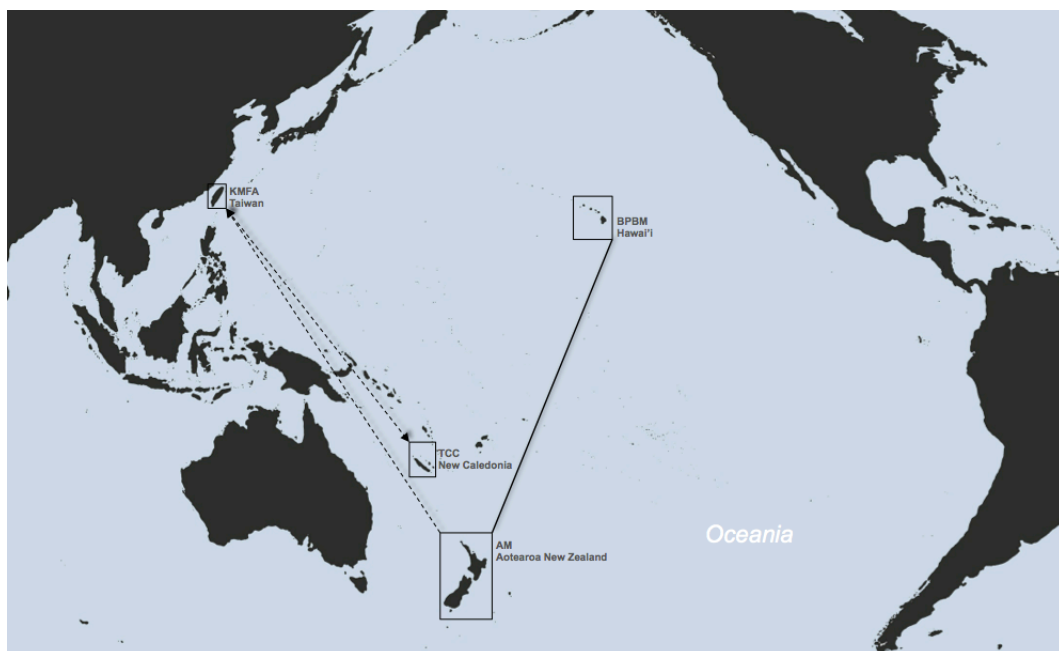
- The former long-term display *Polynesian Hall* at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (BPBM; Honolulu, Hawai‘i) which was, in 2013, in the process of being restored to become ***Pacific Hall*** (PH; renovation period: 2009-2013). (see Chapter 4)
- The long-term **Pacific Galleries** (PG; current *Pacific Lifeways* and *Pacific Masterpieces*) which were about to be renewed at the Auckland War Memorial Museum (AM; Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand) (renovation period: 2010-present). (see Chapter 4)
- The temporary exhibition series developed at the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KFMA; Kaohsiung, Taiwan) in the context of the Contemporary Austronesian Art Project (CAAP): the exhibition ***Across Oceans and Time: Art in the Contemporary Pacific*** (AOT; 2007) developed in partnership with the Tjibaou Cultural Centre (TCC; Nouméa, New Caledonia); the exhibition ***Le Folauga: the Past coming Forward*** (LF; 2008) put together at the Auckland War Memorial Museum (2007) and touring to

Taiwan; the exhibition ***The Great Journey: In Pursuit of the Ancestral Realm*** (TGJ; 2009) created in-house on the basis of former partnerships (see Chapter 3).

Following fieldwork undertaken in these institutions in 2013-2014 (see below), a 6th case study, mentioned repetitively by various museum staff members across Oceania, was added:

- The temporary exhibition ***Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors*** (2006) originally developed at the Auckland War Memorial Museum and touring to Taiwan in 2008. (see Chapter 3)

The map below localises the four cultural institutions of Oceania that developed the aforementioned case studies between 2006 and 2016. It indicates the types of museological links explored in this research and brings forth the paths taken by the researcher. The dotted lines represent the temporary exhibitions that connected several museum localities through partnerships (KMFA-TCC; double arrow) and touring (AM-KMFA; simple arrow). The continuous line shows the existence of a parallel between two long-term displays developed at the BPBM and at the AM. This comparison is made in Chapter 4.



Map of Oceania representing connections between cultural institutions constructed through the exhibition case studies (2006-2016).

Case studies: background information

In the context of this study, the selection process focused on exhibitions rather than on museums. One goal for this research is precisely to transcend institutional borders by highlighting the role of exhibitions as connectors between institutions. Thus, the museums that developed the exhibition case studies form a heteroclite sample, both in terms of their geographical locations and of the endeavours and taxonomies that structured them. Yet, this study argues that they share common networks and aspire to engage with the broader Pacific region through their displays.

The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (BPBM) – where *Polynesian Hall* was restored to become *Pacific Hall* from 2009 to 2013 – was established in Honolulu (Hawai'i) in 1889 by Charles R. Bishop. Before becoming a proactive scientific institution of Oceania throughout the 20th century, the museum honoured the memory of Bishop's wife, the Hawaiian Princess Bernice Pauahi, last descendant of the Kamehameha line (see Chapter 2). From early on, and through the mediation of ambitious directors such as William Brigham and Peter Buck/Te Rangihīroa, this museum developed as an institution of and for the Pacific (Rose, 2005). Its collections and its programming mainly focus on the cultural and natural history of Oceania, including Hawai'i. Since 1894, the BPBM has been developing long-term pan-Pacific displays in the gallery dedicated to this geographical area: *Polynesian Hall*. This hall neighbours another larger gallery, *Hawaiian Hall* (HH), which exclusively presents Hawaiian collections. HH was renovated in 2006-2009. Through this process, Hawaiian communities and ways of learning/sharing were voiced and empowered. Regarded as extremely meaningful by the museum community and by the public, this renovation created a push to restore PH (see Chapter 4). By contrast with previous long-term exhibitions presented in this gallery – notably *Chiefs, Bigmen and Mariners* (1980-2011) – the new permanent display sought to transcend former taxonomies and to represent Oceania as an interconnected space.

The Auckland War Memorial Museum/Tāmaki Paenga Hira (AM) developed three of the research case studies. Similar to the BPBM, it was also positioned as an institution of the

Pacific from its early development (see Chapter 2). Established in 1852 in Auckland, the AM was the first museum of Aotearoa New Zealand. It opened in its current location in the Auckland Domain in 1929. In the 1990s, the AM and its teams went through a long process of renovation led by the director, Rodney Wilson (Wolfe, 2004). This process resulted in the redevelopment of the museum's Pacific Galleries (*Pacific Lifeways* and *Pacific Masterpieces*) and ended in 2006 with the opening of the touring exhibition *Vaka Moana* and its twin-show, *Le Folauga* (see Chapter 3). While VM was envisioned as a means to showcase the AM's collections of Pacific artefacts, LF presented contemporary artistic responses to VM's themes. Both exhibitions had the particularity to bring together local (Māori) and regional Pacific collections and artists, a reunion that had rarely been re-implemented since the establishment of dividing display categories in the late 19th century. These temporary shows emphasised the existence of connections across Oceania, connections notably facilitated in the past and the present by the practice of seafaring. As this thesis will demonstrate, VM and LF played the role of models in the development of trans-Pacific exhibitions. Such connective models highly resonated in the context of Auckland, home to large diasporic communities from across the Pacific. From 2010, the AM began a new phase of renovation, which encompassed the Pacific Galleries renovated in the 1990s. The current renewal [2016] seeks to rebuild relationships with Auckland's Pacific population and to construct meaningfulness for these communities by adopting a strictly visitor-centric approach in the development of the new galleries (see Chapter 4).

The Taiwanese institution included in this research, the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA), was established in 1994. Located in the south of Taiwan (Kaohsiung) this institution and its implementation materialises the growth of cultural awareness in the 1990s, and the will to decentralise governmental decision-making in order to empower multiple localities across the island (Kuo-ning, 2008; Jacobs, 2012). In the 1990s, Kaohsiung and southwest Taiwan played an important role in this process of empowering the island's various counties and of constructing regionalist movements. In the context of the Republic of China (Taiwan), this process also came hand in hand with distinguishing the island from the People's Republic of China (China). Although Taiwan has held an independent status since the 1970s, China continues to claim sovereignty

over the island, an imperialism partly challenged through the promotion of Taiwan's local identities. In the 1990s, the KMFA was amongst the institutions that sought to showcase such identities and advocate for Taiwan's local cultures and arts.

Originally implemented with a strong focus on calligraphy and sculpture, the KMFA took a significant turn in 2004, when Jiunshyan Lee was appointed director. Lee was himself a scholar and artist developing his practice in south Taiwan. Appointed director, he and his teams constructed programming that aimed to explore southern artistic movements. In particular, Lee emphasised the role of indigenous artists in the establishment of a Taiwanese art history, notably showcased at the KMFA through the implementation of a long-term exhibition dedicated to sculptural arts (*Sculpture Development in Taiwan*, presented until 2007). Attempting to find new means to distinguish the KMFA from other institutions – and notably those based in the southeast of Taiwan, home to a large part of the island's indigenous population – Lee and the museum staff began to explore an ancient link between Taiwan and the Pacific. This link was based on linguistic patterns and archaeological findings connecting Taiwan's indigenous population to other "Austronesian speakers" across the Pacific (Bellwood et al., 1995; Kirch, 2000; Bellwood, 2013). Reactivating this link into the present, the KMFA developed the Contemporary Austronesian Art Project (CAAP) from 2006 to 2009 (see Chapter 3). This project came hand-in-hand with the creation of a series of three exhibitions exploring the connection between local (Taiwanese) and foreign (Pacific) indigenous/Austronesian artists. These three exhibitions, explored in Chapter 3, connected artistic cultures across the Pacific. They were also used as a means to construct institutional and cultural networks, enabling Taiwan to "steer toward the Ocean to make contact with Austronesian worlds and become an authentic ocean country" (Ta-chuan Sun, 2005: 32).

Research method

In order to explore the case studies presented above, the researcher undertook fieldwork over 11 months (divided into three trips) in the various Pacific institutions that developed these exhibitions. The main goal of these trips was to engage with exhibition

practices and practitioners across Oceania. The research method deployed on the ground was inspired by the methodology constructed by ANT scholars (Latour, 2005), adapted to the field of museum ethnography (Thomas, 2010b), and was based on a museological approach rooted in exhibition theory (Davallon, 1999; McCarthy, 2007). It was also informed by previous experiences as an intern or a staff member of museum institutions in the Pacific and Europe (see Preface). As such, it combined 1) interviews with various museum staff, practitioners, scholars, artists and other stakeholders involved in the exhibiting process; 2) collections-based and archival research, and 3) visits and recording of specific sites such as museums, cultural centres, art galleries and artists' studios. As the case studies' selection included past, present and future exhibitions, it was not possible to explore the reception of these projects by their audience in a symmetrical manner. Although the public played a role in the reflections presented in this thesis, exhibiting practices prior to/during openings remained in the foreground (with the exception of PH). In addition, the researcher was also embedded in various museum activities, which are further introduced below.

While being employed as a theory (see 1.3.B), ANT is mainly a research method. Applied to empirical research, it allows its users to retrace the associations constructed by/through various actant-networks. As ANT focuses on translation – a modality through which actants form networks – it is particularly fitting for projects that engage with the practice of field research. Regarded as a process of translation by ANT theorists, fieldwork itself generates the formation of new networks and transforms the various actants involved.

In the context of this study, the translation began with a first trip to Hawai'i in July 2013. Joining the BPBM for three months, the researcher was given the status of an intern, under Betty Lou Kam (Director of Cultural Collections) who was both a supervisor and a facilitator. At the time, *Pacific Hall* was being reinstalled and various affiliated projects were being organised (see Chapter 4). Interning at the museum at such a crucial time was ideal from a research perspective, but also necessitated managing investigations with care to avoid getting in the way of the team. Research and interviews were conducted in this context, enabled by the interaction developed through the

participation in the exhibiting process. As a full-time intern, the researcher helped with the last months of preparation, and also documented this process through photographs shared with staff and the museum's Archives Department. Learning about the history of the museum and Hawai'i, and joining the development of the performance *Te Reinga* (see Chapter 5), collaborative relationships were established with the staff. Marques Hanalei Marzan and Michelle Kamalu du Preez – who had both joined the exhibition *Pacific Encounters* at the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts (SCVA, Norwich) in 2006 – facilitated this immersion at the BPBM. Research was also undertaken in the museum's archives to study the history of Pacific displays at the BPBM. This task ended up being particularly complex, as exhibitions – though extremely visible – were often poorly documented. This lack of archival material was particularly true for past “permanent” displays, which had not been developed and documented as “events”.

After returning to England, the researcher embarked on a second journey in February 2014 to explore the KMFA case studies. At the time of this trip, the exhibition selected for this thesis had closed. In this context, the investigations focused on archival research and interviews. It necessitated the piecing together of former exhibition-networks which were no longer at play at the KMFA. As the museum was celebrating its 20th anniversary, the teams were going through a reflective period, a setting that facilitated the exploration of past endeavours (Hsieh, 2014). Mei-chen Tseng and Nita Lo, two members of the Research Department involved in the CAAP, supported the researcher in the process of piecing together former projects and their networks. Mei-chen and Nita played the role of mediators between the researcher, the staff, and the artists. Helping them to revise academic material for future publications in English, the principle of collaboration prevailed here again. The language barrier (Taiwan is a Mandarin Chinese-speaking country) generated several challenges in relation to communicating with the broader museum community. These challenges were in part overcome with the help of an interpreter, Sammi Mok. Sammi (Cantonese speaker fluent in Mandarin and English) was an art student temporarily interning at the KMFA. She facilitated interviews both at the museum and during shorter trips undertaken across Taiwan to meet the artists involved in the exhibition projects. Originating from

Hong Kong, Sammi was an outsider on the island, but her practice as an art student paved the way for fruitful conversations with Taiwanese artists.

Journeying through Europe once again, the researcher completed fieldwork with a third and last trip to New Caledonia, Aotearoa New Zealand and back to Hawai'i from June to November 2014. The first stop, in New Caledonia, focused on the Tjibaou Cultural Centre and its partnership with the KMFA, explored through archival research and interviews. This short trip was the first undertaken in French, the researcher's mother tongue. It generated a necessity to articulate the various concepts explored in this study in yet another language and another cultural context. This exercise proved particularly enriching, and notably layered the exploration of the use of geographical/linguistic terms of Oceania versus Pacific or Austronesian, which were amongst the topics discussed with the staff (see Chapters 3, 5 and 6).

Leaving Nouméa for Auckland, the research journey continued at the AM. The investigations focused, firstly, on the future renovation of the Pacific Galleries and, by association, on the history of Pacific displays at the AM. Secondly, the research explored the process of touring *Le Folauga* from Auckland to Kaohsiung. While piecing together past exhibition projects and networks at the KMFA had been fastidious, researching future displays at the AM was equally complex. When the AM was visited, the teams were still conceptualising the future galleries, the networks supporting this display were only beginning to be articulated, and several documents capturing these steps were defined as confidential. To piece together these dynamics in the making, the researcher collaborated principally with Fulimalo Pereira, the Pacific Curator, and with Tanya Wilkinson, Project Manager Pacific Content for the future renovation. Tanya played the role of facilitator, by putting the researcher in contact with various stakeholders, and of a safety net, by negotiating what could be shared or accessed. Fulimalo not only grounded the investigation in the Pacific content, but also supported the process of bridging out to external agents and of unlocking the meaning of a renewal. As the co-curator of *Le Folauga*, she was also the main protagonist for this part of the research. In addition, her implication in *Vaka Moana* placed this exhibition at the core of several conversations and channels investigated through Fulimalo. As this exhibition had been

mentioned during fieldwork in Hawai'i and in Taiwan and was becoming an articulation in Auckland, it was reintegrated in the research as a case study. As it was impossible to contribute to the physical installation of the permanent galleries as had been the case at the BPBM, the researcher dedicated time to piecing together the genealogy of this renovation. During this reflective period, producing a comprehensive analysis of the history of Pacific displays at the AM could benefit both this study and the renovation's teams. The product of this investigation, a collection of archival documents, photographs and data tables, is only partly presented in this thesis (see Chapters 2 and 6). It was shared in its totality with Fulimalo and the AM teams, and was notably presented during a seminar at the museum. Ending the fieldwork period with the museum where research had started, the researcher returned to the BPBM in Hawai'i for *Pacific Hall's* first anniversary. The second trip provided an opportunity to look back at the making of PH, and to explore the trajectory of this gallery since its opening. It included further interviews with the staff and external stakeholders who had not been reached the first time, additional archival research and an examination of the tours given by the docents in PH.

All in all, during field research, exhibitions were employed as a method to reassemble museum relationships and networks. Bridging institutions through the act of exploring connectivity, the researcher was also creating pathways between various agents by transporting material across Oceania, and by sharing these intertwined observations with the staff. In this context, exhibitions bridged the researcher with people, things, places and concepts, connected to one another and further bound by the act of researching. Once back in Norwich in November 2014, the last years of the PhD were dedicated to finding means to channel and capture these various assemblages and to articulate them with the purpose of developing a connective museological approach. This thesis presents the results of these exhibition and research negotiations, which continue to develop and transform at this very moment.

Exclusions and limitations

Selective processes, such as exhibitions or academic works, are equally defined by what they exclude. This PhD research is no exception to the rule, and combines deliberate exclusions with practical limitations. Firstly, this thesis was never intended as an inventory of all exhibitions happening in Oceania between 2006 and 2016. Although this type of inventory was taken in the first year of research, it eventually resulted in the elimination of more monographic exhibitions focusing on a single Pacific culture or group, such as *Kanak: L'art est une parole* presented at the Quai Branly Museum in 2013 and at the Tjibaou Cultural Centre in 2014. In the first months of research, the inclusion of temporary exhibitions travelling between the Pacific and European institutions was also a point of discussion between the researcher and her supervisors. As the mechanism of international translation had been the focus of a previous body of work (Christophe, 2012), it was decided that the thesis would exclude exhibits touring internationally. Thus, *Kanak*, a monographic and international exhibition, was taken off the list of case studies. The research was exclusively redirected towards displays that showcased cultures and artists from across the Pacific region (pan-Pacific) and presented in museums in Oceania. While this focus on pan-Pacific exhibits was deliberate, the emphasis on the interconnectedness of Oceania as well as the systematic development of trans-Pacific narratives in such exhibitions had not been anticipated by the researcher. This emphasis on Pacific connectivity in displays presented in Aotearoa, Hawai'i and Taiwan should be regarded by the reader as a key research finding, rather than as an outcome of the selection process.

Although this research explores exhibitions and exhibiting practices in the 21st century Pacific, it was originally hoped that the final thesis could shed light on the history of pan-Pacific representations in Oceania. One early research goal was to compile complete genealogies of the case studies from the late 19th to the 21st century in order to explore the possible transformation of pan-Pacific representations in the 21st century. This historical and genealogical piece of research generated a large volume of rich and diverse data. Once put into writing, it became clear that such detailed genealogies would take up a significant part of the thesis word count, and they were

therefore excluded from the final written product. Part of this genealogical account was used to construct Chapter 2, which strongly focuses on the foundations of such genealogies. In order to address the gap of a hundred years between these genealogical grounds and the case studies, a section was added to Chapter 6 (6.3). This section contains the remainder of the historical and genealogical research, which was transformed and repurposed to focus exclusively on the history of the Pacific maps displayed in Pacific exhibits from the 19th to the 21st centuries.

Another element to be added to this list of exclusions is the reception of the exhibition case studies by their target audience. This decision can be explained by two determining factors. Firstly, only one exhibition was still on display when fieldwork was undertaken in 2013-2014 (*Pacific Hall*, BPBM). Public surveys were therefore not possible for all six case studies. Such surveys had also not been systematically conducted by the institutions included in this research. Secondly, in most cases the audience was not the focal point of the makers of these exhibits. While remaining fully aware of the importance of the public's expectations and interpretations of such shows, the teams involved in the exhibiting processes seemed to be content and network driven rather than audience-centric. In this regard, the renovation of the Pacific Galleries at the AM played the role of an exception. As the AM used visitor expectations as a starting point of the exhibiting process and conducted audience surveys for the purpose of this renovation, these surveys were addressed and are included in Chapter 4.

Following the exclusion of the reception of the case studies, exhibition makers and museum practitioners progressively became the group of reference throughout the research process. An early goal was to highlight the ways in which exhibition makers and their direct networks perceive and experience exhibition making, and how they describe and promote exhibiting practices. Thus, external agents such as exhibition critics were deliberately excluded from the study of these exhibitions. This maker-centric take on the case studies may be regarded by the reader as incomplete. While remaining aware of the limitations of this corporate view, this research argues that focusing on communities of museum practitioners and their interactions can shed light

on the role of museums and their support networks as the epicentre of the negotiations shaping exhibitions. Exploring the perspective of the makers also unveiled a relationship between exhibition products and their networks. Finally, although this study deliberately advocates for an understanding of exhibitions from the perspective of those directly involved in exhibiting processes, it is hoped that it can lay the foundation for future research on the interpretation and the reception of such exhibitions by external agents.

Finally, the thesis does not address economical factors and reflections on the costs of the exhibition case studies. Although these factors can shape content and network development, information about budgets and costs were rarely made available to the researcher. In some instances, publicising financial information in relation to such recent happenings was strictly prohibited. The confidentiality of such data led to the exclusion of financial negotiations from the discussions presented in this research. Such elements could be integrated in future studies when publishable.

1.4. Thesis Outline and Articulations

The thesis opens with an attempt to historicise the notion of museum networks through the scope of exhibitions and exhibition making in the late 19th and early 20th century. By piecing together early kinships between the museum cultures of Aotearoa New Zealand, Hawai'i and Taiwan, Chapter 2 paves the way for the exploration of exhibition genealogies, further examined through the case studies in Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 follows the path of the short-term exhibitions selected for this research: *Vaka Moana*, *Le Folauga*, *Across Oceans and Time* and *The Great Journey*. Moving with the exhibitions themselves from Aotearoa New Zealand to Taiwan, this chapter emphasises the role of temporary shows in opening museum routes across Oceania. In Chapter 4, these temporary dynamics and the networks that they generate are *musealised*, or captured in long-term displays. Chapter 4 compares and connects the restoration of *Pacific Hall* at the BPBM with the renovation of the future Pacific Galleries at the AM.

After describing the exhibitions, their making and their makers in Chapter 3 and 4, the thesis articulates these various endeavours. Chapter 5 intertwines the threads explored through both temporary and permanent exhibitions in order to shed light on the establishment of a trans-Pacific culture of display in Oceania. The chapter argues that such a museological phenomenon is rooted in the development of shared narratives and in that of entangled exhibition networks. Dwelling on these observations and revealing a correlation between connective display storylines and practices, Chapter 6 examines the maps of “the Pacific” presented and performed in trans-Pacific exhibitions. By piecing together the genealogy of these maps across the cases studies, Chapter 6 demonstrates the parallel between cartographic and curatorial representations, and emphasises the need to further develop the field of museum cartography. This chapter also emphasises the tensions, negotiations, and limitations encountered when staging the Pacific as a whole. Finally, reflecting on the positioning established through/in those maps, Chapter 7 suggests that exhibition-networks can be employed as a method to reassemble a renewed understanding of belonging in/through/to Oceania.

Chapter 2:
**Genealogical Grounds: Early Display Articulations and
Networks**

Introduction

One early focus for this research was to examine how the exhibition case studies had come into being and in which contexts they had been developed. Part of the early investigations, undertaken through published literature and museum archives, aimed to grow an understanding of 1) the individual museum cultures in which the case studies were developed and 2) the transformation of Pacific exhibitions and museum networks in Oceania, across time and space (Brigham, 1903; Rose, 1980, 1991, 2005; Neich, 1991; Wolfe, 2001, 2004; Chang, 2006; Kuo-ning, 2008; Hsieh, 2014;). While establishing a chronological account – partly presented through the means of displayed maps in Chapter 6 (6.3) – one period transpired as particularly grounding: the development, in the late 19th and early 20th century, of the first museums of Aotearoa New Zealand, Hawai'i and Taiwan, which structured later museum endeavours, including exhibitions. In all three island groups, this period was not only shaped by the establishment of nation-states and borders, but also came hand-in-hand with the development of structuring taxonomies, partly challenged by the research case studies in the 21st century.

Chapter 2 focuses on the establishment of these early museum institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand, Hawai'i and Taiwan in order to highlight the ways in which they framed future perceptions of Oceania, by notably instituting a range of display categories and methods. In other words, early museums and their exhibitions are employed as a means to look forward through the past. Their analysis also provides the reader with background information regarding the various museum cultures within which the exhibition case studies were put together. Further, through the description of these early endeavours, this chapter seeks to historicize the concept of museum networks by exploring the development of museum connectivity at the time of national and institutional formations (McCarthy, 2016). As explained in Chapter 1, these early networks intertwined indigenous and non-indigenous protagonists. Museums and exhibitions were not only channels, but also catalysts of this entanglement.

Thus, unlike the chronological account of Pacific constructs presented in Chapter 6, Chapter 2 can be regarded as a genealogical doorway into the exploration of the case studies analysed in Chapters 3 and 4. Using Foucault's reading of genealogy and power/knowledge to develop an understanding of early display taxonomies and networks (see Chapter 1), this chapter investigates the interactions that shaped initial museum endeavours (McCarthy, 2007: 10-12). As such, it pieces together what can be described as early museum kinships (or relatedness) triggered by the making of museum displays (Carsten, 2000; Toren & Pauwels 2015). As the notions of genealogy and kinship resonate with the ways in which knowledge and relationships are approached and entangled in the localities researched in this thesis, they also allow for the reintegration of indigenous agencies in the history of early museum displays (McCarthy, 2007; Kamehiro, 2009; Toren & Pauwels 2015; McCarthy, 2016).

The first part of this chapter is dedicated to the implementation of museum institutions in the three localities explored in this study. In Aotearoa New Zealand, this research examines the foundation of the Auckland Museum (1852), direct ancestor of the Auckland War Memorial Museum (AM). The Hawaiian National Museum (1875) and its successor/survivor, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (BPBM) (1892), set the scene in the context of Hawai'i. Finally, as the instigator of the Taiwanese case studies – the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA; presented in Chapter 1) – opened in the 1990s, the establishment of early museums in Taiwan is explored through the first institution created on the island, the Viceroy's Office Museum (1908), visited and documented during fieldwork. After having pieced together and entangled the creation of these various institutions, the second part of the chapter focuses on the early development of pan-Pacific displays at the AM and at the BPBM. Connecting these two institutions notably through the figure of their first curators – who corresponded for over 20 years – hints at the impact of these networks on the isolation and articulation of Pacific cultures and artefacts on display.

2.1– Intertwined Beginnings: Historical Contexts, First Museums and Early Ethnographic Displays

Following a time of explorations and encounters, the 19th century can be regarded as a more specifically colonial period in Oceania. While, in the West, various territories were transforming to convert into nations, the Pacific became one of the battlegrounds of the process of nationhood (Jacobs, 2012). Throughout the century, various external forces – mainly Dutch, French, British, American, German, and Japanese – quarrelled and fought for sovereignty over portions of Oceania. Simultaneously and also consequently, political strategies and alliances were redefined within, awakening relationships amongst Pacific agents (Thomas, 2010; Cook, 2011). Amidst this entanglement of foreign and indigenous networks redefining the political balance as well as the structure of Oceania, museum institutions started mushrooming across the region. Imported from the West in their institutional form, they adapted to the various cultural contexts within which they were implanted, contexts that were themselves transforming (see Chapter 1). While becoming the products of external and internal negotiations and relations, these early museums maintained common features, which acted as reminders of their genealogies and of their position as nexus between various localities. This section focuses on the establishment of early museum institutions in New Zealand, Hawai'i and Taiwan from the mid-19th to the early-20th century. By comparing and connecting the context within which museums appeared on each island, this body of work seeks to demonstrate the existence of early parallels and networks amongst these institutions and their makers.

2.1.A— New Zealand and the Auckland Museum

The museum institutions established in New Zealand in the 19th century were based on a British museum model. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi/Tiriti o Waitangi on February 6th 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and over 500 Māori chiefs from Aotearoa, resulted in the declaration of British sovereignty over the island by the governor William Hobson. Although the various parties involved had different expectations towards the signing of this treaty – notably due to the variations between

the version written in Māori language and that put together in English – New Zealand officially became a part of the British Empire (Ward, 1999; Palmer, 2008; Orange, 2011). Following this decision, museums were progressively established across the island (McCarthy, 2007; 2011). On the one hand, these museums came hand in hand with the colonial intent to construct an extension of the British nation overseas. As such, early institutions were rooted in a network of colonial museums constructed throughout the empire. On the other hand, these museums also held an independent status and were nurtured by local dynamics and actors (McCarthy, 2011: 29). Unlike in Hawai'i – where early museums were established by Hawaiian monarchs (Kamehiro, 2009) – the first institution opening in New Zealand (the Auckland Museum) did not originally result from indigenous political and preservation strategies. Yet, it can be argued that the early museums of Aotearoa were partly rooted in a culture of display that preceded the establishment of the British sovereignty (Mead, 1983; see Chapter 1). Simultaneously, they were also shaped by settlers' methods of collecting, displaying and preserving and sought to showcase the idea of modernity.

The Auckland Museum, direct ancestor of the Auckland War Memorial Museum (AM), was the very first museum to open in New Zealand (Wolfe, 2004: 13). Its opening was recorded in 1852, which is before that of the Colonial Museum in Wellington (Te Papa Tongarewa's first ancestor) in 1865. The early establishment of this institution was an initiative of the Auckland Provincial Government, which then had control over the museum (Neich, 1991: 219). In 1869, the Auckland Museum was absorbed by the Auckland Institute and became a part of this learned society. On this occasion, it was re-baptised as the Auckland Institute and Museum and was moved twice around the current University of Auckland campus (Wolfe, 2001: 1-5). The 1870s set the tone for the AM's future developments. In 1874, the botanist Thomas Frederic Cheeseman was appointed curator (1874-1923). Two years later, in 1876, the museum was finally moved to its first purpose-built home, on 2 Princes Street. In this new building and with Cheeseman as its new driving force, the museum increased its collection, expanded its network and developed many of the structural features that are still perceptible at the AM today [2016].

On 2 Princes Street, the AM's two-floor building was distinctively Victorian (see Figure 2.1). Firstly, its façade made of brick and plaster to mirror stone constructions, and its internal décor composed of columns, balustrade and wooden furniture showed all the ornamental characteristics of a Victorian edifice. Secondly, its internal structure combined the essential components of a Victorian institution, matching its primary functions: a library and a lecture room, an office-herbarium for the curator, a limited storage space in the basement, and a display space (Wolfe, 2001: 4). The latter, called "Main Hall", expanded over two floors. Echoing the displays of the Cabinets of Wonders, the gallery mingled both *artificialia* and *naturalia*. The latter originated from various parts of the world but suggested a preference for New Zealand and Pacific material (Neich, 1991; Lugli, 1998; Wolfe, 2001; Davenne, 2004; Kaeppler, 2011). In the early days, the collection and the display of the AM resulted from both selective and accumulative strategies. The collection was mainly constructed through purchases, exchanges, deposits, and donations (Neich, 1991: 219; Harrison et al., 2013). As in many 19th century museums, the lack of storage space led to a *quasi* equivalence between the collection and its display. In other words, every item entering the museum was exhibited in relation to what was already presented. Hence, within the AM's early gallery, classifications were perceptible but the accumulation effect prevailed. In the early 1880s, the AM's two-floor gallery showcased specimens of flora and fauna, alongside plaster casts of antique statuary, which neighboured cultural artefacts, undistinguished between Māori and Pacific, stacked in rail and up-front cases or even hanging from the balustrades (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3). A collection of paintings remained on display until the opening of the Auckland City Art Gallery in 1888. After the progressive transfer of what was then regarded as art pieces to the Art Gallery, the museum focused its activities on ethnographic items and natural specimens (Wolfe, 2001).

The early developments of the AM show a will to construct and reinforce a network of scholarly individuals and connoisseurs. As the museum sought to collect, preserve and represent the world in an encyclopaedic manner, building a community that enabled its development was regarded as crucial. In the late 19th century, the figure of the curator (often also a director) played the role of a connector between various circles and

communities. At the AM on Princes Street, like elsewhere in Oceania, these relationships were materialised in the museum's structure and directly impacted both the collection and the display (Harrison, 2013). The galleries, like the curator himself, articulated these various circles and their related collections of specimens and ideas.

The first channel of these relationships was the Auckland Institute itself, which was a local branch of the New Zealand Institute (becoming the Royal Society of New Zealand in 1933). As a botanist, Cheeseman had an excellent knowledge of these learned societies, of which he was a member. Born in Britain (Hull, 1845), Cheeseman grew up in New Zealand where he immigrated with his family in 1853 and was raised and educated in Auckland. As a first generation Aucklander, Cheeseman knew local scientists, collectors and merchants and used these local connections to construct the AM's collection. Cheeseman's network expanded both locally and internationally. For instance, the curator purchased some collection items at the shop of the merchant Eric Craig named "Eric Craig's Fern & Curiosity Shop" and situated near the AM on 7 Princes Street (AM online database, PH-RES-4181). Further, Cheeseman's knowledge of Victorian codes, interests and sciences also allowed him to construct relationships with scholars beyond New Zealand. Amongst them was William Tufts Brigham, the first curator-director of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. The two curators met at least four times (in 1888, 1895, 1896, and 1912) and corresponded for over twenty years while developing their museums in Auckland and in Honolulu (Brigham, 1898, 1913; Rose, 2005). Sharing a passion for botany, they exchanged natural specimens, but also sent to each other "exquisite" cultural specimens and duplicates from the local culture of their respective islands (AM archives, Brigham-Cheeseman inward correspondence, MA 95/38/2; BPBM archives, Cheeseman-Brigham correspondence, Box 218). The establishment of these early relationships between curators and merchants and between curators themselves, both locally and internationally, reveals the existence of connections between various museum contexts in the late 19th century.

2.1.B — Hawai‘i: the Hawaiian National Museum and the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum

The second half of the 19th century also coincided with the birth of the first museums in the Hawaiian archipelago. By contrast with New Zealand, Hawai‘i was still under the rule of its indigenous monarchs when these first institutions were born. Thus, the early history of Hawaiian museums is closely tied to that of the Hawaiian royalty, who directly instructed their development until the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i in 1893. The following reflections highlight two essential characteristics of both the Hawaiian National Museum, opened in 1875, and of its successor/survivor, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, founded in 1889. On the one hand, like in Auckland, these museums mirrored the institutions opened in the West in terms of their classificatory methods. On the other hand, their close ties with the destiny of the Hawaiian royalty strongly impacted the construction of their mission and triggered museographical innovations regarding the display of Hawaiian emblems in particular (Kamehiro, 2009: 97-98). Finally, although distinctively Hawaiian-centric, these museums engaged with the natural and cultural history of the broader Pacific region. While Oceania was becoming the stage of political alliances organised by both indigenous and colonial empires, the importance of showcasing Pacific collections in these early museums increased. Grounding the Hawaiian Kingdom in a territory of a larger scale, it also reinforced its legitimacy locally.

The Hawaiian National Museum (HNM)

Upon the inception of the first museums of Hawai‘i, Hawaiian leaders did not regard the use of western taxonomies as a form of submission to the coloniser. Instead, absorbing such taxonomies and methods was envisioned as means to display the modernity of the Hawaiian nation, which could, like any other, educate its people:

Similar to companion institutions in Europe and United States, Hawai‘i’s scientific and educational organizations participated in the production, organization, and dissemination of knowledge in an effort to contribute to the encyclopaedic ordering of the world. Aligned with these scholarly goals, the museums emphasized Hawai‘i’s

cultural and intellectual achievements as comparable to those of the world's respected nations. (Kamehiro, 2009: 97)

Thus, in order to construct their museums, Hawaiian leaders and their well-informed collaborators called into play non-native social and political elites. The latter were outsiders to the kingdom but were insiders to the 19th century museum culture. As much as the networks of the monarchs themselves, those of external agents impacted the museum's development.

After a couple of attempts to construct significant cabinets of curiosity on the island in the 1830s and in the 1850s, the decision to establish a museum open to the general public was finally made in 1872 (Rose, 1980: 2). In July, the Hawaiian King Kamehameha V, descendant of Kamehameha the Great, signed an Act "to establish a museum of Archaeology, Literature, Botany, Geology, and Natural History of the Hawaiian Islands" (Rose, 1980: 2). This Act can be regarded as an indigenous response to the acceleration of the colonial process faced by the Kingdom. Firstly, this decision was nurtured by the alarming observation that Hawaiian traditions were changing if not disappearing. Secondly, it was also rooted in the will to reinforce the indigenous nation of Hawai'i, which was being weakened by western political ambitions. Enacted under the Kamehameha Dynasty, this first museum came into being under the Kalākaua Dynasty, named after David Kalākaua, who succeeded to Kamehameha V in 1874.

The Hawaiian National Museum (HNM), also called the Government Museum, opened in August 1875 (Rose, 1980: 2). It pursued its mission until the transfer of the remainder of its collection to its direct descendant, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, in 1891 (Kamehiro, 2009: 97). As the first museum of Hawai'i, it played a key role in piecing together and showcasing the history, the values and the aspiration of the Hawaiian royalty. Charles Reed Bishop, president of the Hawaiian Board of Education and future founder of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, was originally in charge of its administration. In 1874, he appointed the first curator of this institution, Harvey R. Hitchcock, a son of a missionary who arrived in the archipelago from Massachusetts (Kamehiro, 2009: 104). A year later the museum opened in the current Judiciary

Building, former Ali'iōlani Hale/Government Building. As in New Zealand and in Taiwan, the architecture of this first museum showed a neoclassical style ("Renaissance Revival"), which directly referenced western museum buildings and heritage (Kamehiro, 2009: 102).

Very little is known regarding the display structure of this early museum. However, Stacy Kamehiro compiled an extensive catalogue of its collection (2009: 139-184). In 1875, this collection was rather modest and focused on Hawaiian archaeological artefacts and natural specimens (Kamehiro, 2009: 104). Hitchcock (1874-1877) and his successors David D. Baldwin (1877-1882) and Emma M. Beckley (or Nākuina, 1882-1887) later developed the collection with a strong focus on Hawaiian material, including natural specimens and artefacts. Most importantly, it featured chiefly emblems, which directly served in the glorification of Kalākaua's Hawaiian nation. Echoing the King's ambitions, the collection was also oriented towards the rest of Oceania and encompassed natural and cultural items from the Pacific region and its Rim. From the early 1880s, David Kalākaua and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Walter M. Gibson, attempted to build a Pacific confederacy, over which the Hawaiian Kingdom, elevated to the status of Empire, would rule. In this context, the Pacific collection was of great importance and sought to materialise the Hawaiian hegemony:

Collecting efforts mirrored the kingdom's imperial ambitions, demonstrating that, like its Western counterparts, it had the ability and the power to collect and order the world. In so doing, the National Museum distinguished the Hawaiian kingdom as collector rather than as a collected "other". (Kamehiro, 2009: 110)

Reflecting the expansion of the Kingdom's network, the collection compiled natural specimens as well as artefacts principally from the Samoan Islands, Easter Island, the New Hebrides, Fiji or Viti Islands, the Solomon Islands, New Britain, New Ireland, as well as from the Caroline, Gilbert and Marshall Islands.² The project to construct both a Pacific confederacy and its mirroring collection was however brought to an end in 1887.

² The terminology used here refers to this of the sources compiled by Stacy Kamehiro (2009: 141-142), which were employed in the BPBM records (1892-1893).

In June, the king David Kalākaua was forced to sign the Bayonet Constitution, which limited the Kingdom's leadership and empowered a Reform Government composed of settlers. The destiny of the Hawaiian National Museum was sealed: the curator was dismissed and the collection was progressively transferred to the newly opened Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Brigham, 1903: 2; Rose, 1980: 5).

The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (BPBM)

In many ways, the birth in December 1889 of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History (BPBM) was informed by the venture of the Hawaiian National Museum. However, while the latter was definitely dismantled after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893, the former survived the change of regime. Founded by Charles Reed Bishop to honour his beloved wife Bernice Pauahi Bishop, who had died in 1884, the BPBM's mission differed from that of the HNM. Primarily, it was envisioned as a monument to Pauahi and her dedication to her people. By contrast with the HNM, dedicated to the glory of the Kalākaua Dynasty, the BPBM honoured the Kamehameha line, of which Pauahi was the last lineal descendant. After the death of Princess Ruth Ke'elikōlani (in 1883) and Queen Emma (in 1885) and with no children of her own, Mrs. Bishop left behind her fortune, her land (9% of the whole Kingdom) and her collection (Rose, 1980: 7).

Pauahi was not only the recipient of the Kamehameha heirlooms, which encompassed royal emblems and diplomatic gifts from all over the world. She was also herself a collector, both of her own culture and of those of the peoples of the Pacific. Witnessing the decline of the Hawaiian population and their traditions, she took on the responsibility of preserving them and educating her people. Upon her death, all her belongings and those of her royal relatives were bequeathed to her husband, Charles Reed Bishop. Her lands were allocated to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estate, which provided funds for the establishment of both a school – the Kamehameha Schools – and its neighbouring museum, the BPBM. The royal collection served as a basis for that of the BPBM, which was soon complemented by items coming from various sources, including from the Auckland-based merchant Eric Craig (Brigham, 1903: 2-7).

Fulfilling Pauahi's vision, Charles ordered the construction of the BPBM on the grounds of the Kamehameha Schools in 1890 (see Figure 2.4). The original building — which corresponds to the current Hawaiian Hall Complex minus its Pacific (formerly Polynesian) Hall and Hawaiian Hall galleries — was designed by the architect William F. Smith, from San Francisco. Made of blue lava stone, it showed a typical Romanesque Revival style, which was trendy in Honolulu at the time (Rose, 2005: 1). Originally, the museum was composed of three exhibition galleries, all accessible from an Entrance Hall connecting left and right wings as well as upstairs and downstairs displays (see Figure 2.5). The Entrance Hall itself showcased portraits of the Hawaiian royalty as well as a few voluminous artefacts such as parts of a Māori pataka/storehouse (Brigham, 1903: 7). On the left side of the hall was (and still is [2016]) the Kahili Room, mainly dedicated to royal feathered emblems/regalia (kāhili). On the right, the Main Room (later rebaptised Hawaiian Vestibule) contained and presented most of the collection of Hawaiian and Pacific cultural and natural specimens. Benefiting from natural lighting, the Main Room was furnished with display cases made of redwood, with drawers serving as storage space at the bottom. Similar to AM, the cases displayed along the walls and in the centre of the room resulted from more of an accumulative logic rather than from a classification process (see Figures 2.6 and 2.7). Roger Rose describes this gallery in these terms:

Overcrowded from the very beginning, the Main Room displayed what must have seemed a confusing mix of objects in wood, stone, and fiber from Hawai'i and the Pacific, giant coral from Hawai'i and miscellaneous natural history from the Pacific, all mingling indiscriminately with house and canoe models and suits of fiber armor perched atop cases or on the floor. (Rose, 2005: 5)

Later divided, this collection was moved to the Polynesian and Hawaiian Halls, which opened respectively in 1894 and 1903 (see below). Finally, upstairs, a Picture Gallery accessible via an imposing staircase made of koa wood was designed for two-dimensional artworks.

Between the construction of the building in 1890 and the permanent opening of the BPBM in September 1892, Charles had hired the first curator of the institution, William Tufts Brigham. Brigham was in charge of planning and installing the aforementioned exhibits. He also largely expanded Pauahi's original vision by anticipating the museum's future developments and by considerably increasing the size of the collection (Rose, 2005: 10). Although the establishment of the museum deeply relied on the royal kinship, its development was nurtured by Brigham's network. William T. Brigham (1841-1926) originated from Boston, where he studied botany and law. Visiting Hawai'i for the first time in the 1860s, he started developing a strong interest in the botany and the geology of the archipelago and the Pacific Basin. During his first visit, Brigham also befriended Mr. and Mrs. Bishop. After losing most of his fortune due to unsound investments, the botanist moved to Hawai'i in 1888. A few months later in 1889, before settling permanently in Honolulu, Brigham undertook the first of his many trips to the South Pacific (to Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia this time). On that occasion, he met Frederic Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum for the first time. Upon his return, he became Bishop's main advisor regarding the museum's matters, and finally persuaded the founder to hire him as a full-time curator in 1891. He held the position of curator until 1899 and of director until 1918. Constantly supported by Bishop – who “always [took] pleasure to agree with him and adopt his suggestions” (Bishop to Hyde, in Rose, 2005: 21) – Brigham set the tone for the museum's future development. As a curator-traveller, he also opened pathways of influence for the BPBM, which ramified from the North to South Pacific and through North America and Europe (Brigham, 1898, 1913). One of his successors, Sir Peter Buck/Te Rangihīroa – the first indigenous/Māori curator of the BPBM – pursued and further developed this connective legacy by bridging his home (Aotearoa New Zealand) with Hawai'i and by bringing in his extensive trans-Pacific and international networks.³

³ Conal McCarthy has recently published on the role of Te Rangihīroa in the construction of trans-Pacific networks and as a key actor in the history of “Indigenous International” (McCarthy, 2016: 1-26).

1.2.C — Taiwan and the Viceroy's Office Museum

The Viceroy's Office Museum (VOM) is often described as Taiwan's first museum institution (Chang, 2006: 64).⁴ Its history is closely tied to the rise of the figure of the "other" embodied by local Austronesian cultures in Taiwanese museums, as well as to the growth of cultural awareness on the Island (Kuo-ning, 2008). Established in Taipei in 1908 during the Japanese annexation of Taiwan (1895-1945), the VOM was a product of the colonial era. Like the AM and the BPBM, its birth was nurtured by a need to both preserve disappearing traditions and to showcase new dynamics perceived as forms of progress. In this context, the VOM was also the first museum to conserve and present anthropological collections, which focused exclusively on Taiwan's indigenous Austronesian cultures until the late 1950s (Hsiao, 2009: 15-29). The following section explores the context for opening the first museum of Taiwan and retraces the early construction of the figure of the "other" in this museum. Furthermore, it highlights the ways in which this process originally excluded the Pacific from the equation, emphasising the transformative nature of the exhibitions notably developed by the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA) in the 21st century (see Chapter 3).

From 1683 to 1895, the Qing Dynasty ruled over both Mainland China and the island of Taiwan. In 1895, the first Sino-Japanese war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. The treaty stipulated that the territory of Taiwan should be ceded to Japan. At the time of this transfer of power, the Japanese emperor Meiji (1867-1912) was undertaking an in-depth renovation of his country and its feudal system. Ratifying the end of the Shogunate (feudal system) in 1868, Meiji intended to restructure Japan in a way that would allow the archipelago to compete with other respectable nations. Western nations were specifically targeted by the emperor and his government, both as role models and competitors. On the one hand, what was then envisioned as their modernity inspired the Emperor to develop new local policies. On the other hand, like the Hawaiian King David Kalākaua (instigator of the HNM) at the time, Meiji intended to

⁴ This museum was also known as the Governor's Mansion Museum (Chang 2006). After taking the name of the Taiwan Provincial Museum between 1945 and 1999, it was finally relabelled the Taiwan National Museum in 1999 (Hsiao, 2009).

slow down and restrain the colonisation of Asia and the Pacific by Western nations (Cook, 2011: 170). To do so, in the early 1880s, Emperor Meiji and King Kalākaua started discussing the possibility of establishing firstly a Federation of Asiatic Nations and Sovereigns led by Japan, and secondly an Asia-Pacific confederacy. In 1882, Meiji declined the King's offer to ally with Hawai'i (Cook, 2011: 189). Instead, he focused on reforming his country and its colonies, with amongst them Taiwan.

Meiji actively reformed and invested in both internal and foreign affairs. Various sectors were key to this restructuration, and notably industry and education. The reforms, driven by a will to enter a community of modern nations, led the country to enter a dynamic period of international exchanges. This accelerated the unprecedented opening of Japan to the rest of the world, celebrated by its first participation in the international fair in 1867 in Paris (Akamastu, 1968: 23; Kuo-ning 2008: 125). During the Japanese occupation (1895-1945), Taiwan – which was then commonly called Formosa⁵ – was forced to follow the pace of the empire's changes. As the first overseas territory ever annexed by Japan, Formosa became a model colony, a showcase of the empire's quest for modernity (Jacobs, 2012: 7). Public health, education, as well as agricultural and industrial growth were at the core of Meiji's campaigns. Such ambitions came hand-in-hand with the construction of a strong administrative system as well as the development of major infrastructure such as roads, rails and harbours. While physically restructuring the island and importing new values, the Japanese government aimed to rule over a wider portion of the territory. The Qing Dynasty (1683-1895) had rejected authority over "the savage tribes in the mountainous eastern half of Formosa" (Hosea in Jacobs, 2012: 22). Willing to make the most of all unexploited parcels of land, Japan entered the mountains and the valleys of the East, home of a large part of Taiwan's indigenous population. These encounters led the Japanese to conducting field surveys amongst the various tribes of the island.⁶ The surveys aimed to both map the newly rediscovered territories as well as to develop a comprehensive approach to

⁵ From its denomination "Ilha Formosa" ("beautiful island") given by the Portuguese when they sailed to Japan through the Taiwan Strait in 1544 (Jacobs, 2012: 19).

⁶ Taiwan currently recognises 14 Austronesian tribal groups: Saisiyat, Rukai, Puyuma, Atayal, Amis, Yami, Bunun, Paiwan, Thao, Tsou, Kavalan, Truku, Sakizaya, and Sediq.

documenting their population by collecting ethnographical data and artefacts (Hsiao, 2009: 49-53).

Far from being peaceful, this encounter between, on one side, the Japanese government and its representatives and, on the other side, the Taiwanese population composed of indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, precipitated the construction of museums in Formosa. Inspired by its participation in Paris's international fair in 1867, Japan imported the museum model as well as western display methods first to Tokyo (in 1872) and then to Taiwan after the annexation in 1895 (Hsiao, 2009: 15). In the early 20th century, approximately eighteen museum-like entities opened in Taiwan, from exhibition halls in big cities to educational centres or regional museums in more remote areas (Chang, 2006: 64-65). The creation of such institutions – backed by extensive investments in the education system – facilitated the ideological reform carried out by the Japanese government (Jacobs, 2012: 7). They were, on the one hand, evidence of the imperial domination on the newly annexed Taiwanese territories, and, on the other hand, a means to introduce the Taiwanese culture to the Japanese immigrants, freshly arrived on the island (Chang, 2006; Kuo-ning, 2008). These early museums showcased the recent transformations serving the so-called dynamic of progress as the outcome of Japanese hegemony. By contrast, the material representing Taiwan's cultures and pre-annexation history was displayed as that of a distant "other", which the new era sought to educate. By centering the museum's discourse on the Japanese and by associating the Taiwanese with the figure of the "other", these first institutions took part in the construction of a pan-Taiwanese identity. This can be regarded as the first step towards the later Taiwanese self-determination phenomenon, which nurtured a growing recognition of indigenous claims and rights in the late 20th and early 21st century (Kuo-ning, 2008; Jacobs, 2012; Christophe, 2015b).

Following these dynamics, the Taiwan Viceroy's Office Museum was established in 1908. Constructed in 1915 in Taipei New Park, the eldest of these newly introduced institutions was the focal point of the Japanese educational campaign. Its opening commemorated the inauguration of the neighbouring North-South Railway, which strongly affiliated the museum with the restructuration process and set the tone of its

mission (Chang, 2006: 65). This strategic location emphasised the Japanese desire to industrialise Taiwan but also to bind the various regions of the island. Its building showed an architectural style directly inherited from the model of the Greek temple, adopted by many major museums in Europe (see Figure 2.8). Bringing forth western patterns such as doric columns, triglyphs and a dome, the building materialised Japanese hegemony and sacralised the museum and its discourse.

Like Cheeseman and Brigham, the first director of the Viceroy's Office Museum, Takiya Kawakami, was a botanist. He had emigrated from Japan to Taiwan in 1903, where he founded the Natural History Society in 1910. Kawakami had a particular interest in Taiwan's local flora, which was at the core of the museum's early collection (Hsiao, 2009: 45). Though the natural specimens were in a majority when the museum opened in 1915, the collection also encompassed cultural artefacts. The latter were classified under the category "Anthropology/Savage tribes", which focused *quasi* exclusively on the indigenous tribes of Taiwan until the late 1950s (Hsiao, 2009: 17). The Japanese anthropologist Ushinosuke Mori, who is described as the pioneer of the field surveys conducted in the mountains of Taiwan, was involved in curating and displaying the anthropology collection (Hsiao, 2009: 49-53). Mori collected both archaeological and ethnographic material with the intent to show continuity between the prehistory of Taiwan and the contemporary material culture of the island's aboriginal tribes. Although he focused primarily on the Atayal and Paiwan groups, he sought to bring forth a comprehensive approach to studying the indigenous population of the whole island, contributing to the reunion of all tribes under the same taxonomies.

The gallery presenting Taiwan's indigenous material combined archaeological and ethnographic material as well as paintings of the rediscovered mountainous landscapes (see Figure 2.9). Certain tribes, like the Atayal, were showcased by the means of dioramas, which were commonly used in museums at the time (including at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum) (see Figure 2.10). In the main room, the collection was displayed in elegant wooden rail and protruding cases, echoing the museum technology adopted in Aotearoa New Zealand and in Hawai'i. The indigenous display remained centred on the local indigenous population until the late 1950s, when Chi-Lu Chen – the

new Head of the Anthropology and Exhibit departments – started incorporating cross-cultural comparisons in the galleries. Struck by visual similarities between artefacts from Taiwan and those from other regions, he expanded the collection to other areas such as the Pacific and North America (Hsiao, 2009: 95). Later reinforced by linguistic and archaeological research, the idea of a Taiwan-Pacific cultural link slowly entered the museums of the island from that time onwards without being necessarily displayed in exhibitions. Although further research on these topics was conducted throughout the 20th century, the Austronesian connection through the Pacific only became central after the rise of a local cultural awareness (“Taiwanisation” phenomenon) in the 1990s (Jacobs, 2012; Christophe, 2015b).

Conclusion

This overview of the contexts within which each island integrated and transformed the museum model informed on the existence of early networks and kinships amongst these institutions and their instigators. Firstly, in the 19th century Pacific, museum networks intersected with political ones while foreign ambitions entangled with indigenous agencies. The exchanges between Brigham and Cheeseman, as well as between these two curators and the Auckland-based merchant Eric Craig, shaped the development of the AM and the BPBM. Simultaneously, the BPBM was the heir of a legacy constructed by Hawaiian monarchs, and was nurtured by the intent to establish an empire within the Pacific region. Playing the role of nexus between the trajectories of Kalākaua, Pauahi, Bishop, Brigham, Cheeseman, Meiji, Kawakami, Mori, and later Te Rangihīroa, these early museums entangled indigenous and foreign agents. However, the variations in their political contexts of development impacted the scope of their exhibitions. While early institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand and Hawai’i engaged with both local and foreign Pacific cultures and artefacts, the first museum of Taiwan focused on unifying the tribes of the island and their territory. In parallel, display methods were nurtured by the technology promoted by international exhibitions and fairs, interweaving external ways of representing with internal motivations for such display. In this regard, the museums explored here echoed one another by employing similar methods and classificatory systems. All in all, these relationships and tensions

between interiority and exteriority fed the development of early museum institutions in the Pacific. The next section will dwell on how these relationships crystallised in the early displays of the AM and of the BPBM.

2.2 — Islands and Isolation: Early Pan-Pacific displays at the Auckland Museum and at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum

As demonstrated in the previous section, upon their early establishment, both the AM and the BPBM presented their collections in a unique gallery known as the “Main Hall” or “Main Room”. These main halls encompassed both natural and cultural (ethnographic and archaeological) specimens and emphasised, when space was given, types of artefacts rather than geographical affiliations. Quickly getting overcrowded, these first displays also answered to a logic of accumulation. In this context, Cheeseman and Brigham did not systematically separate the materials produced by local islanders (Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand and Hawaiians in Hawai‘i) from those made by foreign Pacific protagonists. Since western epistemologies structured these Main Rooms/Halls at the AM and at the BPBM – by contrast with the collections that were partly established through indigenous agents – non-western cultures were joined to collectively form the figure of the “Other”. This comprised local and foreign Pacific island cultures as well as other groups from across the world.

From 1892 onwards, both the AM and the BPBM began distinguishing various types of “Others”. This phenomenon created the push to increasingly construct exhibitions focusing exclusively on the Pacific, its islands and its “races”. This process can be divided in several differentiating phases. After being categorised as distinctly ethnographic, Pacific materials (local and foreign) were progressively isolated from the rest of the collection. Later on, a new distinction was made between local and foreign island cultures, and then between these foreign cultures themselves. Using the island as a metaphorical trope (Cameron, 2012), the galleries transformed, step-by-step, into a three-dimensional map of the Pacific region. Matching spaces with geographical areas and display cases with specific island groups, these early museum displays revealed the existence of a strong correlation between the process of mapping and that of curating

(see Chapter 6). The following section seeks to piece together the various differentiation phases that resulted in the establishment of Pan-Pacific displays in the early 20th century. It aims to compare and bridge these various displays in order to bring forth the parallels and the variations in representing Oceania at the AM and at the BPBM.

2.2.A – Laying the Groundwork for Pan-Pacific Displays

Opened in 1876 in its first purpose-built home, the AM started to dramatically run short of display and storage space from the early 1880s onwards. An extension was clearly needed as the lack of space did not allow Frederic Cheeseman, the curator, to organise the collection. Cheeseman deplored that “the most incongruous objects ha[d] of necessity to be exhibited in juxtaposition” (AM Annual Report 1886, in Wolfe, 2001: 13). In 1884, the Council purchased an adjacent freehold property to construct a southern wing for the museum. The extension, designed by Edward Bartley in glass and iron, opened in 1892 (see Figure 2.11). Referred to as the “Ethnological Hall”, the newly-built southern wing intended to notably “illustrat[e] the habits and mode of life of the Maori race” through the Māori collection (AM Annual Report, 1892: 7-8). Simultaneously, the whole of the Pacific collection of cultural artefacts was moved to the new Hall, and was displayed alongside the Māori collection. Early photographs show that a few ethnographic items from the rest of the world were also displayed in the new hall, but did not appear to be in a majority. While the ethnographical collection was moved to the extension, the specimens of natural history were left in the Main Hall and were entirely rearranged (Wolfe, 2001: 13). Thus, this first major redevelopment of the AM’s history reinforced, on the one hand, the unity of the ethnographic collection – mainly Māori and Pacific – now displayed in a unique room, and on the other hand, the contrast between natural and cultural specimens.

The photographs taken in the AM’s Ethnological Hall between 1894 and 1897 give a sense of the display design and structure (see Figures 2.12 and 2.13). Firstly, they show that bulky objects, such as Māori architectural elements and canoes, were presented without any display cases, on the walls or in the centre of the room. Smaller artefacts

were mostly displayed in long continuous display cases. Within these cases, the pieces were positioned on mounting structures and basic display systems covered with black fabric. The pieces were also accompanied by individual printed labels. Secondly, the photographs show the beginning of a distinction between the display of Māori and Pacific artefacts. Although in one room, the Māori collection was mainly showcased along the east wall, and the Pacific collection along the west wall. On both sides, the objects were mostly organised by type, which sometimes matched with specific island locations on the Pacific side. Finally, what can be described as a “Pacific wall” included material from Australia (Photo archives, B393, showing Australian boomerangs).

William T. Brigham, first curator of the BPBM, visited the Auckland Museum both before and after the construction of the Ethnological Hall. During Brigham’s first visit in 1888, Cheeseman’s plans for the redevelopment were in progress. It is likely that the AM’s imminent plans confirmed Brigham’s ambition for the BPBM. When the Bishop Museum opened in 1892, the Main Room was already crowded and did not satisfy the first curator of this institution. As soon as he became Bishop’s advisor in the late 1880s, Brigham tried to convince him to both increase the collection of Pacific specimens and to construct an extension to showcase this collection. While in New Zealand, the curator met with the art dealer Eric Craig in 1888, who was also providing material for Cheeseman (Brigham, 1903: 2; Rose, 2005: 11). This encounter resulted in the later purchase of items from Aotearoa New Zealand, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu (then “New Hebrides”) with the intention of displaying them in the BPBM’s potential future extension.

In April 1891, prior to the BPBM’s opening, the *Daily Bulletin* publicly announced Charles Reed Bishop’s agreement to the extension project:

We learn that the objects of Hawaiian antiquity and art, now in the progress of arrangement by Prof. Brigham, will more than fill the splendid new building. Mr. Bishop has accordingly determined to proceed with the erection of a large addition, to be occupied with similar objects representing the other islands of Oceania. (Daily Bulletin 2, April 1891, in Rose, 2005: 11)

Following this agreement, the construction of a Hall called “Polynesian Hall” (PH) started in October 1892, a month after the public opening of the BPBM (Rose, 2005: 11). Brigham originally envisioned Polynesian Hall only as one element of a greater plan, encompassing the construction of “another hall in which the Papuan and Melanesian groups could be distin[guished] from the Polynesians” (BPBM Annual Report, 1904: 3). Though evidence of plans for this Papuan Hall can be found in the BPBM archives, it was never built. Polynesian Hall presented material from the whole Pacific region (excluding Hawai‘i) until its first renovation in the 1950s. It also kept its name affiliated with Polynesia until 2013, when it was renamed “Pacific Hall” (see Chapter 4).

The newly-built Polynesian Hall opened in December 1894 (see Figure 2.14). Made of lava stone and designed by William Mutch, the new building was adjacent to the original museum and was connected to the Entrance Hall via a door pierced at its rear. The extension was composed of three floors. The “basement” (a ground floor) was divided in several administrative offices closed to the public. The first and second floors hosted the new display dedicated to the cultural and natural history of the Pacific. At the time of the opening in 1894, the hall included Australia but excluded the Pacific Rim and notably Taiwan (integrated in PH in 2013, see Chapter 4). Similar to the AM, a distinction between the local Pacific material and that of the wider region began to be made: the Hawaiian specimens were kept aside, principally in the Main Room, and reorganised. The new hall was structured as follows: past the museum entrance hall, a small vestibule connected floor one and two via a narrow staircase. The first floor showcased Pacific ethnographic artefacts organised by island groups (see Figure 2.15). The second floor presented the natural specimens collected across the region and ordered by type. Large artefacts such as long weapons and later canoes were also attached to the ceiling (Brigham, 1903: 16-58; Rose, 2005: 10-17). Therefore, by contrast with the AM – where an exclusively ethnographic hall had been built – at the BPBM the natural and cultural specimens remained presented in the same room (yet not on the same floor).

The BPBM's curator developed a highly geographical categorisation system, in accordance with an *Index to the Islands of the Pacific Ocean* that he published in 1900 (Brigham, 1900). A direct link exists between this index and Polynesian Hall. The former was being prepared while the latter was being installed, organised, and improved. A large map of the Pacific was featured on the mezzanine floor and materialised one of the many challenges that Brigham had imposed upon himself (see Chapter 6; Figure 2.15). The first floor, significantly ethnographic, was entirely structured by Brigham's geographical understanding of the region. It was composed of seven large double-sided cases perpendicular to the wall, forming eight alcoves and leaving an empty space in the middle of the gallery for lower rail cases. Each corner of the room and each case's side presented artefacts from an attributed island or island group (Figures 2.16 and 2.17; Brigham, 1903).

The articulation of these island locations was triggered by racial categories, which were prospering at the time. Although Brigham mostly listed these display cases by island groups in his *Handbook* (1903), his geographical *Index* (1900) shows evidence of the use of the categories of Polynesians, Melanesians (also referred to as Papuans) and Micronesians to describe the inhabitants of the Pacific. In Brigham's Polynesian Hall, the Polynesian islands seem to come first (mostly east and north walls), followed by the Melanesian ones, including Australia and Fiji (mostly west and south walls), to finish with "Micronesia" designated as such (south wall) (Brigham, 1903). Within the cases, the artefacts were organised symmetrically and grouped according to types. Positioned on mounted white shelves or directly at the bottom of the case, they were also labelled individually. One case only contained a diorama (west wall), which presented Australian aborigines gathered under a shelter. The cases positioned in the middle of gallery went beyond the geographical classification to encompass more transversal themes and materials. One of them, added a few years after the opening, showcased forty-five canoe models from the Pacific. A similar case was developed during the 2013 renovation of the Hall (see Chapters 4 and 5).

2.2. B – Accentuating a Distinction between the Local and Foreign Pacific

After PH's opening, Brigham left for his first "Journey around the world undertaken to examine various Ethnological Collections" (Brigham, 1898). The ambitious and restless curator already envisioned an additional extension for the BPBM, and intended to study foreign museums in order to construct a very fine display, which was later known as "Hawaiian Hall". In 1896, he once again visited the Auckland Museum and its curator, Cheeseman. The latter equally sought to rearrange and expand the AM's Pacific and Māori display presented in the Ethnological Hall. Both curators were then working toward the same purpose: highlighting the uniqueness of their collection of local Pacific artefacts, the Hawaiian collection at the BPBM and the Māori collection at the AM. By doing so, they were about to seal the distinction between a local and a foreign Pacific, a separation that structured displays until the renovations presented in Chapter 4.

Brigham was the first to succeed in this matter. Although Charles Reed Bishop had moved permanently to San Francisco after the opening of PH and the proclamation of the Republic of Hawaii (1894), he continued to support the curator and his plans for the museum. Bishop had also set aside a Museum Trust that was separate from the Bishop Estate (Rose, 2005: 22). For Brigham, the construction of "Polynesian Hall made it possible to separate the general Pacific collection from the Hawaiian" (BPBM Annual Report, 1902: 3 in Rose 2005: 18). As early as May 1895 – five months after the opening of PH – he submitted his first plans for the new extension. In order to "properly exhibit and scientifically classify the ethnological material and the products of Nature of [the Hawaiian] islands" the curator projected a three-floor building, much more imposing than PH. Clinton Ripley and Charles Dickey were chosen to design the extension. Simultaneously, the architects were involved in the construction of the Bishop Memorial Chapel at the neighbouring Kamehameha Schools (Rose, 2005: 25). As foreseen originally by the Bishops, remembering Princess Pauahi and her royal ancestry came hand-in-hand with glorifying the Hawaiian collection.

The new Hall was then named “Hawaiian Hall” (HH) and opened in November 1903 (see Figure 2.17).⁷ At the same time, Brigham, who had been promoted to Director of the BPBM, published *A Handbook for Visitors* (Brigham, 1903). The hall was regarded as “a masterpiece of Victorian architecture” and was the last monumental addition to the Hawaiian Hall Complex, also known as the Original Building (Rose, 2005: 19). It was composed of three floors, throughout which cultural and natural specimens were separated, matching PH’s arrangement. All floors were furnished with cases made of koa wood in various shapes, which were designed by Traphagen from sketches originally drawn by Brigham for PH (Rose, 2005: 81). Directly following the Main Hall – re-baptised “Hawaiian Vestibule” and presenting various specimens including Pacific and Hawaiian crania – HH’s first level was dedicated to “the ancient life of Hawaii” (Brigham, 1903: 59). Ethnological per se, it focused on a “great variety of manufacture and implements”, which were organised by types such as “tools, weapons, worship, amusements”, etc. (Brigham, 1903: 62-100). Drawers were designed for duplicates and, in several cases, dioramas made by the sculptor Allen Hutchinson were added. These dioramas sought to make the ethnographic display more lively by presenting the natives of the “Hawaiian race”, which was thought to be disappearing (Brigham, 1903).⁸

The second level was a mezzanine gallery showcasing the natural history of Hawai‘i. It also included Pacific specimens with the purpose of initiating a reflection on the question: “whence and when did the Polynesians come into the waters of the Great Ocean”. Not properly archaeological, this gallery can however be regarded as a first step towards the later development of references to the ancestral cultures of Hawai‘i (see Chapter 6). These references laid the groundwork for the construction of the trans-Pacific narratives presented in Chapter 4. Finally, the third level, also a mezzanine, housed the BPBM’s library until 1911, when the Paki building was constructed at the back of the Hawaiian Hall Complex. Removing the library from HH allowed Brigham to open the third floor to the public in 1915. This floor became both the heir of the Director’s unfulfilled ambitions and the recipient of additional collection items. It

⁷ The Republic of Hawaii, proclaimed in 1894, had then become the Territory of Hawaii (1900).

⁸ After working in HH, Hutchinson, who had primarily worked on “the Indians of Canada” moved to New Zealand, where he continued making museum dioramas (Brigham, 1898: 66; Rose, 2005: 100). The dioramas were removed from HH in the late 1960s.

showcased a botanical display, the relics of the Hawaiian royalty (regalia), and temporarily items from Australia and western Pacific islands, which were intended to be moved to the never-built Papuan Hall (BPBM Annual Report, 1915: 18, in Rose 2005: 127).

Meanwhile, in Auckland, Cheeseman also intended to promote the local Pacific culture (Māori). The curator-director described the Māori collection as “by far the most complete in the colony” (AM Annual Report, 1892: 7-8 in Wolfe, 2001). After Brigham’s visit, a new room, the Statue Hall, was constructed on the east side of the Ethnological Hall. In order to connect both halls, a door was added and a part of the Māori collection displayed along the east wall was moved around the Ethnological Hall. Following this alteration, Cheeseman undertook a rearrangement of the Māori collection twice, in 1898 and in 1901. Despite his efforts, the Ethnological Hall remained increasingly congested, and new acquisitions of cultural artefacts made the construction of another extension necessary. The final push for building this extension occurred in 1901, when the Auckland Council agreed to purchase a whole and large wharenuī/meeting house from the shores of Lake Rotoiti. Known as Rangitihī, this wharenuī of approximately eighteen by eight meters required its own display gallery. At the dawn of the 20th century, Cheeseman took the initiative to give both the wharenuī and the rest of the Māori collection the space that they deserved (Wolfe, 2001: 21).

In 1905 and 1906, not one, but two extensions were built at the Auckland Museum. Both were annexed on the east side of the Ethnological Hall (see Figure 2.19). The first additional room to be built was positioned next to the Statue Hall and welcomed the body of the meeting house Rangitihī. The triangular front façade of the house, which was larger than its body, was kept in the Ethnological Hall, giving the visitor the impression that the wharenuī was the Hall’s direct extension. A second room was added next to that of the whare. Opened in 1906, it was dedicated to the “Polynesian ethnological collection” (AM Annual Report, 1905-6: 8 in Wolfe, 2001: 21). Most likely, however, this appellation might have designated material from the whole Pacific, and possibly included the ethnographic items from the rest of the world. Very few records of this period have survived, which limits the analysis of the new Pacific display’s

structure. One photograph kept in the Auckland Museum's archives shows that, in the new room, Pacific canoes were displayed atop the cases and that a collection of minerals had also been included (see Figure 2.20). Unlike at the BPBM, Cheeseman still lacked space to clearly differentiate in a definitive manner the Pacific from the rest of the collection.

Meanwhile, the former Ethnological Hall started being referred to as the Maori Hall, hinting at the growing importance of the Māori collection at the AM. Between the construction of the new extensions in 1905 and until the transfer of the whole museum to a new building in Auckland Domain in 1928, the Māori collection increased significantly. Following the pace of the new acquisitions, the Maori Hall was constantly being reorganised. Brigham, who visited Cheeseman and the AM in 1912 during his last trip around the world to study museums noted: "Dr Cheeseman received us most cordially and showed many acquisitions [...] The whole arrangement of the museum had greatly improved since my last visit" (Brigham, 1913: 22). Displayed in cases along the walls, hung over these cases, or placed in free-standing displays, Māori artefacts and architectural elements filled the gallery space. As in Hawaiian Hall at the BPBM, the items were grouped by type in crowded but highly organised cases. Cheeseman privileged the display of series of one type of artefact and constructed cases composed, for instance, of multiple patu/clubs or of several pendants, etc. (see Figure 2.21). In the newly rearranged Māori Hall, Rangitihi the wharenuī, Te Toki a Tapiri the war canoe and the pataka/storehouse became essential features.

Frederic Cheeseman, the first driving force of the AM, died in 1923. Before his death, he had arranged with the Council to transfer the museum to a new location that would not restrain its future development (Wolfe, 2004). A decision was made to construct a new building in a neoclassical style, and to associate the original mission of the AM with that of a memorial to the soldiers who had died during the First World War. The new Auckland War Memorial Museum opened in 1929, on Observation Hill in Auckland Domain, with Gilbert Archey (Cheeseman's successor) at its head (see Figure 2.22). The opening ceremony welcomed hundreds of Aucklanders and Māori leaders from the region. Designed by Grierson, Aimer and Draffin (father and son), the new building

expanded over three floors. The first was dedicated to anthropology, the second to natural history, and the third played the role of a cenotaph or war memorial. Thus, the new building ratified the differentiation process mirroring what had happened at the Bishop Museum. It not only accentuated the separation between cultural and natural specimens, but also distinguished various types of ethnographic material on the ground floor. Three anthropology galleries were accessible from the entrance hall: the General Anthropology room on the left (which included Australia), the large Maori Gallery at the back, and the Pacific Anthropology Hall on the right. Hence, within the new home of the AM, the collections from both the local and the regional Pacific benefited from enough space to be re-arranged and for their display structure to be re-thought.

Very little is known regarding the organisation of the AM's very first Pacific galleries in Auckland Domain. Yet, in 1936, seven years after the opening, the museum received a grant from the Carnegie Foundation (USA). This grant allowed the director Gilbert Archey and his staff to reorganise the entirety of the Pacific Anthropology Hall. As this opportunity came with a grant, the result of what was then referred to as "The Carnegie Experiment" was documented notably through the means of photographs (Turbott, AM archives; Wolfe, 2004; see Figures 2.24a,b,c; 2.25a,b,c). These photographs, preserved in the museum archives, show that, at the AM as at the BPBM, individual cases matched specific localities. Island groups were delimited by the border of the display case. Within each case, the collections were organised by types, themes and according to symmetric principles. General text panels and detailed labels were also added, to facilitate the discovery of these artefacts by the public. A few photographs found in the AM archives also reveal the existence of individual maps within the cases. In this context, the gallery functioned in the manner of a cartographic representation, which mapped both cultural relations but also institutional ones (see Chapter 6). Due to their bulkiness, canoes were occupying a central position in the AM galleries during the 1930s. Interestingly, their central presence in Pacific exhibitions are, in the 21st century, associated with new meanings. Although no detailed floor plans of this period survived, it is very probable that Gilbert Archey (who was also corresponding with Brigham), used the geographical categories of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. While the Carnegie Experiment

remained on display for over 35 years, these categories appear in later documents from the 1950s onwards, suggesting that Archey might have made use of them in the gallery.

Conclusion

Piecing together the entangled trajectories of museum displays in Taiwan, Aotearoa New Zealand, and Hawai'i demonstrated how, in the late 19th century/early 20th century, institutional borders were being defined through interactions. The exchanges and correspondence between Cheeseman and Brigham at a time when they were both developing their Pacific galleries show that such relationships had a direct impact on the construction of the exhibition space. Through networks ramifying within and beyond the Pacific, display taxonomies, methods and technologies were being shared, establishing cultures of display that transcended the very spatiality of museum institutions. Historicising museum networks also brought forth the entanglement of indigenous and non-indigenous agents in the materiality and physicality of exhibitions. Relying on this genealogical ground – which emphasised the rhetoric of isolation in the process of the representing the Pacific – the following Chapters will explore the correlation between trans-Pacific networks and the establishment of a poetic of connectivity in Pacific museum displays.

Chapter 3:
Producing Short-Term Exhibitions, Opening Museum Routes

Introduction

Chapter 2 demonstrated how both Pacific museums and displays were established in the late 19th century. Firstly, it showed how the Pacific was originally depicted as a whole to then be progressively divided into various geographical categories – local and foreign Pacific, island groups, three-zoned Pacific, etc. Secondly, Chapter 2 emphasised the importance of historical museum networks in shaping various representations of Oceania. Hinting at a correlation between Pacific displays and Pacific networks, it brought forth the existence of early museum relationships across the region. Chapter 3 pursues the analysis of this correlation by exploring it through the means of Pacific exhibitions developed in Oceania in the 21st century. In this period, the need to promote local Pacific cultures (Native Hawaiians in Hawai‘i, Māori in Aotearoa, and indigenous Taiwanese in Taiwan) generated a push towards a reflection on their positioning as a part of a broader region. This phenomenon increasingly transformed the aforementioned divisions, aiming at a connective depiction of Oceania in Pacific museums. Simultaneously, this dynamic redefined the contours of the region and opened new horizons for institutions formerly situated on the “Rim”, such as the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA). Chapter 3 introduces four temporary exhibitions that were fundamental in the development of trans-Pacific exhibition models and networks in Oceania from 2006 to 2009.

Chapter 3 presents the four exhibition case studies that were envisioned as short-term displays by their makers: *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors* (VM), at the Auckland Museum (AM) in 2006; *Le Folauga: the Past coming Forward, Contemporary Pacific Art from Aotearoa New Zealand* (LF), at the AM in 2007 and at the KMFA in 2008; *Across Oceans and Time: Art in the Contemporary Pacific* (AOT), at the KMFA in 2007; and *The Great Journey: In Pursuit of the Ancestral Realm* (TGJ) at the KMFA in 2009. This selection encompasses temporary exhibitions developed in Aotearoa New Zealand, in Taiwan, and between these two localities.

When field research was conducted at the AM and at the KMFA in 2014, these temporary exhibitions had closed. In this context, one of the main research goals was to

piece together these past shows individually – both as exhibition-products and as exhibiting-processes – and to understand their correlations. Building on fruitful collaborations with museum staff members, these reconstitutions encompassed spatial visits and included research in archives (texts and photographs) and collections. This process was also facilitated by interviews with a wide range of actors such as museum directors, curators, researchers and designers, as well as practitioners, artists and scholars. Once pieced together, these elements constructed distinctive portraits of each exhibition. These portraits related to the primary research goals but also corresponded to the traces left by these shows in each museum context. Chapter 3 presents the results of these investigations while acknowledging and using these memories as a means to frame the descriptive analysis.

Rather than presupposing that these exhibitions differ by the type of material that they showcase (artistic versus ethnographic displays), Chapter 3 focuses on their narratives and on the ways in which these narratives are constructed by their makers. This approach not only allows for comparisons amongst the case studies, but also generates an understanding of temporary exhibitions as relational entities. In other words, this chapter partly deconstructs the categories of artistic versus ethnographic displays by showing how exhibition messages transcend these divides, and how exhibition makers play with them to generate a wide range of display contexts (see Chapter 5). By doing so, Chapter 3 seeks to bring forth a classification of exhibitions which resonates with the binding nature of exhibiting practices. The following descriptive analysis of the case studies emphasises the role of temporary exhibitions in the construction of museum networks in Oceania. It argues that these networks feed the development of trans-Pacific exhibition narratives, later musealised on a longer term basis (see Chapter 4).

This classification – focusing on the inter-relational nature of temporary exhibitions – unfolds throughout the chapter. The chapter begins its trans-Pacific journey at the Auckland Museum with the launching of *Vaka Moana* (VM) in 2006. VM can be described as an “in-house exhibition”, constructed in part with “touring” ambitions. In 2006-2007, VM had a “twin”. The exhibition *Le Folauga* (LF) was indeed originally envisioned as a section of VM. Growing in size through an efficient partnership between

the Auckland Museum, the Auckland Art Gallery and the organisation Tautai (dedicated to contemporary Pacific arts), LF spatially detached from its kin-exhibit. Displayed simultaneously at the AM, these two shows echoed one another and responded to the same will to depict Pacific cultures and artists as bound by a shared-yet-diverse heritage. Both shows became “touring exhibitions” in 2008 when they travelled to Taiwan. VM notably journeyed to the National Museum of Prehistory (Taitung) and to the National Museum of Natural Science (Taichung), while LF went to the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (Kaohsiung). As the touring of the former was the focus of another PhD thesis (Yang Lin, 2010), fieldwork focused on the reconstruction of the latter at the KMFA. After following the journey of LF to the KMFA, Chapter 3 focuses on the programming developed by this Taiwanese institution between 2006 and 2009 in the context of the Contemporary Austronesian Art Project (CAAP) (see Chapter 1). Similar to the shows put together in Auckland, this project aimed to depict Pacific arts and cultures as interconnected and bound by a shared Ocean. The second part of the chapter presents *Across Oceans and Time* (AOT), which is defined as a “collaborative exhibition” constructed in partnership with the Tjibaou Cultural Centre (TCC). It concludes with the *The Great Journey* (TGJ), the last exhibition of the CAAP’s “series”. Made in-house with the support of the networks developed during AOT and LF, this show pulled together various trans-Pacific exhibition models while reinstating a clear distinction between local and foreign Pacific arts.

All in all, by looking at “in-house”, “twin”, “touring”, “collaborative” and “serial” exhibitions, Chapter 3 explores the relationships between temporary exhibits, their making and their makers. By and large, these shows are here envisioned as the vessels that, in the 21st century Pacific, provided simultaneous depictions of trans-Pacific connections and (re)opened museum and cultural routes across Oceania.

3.1 – Launching the Vaka: *Vaka Moana* & *Le Folauga* from Aotearoa New Zealand to Taiwan

The 1990s and the early 2000s were a period of profound renovation at the Auckland Museum. Rodney Wilson, the museum's director (1994-2007), led this renovation, which included the Pacific Galleries. His grand vision for the AM also came hand-in-hand with the development of the conceptual framework of a touring blockbuster focusing on the Pacific, made in-house and mostly based on the AM collections. This project for a touring show materialised in the shape of, not one, but two exhibitions presented quasi simultaneously at the AM in 2007 (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/08/2014). The first – *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors* (VM) – focused on the story of Pacific navigation past and present. The second – *Le Folauga: The Past Coming Forward, Contemporary Pacific Art from Aotearoa New Zealand* (LF) – constituted an artistic response to the material selected for VM and showcased the work of fourteen Pacific artists based in Aotearoa (online exhibition catalogue, 2007). Both exhibitions dwelled on the concepts of movement and journeying across the Pacific, and intended to stimulate reflections towards a sense of cross-Oceanic belonging.⁹ The following section brings forth key information regarding the making and the launching of *Vaka Moana* and *Le Folauga* in Auckland. It then examines the mechanism of touring these shows to Taiwan with a specific focus on *Le Folauga* and its adaptation at the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA).

⁹ In the titles given to the two AM exhibitions, “Vaka Moana” translates literally to “Canoe [of the] Ocean” or “Ocean Canoe”, and is used in several Polynesian languages including Fijian, Samoan and Tongan. “Le Folauga” is a Samoan term that translates to “The Journey” and hints at “the changes that occur along the way” (Johnny Penisula in Li, 2009: 13).

3.1.A – *Vaka Moana* at the Auckland Museum (2006-2007)

Venue: Auckland War Memorial Museum

Dates: December 8, 2006 to April 1, 2007

Galleries: Special Exhibition Hall, ground level

Curatorial team: (in house) Rodney Wilson, Roger Neich, Fulimalo Pereira

Vaka Moana and Rodney Wilson's grand vision

The opening of VM on December 8, 2006 coincided with the end of the AM's second renovation phase, Stage II (AM Annual Report, 2006-2007: 6).¹⁰ The Grand Atrium was constructed in an open museum courtyard built in 1960, and a large internal wooden structure resembling a kava bowl was added. As if being suspended from the ceiling, this wooden structure – containing itself various rooms and venues – overlooked a Special Exhibition Hall created in the Atrium. VM was the first exhibition ever presented in this gallery dedicated to temporary displays. Thus, this exhibition was not only envisioned as the first major AM exhibition to travel abroad, but also served as a means to start a new chapter in the history of the institution (AM Annual Report, 2006-2007: 7). This new chapter began at 6 am on December 8, 2006 with the opening of VM. That morning, a delegation composed of Māori and Pacific museum representatives met by Auckland Harbour at the New Zealand National Maritime Museum.¹¹ Pacific leaders arrived on shore in the voyaging waka/canoe *Te Aurere*.¹² Once on shore, they were welcomed by Ngati Whatua, the tangata whenua/people of the land in Auckland, with whom gifts were exchanged (AM Annual Report, 2006-2007: 32). Journeying from the harbour to the Auckland Museum, the delegation reached the Grand Atrium. A Fijian kava ceremony - organised by the Pacific curator Fulimalo Pereira – was held and officially opened the exhibition (AM Annual Report, 2006-2007: 23, 32).

The project of *Vaka Moana*, its touring and its affiliated catalogue were very dear to Rodney Wilson, who was given the title of “concept leader” (exhibition interpretative

¹⁰ Phase I of the renovation included the gallery redevelopment. Phase II was dedicated to the strengthening of the building's walls, the renovation of the south wing, and the construction of new storage areas (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/09/2014).

¹¹ Rodney Wilson was director of the New Zealand National Maritime Museum from 1989 to 1994 (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 03/09/2014).

¹² On the canoe *Te Aurere*, see notably Howe, 2006: 309-310.

document, unclassified AM archives, 2005). In the catalogue, published with the launching of the exhibition in December 2006, the director described his motivation to host VM in the following terms:

Over the last years, I have come to realise that I have been privileged to glimpse some aspects of the reassertion by Pacific peoples of their pride as great navigators and seafarers. *Vaka Moana: voyages of the ancestors*, is the epic story of the last original human migration, and, simultaneously, the first for which technology was required in order to be achieved. It is the story of how people of Asian origin migrated across the Pacific, settling its furthest reaches. It is our story as Pacific people. I have long harboured the ambition to host that story and take it to the world. (Rodney Wilson in Howe, 2006: 9)

Beyond Wilson's interest for Pacific navigation, the director sought to use VM to showcase the expertise of his museum, including the scholarship developed for the purpose of the exhibition. Simultaneously, he aimed to demonstrate the uniqueness of the AM collections. Finally, Wilson was also haunted by the drive to leave a legacy and to mark the memory of his institution in a permanent manner (Max Riksen, interview, 04/09/2014). Thus, to a certain extent, the construction of this exhibition-vaka was not only a means to recall ancient and contemporary Pacific voyages. It can also be regarded as a museum offensive that aimed to promote AM across Oceans and Seas. For Wilson, VM was about putting the Pacific (and the AM) on the map and educating the world regarding its history:

The Pacific people know their stories. But the world does not. My hope is that the international touring exhibition and this book will help ensure that the Pacific people are appropriately recognised in the big story of human evolution, as the greatest of all navigators, as tangata moana, people of the sea. (Rodney Wilson in Howe, 2006: 9)

Planning, makers, and key messages

The planning of VM begun in mid-2005, only a few years after the inauguration of the permanent displays *Pacific Masterpieces* and *Pacific Lifeways* (January 1999), and after

the development of the temporary exhibition *Pacific Pathways* (2002) which had the particularity to reunify Pacific and Māori collections. Roger Neich and Fulimalo Pereira, the Pacific curators who had worked intensively on these projects, were naturally designated in-house curators for the new show (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/08/2014). Additionally, a crew of external advisors and writers joined hands in the construction of the touring blockbuster. Each of them, involved in both exhibition and catalogue production, was given a theme of investigation (exhibition overview, AM unclassified digital archives, circa 2005). The themes later became Chapters of the catalogue and inspired the exhibition structure (Howe, 2006). Dr Rawiri Taonui (University of Canterbury, NZ) was in charge of recalling the oral traditions of voyaging. Prof. Ben Finney (University of Hawai'i, USA), Prof. Kerry Howe (Massey University, NZ), Prof. Michiko Intoh and Dr. Peter Andrews (National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan), and Prof. Geoffrey Irwin (University of Auckland, NZ), brought expertise on the topic of Pacific exploration and settlement. Finney also worked with Dr. Sam Low (Martha's Vineyard) on the topic of navigational methods, and with Roger Neich on that of canoes. Professor Dame Anne Salmond (University of Auckland) focused on the early encounters between Islanders and Europeans. Finally, Sir Tom Davis (Cook Islands) teamed with Finney to research the phenomenon of renaissance in the field of Pacific navigation. As the collaboration with these various advisers demonstrates, VM was rooted in extensive networks, which sought to contribute to its prestige and transformed the exhibition into a collection of scholarly views and artefacts related to Pacific navigation, past and present.

Rapidly subtitled "The untold story of the world's greatest migration", the exhibition aimed to fulfil specific goals and to convey several messages. Firstly, VM was conceived as a touring exhibition (AM Annual Report, 2006-2007: 31). This characteristic framed the artefact selection by leading to the inclusion of many renowned masterpieces. It also impacted the conception of the content, which targeted a broad and diverse audience in Aotearoa New Zealand and overseas, including Māori and Pacific peoples themselves (concept description draft, MA2005/3, 28/06/2004). Secondly, VM aimed to tell the story of both ancient and contemporary voyages, associating Pacific arts and

practices within a historical timeframe. This contributed to depicting the Pacific as an extraordinarily creative and regenerating space.

Finally, the exhibition sought to transcend the distinction between Māori and Pacific cultures that prevailed in the museum's general structure since 1906 (see Chapter 2). Originally called *Waka Moana*¹³ in the very first interpretative documents, this project regarded the Pacific as a navigated space rather than as a patchwork of individual cultures (concept description draft, MA2005/3, 28/06/2004). Although still described under the terms "Melanesians", "Micronesians" and "Polynesians", Pacific Islanders were simultaneously depicted as "tangata moana"¹⁴ in the original outlines and in the catalogue (Howe, 2006). This focus on Ocean navigation did not, however, exclude non-Austronesian speakers, as witnessed in other case studies (see Chapters 4-6). Rather, VM sought to address the whole of Oceania:

[The exhibition tells] the story of the settlement of Near Oceania and the islands of Australia, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands some 60000 years ago and the emergence of Oceanic peoples 4000 years ago from South East Asia and their movement into Remote Oceania, and the regions of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. (Exhibition overview, AM unclassified digital archives, circa 2005)

In other words, even though historical classifications were used, VM emphasised the relevance of the categories of Near and Remote Oceania, mainly employed in the field of archaeology at the time (see Chapters 5 and 6). Further, although these categories were showcased, they did not serve as a structure for the exhibition, which followed a thematic narrative rather than a geographical one.

Design, structure and narrative

In 2005, the AM first selected Story Inc. (Wellington, New Zealand) to complete the exhibition design. The designers, in collaboration with the curatorial teams and the

¹³ Te Reo Māori translation of *Waka Moana*.

¹⁴ "People of the Ocean" in Te Reo Māori.

external advisors, suggested dividing the exhibition into eight “thematic groupings” or zones: 1) Introduction, 2) Origins, 3) Settlement pathways, 4) Canoes and navigation, 5) Voyaging immersive, 6) Arrivals and cultures, 7) Two worlds, and 8) Renaissance (see Figure 3.1). These content areas sought to answer three key questions that figured on the preliminary exhibition layouts: “Who are we?” “Where do we come from?” “Where are we going?” (exhibition interpretative document, unclassified AM archives, 2005). Echoing the choices made for the permanent 1990s Pacific Galleries, these first layouts also included three full-size replica and original sailing canoes, placed in the 4th and 6th zones respectively.

In 2006, Story Inc. withdrew from the project. As this company was unable to continue, the museum hired, instead, the Auckland-based architects and designers Rick Pearson & Associates (Max Rikson, interview, 04/09/2014). Taking inspiration from the designs made by their predecessors, Pearson and the AM’s teams restructured and fine-tuned the exhibition’s eight content areas, which were re-titled: 1) Oceans: Maui fisher of lands, 2) Islands, 3) Search for Origins, 4) Navigation, 5) Vaka, 6) Landfall, 7) Two Worlds, 8) Renaissance (exhibition floorplan, AM unclassified digital archives, 18/09/2006; see Figure 3.2). The graphic chart associated each of these themes with a colour, which was used for the text panels and for the background of individual display cases (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4). The general design also included several wooden elements, which echoed the wooden structure hanging above the Special Exhibition Hall. These wooden elements, alternatively employed as backgrounds or as support and framing structures for text panels and artefacts, often presented geometrical shapes evoking Pacific patterns (graphic chart, AM unclassified digital archives, 08/2006). Finally, the ceiling of the gallery – from which most lighting was hung – showed the Atrium’s new wooden structure. The floor composed of large black tiles also remained uncovered. Designed as such, Vaka Moana showcased both the story of Pacific navigation as well as that of the museum’s renovation.

The entrance of the exhibition was positioned along the southern wall of the Special Exhibition Hall. This wall was covered with a large image of the Hawaiian canoe Hōkūle’a navigating to Tahiti in 1976. The image faced the back museum entrance (see

Figure 3.5). The title of the exhibition was positioned in the centre, between the entrance door, on the left, and the exit on the right. The first section – Ocean (dark blue) - served as an introduction and described the peopling of the Pacific as “the final chapter in the story of human exploration” (text panel, AM photo archives, 2007). It recalled the legend of Maui, presented as the god who fished the islands and said to be found “across the Pacific, from Melanesia to New Zealand and Hawai’i” (visitors guide, AM unclassified digital archives, 2007; Howe, 2006: 22-54). Beginning with the Nukuoro figure Kave, the second section - “Island people” (yellow) - sought to highlight the diversity of Pacific cultures and peoples (see Figure 3.6). Shaped as a circle centred on a Tikopian outrigger canoe, this section presented, on one side, a series of sixteen portraits of “contemporary people of the Pacific islands” and, on the other side, “objects representative of their ancient Pacific ancestors and gods” (text panel, AM photo archives, 2007). Both portraits and individual carvings were presented with a wooden rack in the background, the latter forming triangular motifs and echoing Pacific architectural and textile patterns.

The next section – “Search for Origins” (blue-green) – focused on the scientific theories regarding the settlement of the Pacific Islands (Howe, 2006: 54-100; see Figure 3.7). This section was divided into several subthemes: traditional knowledge, ethnology and archaeology, language, flora and fauna, and DNA (floor plan, unclassified AM digital archives, 18/09/2006). All in all, it presented various ways of recalling the past, from archaeological and ethnographic objects to computer modelling and multimedia. Past this rectangular room, visitors could access the most central segment of the exhibit dedicated to both “Navigation” (purple) and “Vaka” (terracotta) (Howe, 2006: 100-198; see Figure 3.8). This central segment aimed to depict Pacific navigators as wayfinders rather than as passengers of drifting canoes, and sought to showcase the vaka as “the material and the spiritual vessels that had carried people and their way of life to new lands across the sea” (text panel, AM photo archives, 2007). In this portion of the gallery, a double-hulled canoe was juxtaposed with the tools employed by navigators to cross the ocean, such as paddles, canoe bailers and stick charts. The navigation segment also included an alcove topped with a dome showing a celestial map and used to explain wayfinding techniques (see Figure 3.9).

After this segment on the practicalities and spiritual implications of navigation, the 6th section – “Landfall” (light blue) – dwelled on the actual settlement of the various islands of the Pacific and on the cultural exchanges happening after the exploration period (Howe, 2006: 198-248; see Figure 3.10). It presented the “Austronesian people [...]as] the most widely dispersed people on Earth” (text panel, AM photo archives, 2007), and introduced the variations existing amongst Austronesian cultures. Presenting a clearly Austronesian-focused content, this section was organised around a canoe from the Solomon Islands. It included a series of comparative displays, notably a typology of “Vaka of the Pacific” (see Chapter 5), a showcase dedicated to ornaments and containers, as well as another one focusing on canoe prows. A complete set of Kiribati armour as well as several canoe models were also incorporated into Section 6.

Contrasting with “Landfall” the following segment – “Two Worlds” – was predominantly coloured in red (Howe, 2006: 246-270; see Figure 3.11). It was devoted to the cultural exchanges between islanders and Europeans, mostly during the first period of contacts in the 18th century. It sought to demonstrate how “Europeans were astonished by the sophistication of the maritime technology of the Pacific Islanders [and how in return] the islanders were keen to adopt some of the technology of the Europeans” (text panel, AM photo archives, 2007). The material showcased in this section included two-dimensional pieces such as paintings and drawings made by early European explorers, as well as several canoe and ship models and other objects materialising encounters in the Pacific.

The storyline of the broader exhibition continued and terminated in the next and last display segment, “Renaissance” (fuchsia) (see Figure 3.12). As indicated by its title, Section 8 was devoted to the process of revival of traditional navigation methods from the 1960s, and to its continuation and its signification for Pacific islanders in the present. Navigation skills were described as “kept alive in a few remote islands of Micronesia and Melanesia” (text panel, AM photo archives, 2007), places from where they were recovered and transmitted again. This final section was constructed as a corridor delimited by intertwined planks of wood and showing a photograph of the Hōkūle‘a navigating to Tahiti. Containing a full size single outrigger waka

ama/contemporary racing canoe by Kris Kjeldsen, Section 8 showcased a timeline of the renaissance. This narrative linked specific moments in the history of this movement with famous navigators and canoes such as Mau Pailug or Nainoa Thompson and the Hōkūleʻa, the Hawaiikinui, the Hawaiʻiloa, Te Aurere, etc. (Howe, 2006: 290-333). Each of these micro-displays was also matched with a small-sized screen showing a documentary on the topic. All in all, this section emphasised the pride invested in the renaissance of navigational techniques and contemporary cross-Oceanic voyaging. It brought forth the importance of this moment in the affirmation of a shared Pacific identity and heritage.

Public engagement, closing and touring

This pride was also shared with the visitors during many of the museum's educational activities related to VM. The rich programming associated with the exhibition included notably the intervention of the master carver Mike Tavioni – building a canoe live in the museum space in January 2007 (8th – 19th) – of Filipe Tohi – undertaking lalava/Tongan lashing demonstrations (January 10th and 13th) – and of Pacific women weavers explaining the process of sail-making (February 2nd – 4th). These activities also offered to the public the opportunity to undertake a “stick chart treasure hunt”, to attend storytelling on celestial navigation and on the Polynesian demigod Maui as well as lectures on Pacific navigation (by Ben Finney, December 14, 2006), Pacific genetic studies (by Matahi Brightwell, December 13, 2006), and Polynesian plants (by Ewen Cameron, February 25, 2007). Another remarkable element of this programming was the presence of Taiwanese indigenous dancers from the Yuan-Yuan Indigenous Culture and Art Troupe, who performed at the AM on February 24, 2007 (Vaka Moana Programme, AM unclassified digital archives, 12/2006).

This comprehensive educational programming was further developed in the last month of the exhibition through activities dedicated to tapa making and weaving from across Oceania. Aimed at a broad audience while targeting Pacific Islander visitors, these activities, the exhibition itself and its affiliated marketing into Auckland-based Pacific communities “achieved a marked increase in Pacific visitation and Pacific involvement”

(AM Annual Report, 2006-2007: 13). Ending with a Sāmoan kava ceremony on April 1, 2007, the exhibition was regarded as highly successful and reached the goals set by the director and the museum staff at the beginning of its journey. As the following Chapters will demonstrate, the legacy of *Vaka Moana* in the construction of trans-Pacific exhibitions went beyond the AM's walls (see Chapter 4). The touring process, beginning with Japan and Taiwan, further increased the reputation of the exhibition across the region, which also reached out to non-touring venues through its catalogue.¹⁵

3.1.B – *Le Folauga* at the AM and the KMFA

Venue: Auckland War Memorial Museum and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts

Partner: Tautai Contemporary Pacific Arts Trust, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki

Dates: AM: March 1, 2007 to April 29, 2007

KMFA: December 13, 2008 to April 5, 2009

Galleries: AM: current “Arts of Asia” and “Ancient Worlds” galleries, Level 1

KMFA: Galleries 101-102, ground floor

Curatorial team: Fulimalo Pereira and Ron Bronwson

Genesis

Before becoming the director of the Auckland Museum, Rodney Wilson had administered the Auckland Art Gallery for several years (1981-1988). When he and the AM teams started developing the conceptual framework of the major touring exhibition *Vaka Moana* in 2004-2005, Wilson approached the Pacific curators regarding the possibility of including Pacific contemporary artworks in the show. Following the idea presented in the “Renaissance” segment – where past and present voyaging experiences were entangled – the director sought to showcase contemporary interpretations of, mainly, the sculptural works presented in VM. Demonstrating the continuity of Pacific creativity, these pieces would be included in each of the eight themes structuring *Vaka Moana*, rather than kept in a separate section (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 03/09/2014).

¹⁵ *Vaka Moana* toured under the title *Vaka Moana, Voyages of the Ancestors – An exhibition of cultural objects from the South Pacific* to the National Museum of Ethnology (Osaka, Japan) from September 13 to December 11, 2007, to the National Museum of Prehistory (Taitung, Taiwan) from February 1 to May 11, 2008 and to the National Museum of Natural Science (Taichung, Taiwan) from July 1 to October 19 2008. The next leg of its journey (to the USA) was cancelled and *Vaka Moana* was presented at the National Museum of Australia (Canberra, Australia) from June 5 to October 18, 2008 (Max Riksen, interview, 04/09/2014; Yang Lin, 2010).

In this context, Fulimalo Pereira – the Pacific curator who was also a board member of the Tautai Contemporary Pacific Arts Trust (Tautai) at the time – began a conversation with the then trust manager Lonnie Hutchinson regarding the inclusion of the works of two to three Aotearoa New Zealand-based Pacific artists in VM (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 03/09/2014). Tautai (literally “sea warrior”) was (and still is) a service organisation which did not hold a collection but was funded by Creative New Zealand to promote and develop contemporary New Zealand Pacific art (non-Māori). It sought to support Pacific artists by linking them with various stakeholders (Christina Jeffery, interview, 19/08/2014).¹⁶ Following several conversations with the board of trustees and, in particular, with Ron Brownson – senior curator for New Zealand and Pacific Art at the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki – the list of artists to be included expanded. Both Fulimalo Pereira and Ron Brownson thus began to consider separating, physically, these contemporary artworks from *Vaka Moana*. These reflections laid the ground for the development of a standalone show at the Auckland Museum, later titled *Le Folauga: the past coming forward*.

Following this decision, the show was constructed as a collaboration between the Auckland Art Gallery and the Auckland Museum – bringing curatorial expertise – and Tautai, holding the role of a facilitator both practically and financially. At the time, the Auckland Museum was envisioned as the only venue for the exhibit. In agreement with the AM director, it was decided that the link with *Vaka Moana* would be maintained despite the necessity of a physical separation. Firstly, *Le Folauga* would be displayed simultaneously with *Vaka Moana*. Two recently renovated galleries in the front part of the building – the current “Arts of Asia” and “Ancient Worlds” galleries [2014] – were available during the last months of VM, and were therefore reserved for this contemporary art show. In parallel, both curators intended to generate artistic responses to the works presented in VM. They envisioned *Le Folauga* as a contemporary mirror of *Vaka Moana*, recalling the stories of cross-Oceanic journeys from the perspective of Pacific artists based in Aotearoa New Zealand.

¹⁶ The Sāmoan term “tautai” translates into “sea warrior” in English (Tengan et al., 2010: 146). Further information regarding Tautai Pacific Arts Trust is available on the website www.tautai.org.

Artist selection, responses and visual conversation

The curators selected fourteen artists working with a wide range of media (painting, sculpture, photography, video and installation). These artists identified and were described as New Zealand Pacific artists with Sāmoa, Japan, Tonga, Solomon Islands, Cook Islands and Maori heritage (Li, 2009: 7). Having all developed their artistic careers in Aotearoa New Zealand – where they were based for most of their lives – these artists explored the very idea of belonging and played the role of a bridge between their ancestral heritage and their present in Aotearoa. Closely affiliated with the Pasifika art movement in Aotearoa New Zealand, these artists were, in *Le Folauga*, exploring a sense of cross-Oceanic belonging (Cochrane, 2010; Stevenson, 2011; Brownson et al., 2012).

The curators' selection included: Edith Amituanai (Sāmoa), Fatu Feu'u (Sāmoa), Steven Gwaliasi (Solomon Islands), Niki Hasting-McFall (New Zealand), Lonnie Hutchinson (Sāmoa/ New Zealand, Ngāi tahu), John Ioane (Sāmoa), Shigeyuki Kihara (Sāmoa/Japan), Andy Leleisi'uao (Sāmoa), Itiri Ngaro (Cook Islands), Ani O'Neill (Cook Islands/ Ireland/New Zealand), Johnny Peninsula (Sāmoa), Filipe Tohi (Tonga), Michel Tuffery (Tahiti/Sāmoa/Rarotonga), and Jim Vivieaere (Cook Islands/New Zealand).¹⁷ The curators' ambition was to put together a cutting-edge show that would resonate with *Bottled Ocean*, an exhibition curated by Jim Vivieaere in 1994 (Ron Brownson, interview, 03/09/2014). However, by contrast with *Bottled Ocean* – where the artists were free to present the pieces of their choice – the curators of *Le Folauga* sought to commission new works and orient the pieces' selection in relation to the material displayed in *Vaka Moana*. To do so, the Pacific curator Fulimalo Pereira compiled a document containing the list of pieces presented in VM as well as the exhibition synopsis, described section-by-section. She supplied this document to Ron Brownson and Christina Jeffery, who had become the Tautai trust manager and was the mediator between the artists and the AM (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 03/09/2014). Sharing this

¹⁷ The geographical affiliations indicated in brackets are based on the online exhibition catalogue of *Le Folauga* Auckland (www.lefolauga.co.nz, 10/09/2015). Macrons were added when missing in the catalogue.

document with the makers, Ron Brownson and Christina Jeffery visited the artists' studios (Christina Jeffery, interview, 19/08/2014). They began individual conversations with these artists who alternately produced new artworks and selected pieces from their existing body of work (Ron Brownson, interview, 03/09/2014).

Meanwhile, in late 2006/early 2007, Tautai and the curators solicited Jonny Peninsula for the title of the exhibition. Sāmoan-born, Jonny was the first contemporary Pacific sculptor to exhibit in New Zealand (exhibition label, AM unclassified digital archives, 2007). In response to "Vaka Moana", the artist suggested "Le Folauga", which he defined in these terms:

Le Folauga represents the past, the present and the future. It means the voyage and the change that occur along the way. It shows the movement towards the future travelling in the direction of the current. Le Folauga has the sense of a flotilla moving together and forward. (Jonny Peninsula in Li, 2009: 13)

The metaphor of the flotilla as well as that of the current echoed the theme of Ocean navigation developed across VM. It set the tone of the exhibition, foreseen as a conversation between New Zealand-based Pacific artists (Pasifika). These artists shared a common heritage and had embarked on a similar journey, reconnecting them to their ancestral past and reinterpreting their sense of belonging in the present. The subtitle "the past coming forward", echoed this journey and was also a direct reference to *Vaka Moana*, the past being presented in the Special Exhibition Hall (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 03/09/2014).

Upon the opening of *Le Folauga* in March 2007, the efforts made by the curatorial team to stimulate responses regarding *Vaka Moana* had paid off. The artwork selection either paralleled or directly responded to the themes and the material presented in the Grand Atrium (introduction text panel, AM unclassified digital archives, 2007). Ron Brownson, in collaboration with Fulimalo Pereira, decided for the positioning of the pieces in the galleries. Christina Jeffery and Max Riksen – the latter also being involved in the touring of *Vaka Moana* – helped with the physical installation (Christina Jeffery, interview,

19/08/2014). As the exhibition sought to trigger a visual conversation between the pieces, the artworks were displayed very close to one another (Ron Brownson, interview, 03/09/2014). In the two galleries picked for the show, the walls and the floor made of concrete were uncovered, generating an urban atmosphere. In these factory-looking rooms – which highly contrasted with the wood-based design of *Vaka Moana* – the artworks were lit through the use of bright spotlights hanging from the ceiling and accentuating their cutting-edge quality. Finally, each series was accompanied by an interpretative label written by the curators as well as by the artist's statement, allowing the makers to tell their own stories regarding their folauga/journey.

In the first room – the current Arts of Asia Gallery [2014] – the curators brought together large pieces presenting geometrical patterns (see Figure 3.13). Directly facing the entrance, on the back wall, Lonnie Hutchinson presented an installation made of black builder paper, arranged in the shape of a large triangle. Titled *Sista Girl* (2004) this piece reflected on Catholicism and its role in the colonisation of the Pacific, and echoed *Vaka Moana's* section *Two Worlds*. On the left, an installation made of mixed media by Ani O'Neill – *Satellites* (2007) – directly referred to the celestial chart presented in VM and dwelled on the complexity of navigating by the stars (see Figure 3.14). Next to Ani's work, the painting *Faisua Oka* (2007) by Fatu Feu'u was inspired by Sāmoan landscapes and more specifically by the colour of the ocean reef. Composed of entangled diamond patterns, it brought forth the attachment to familiar views and echoed the theme of the Ocean, central in VM.

Right across Ani O'Neill's and Fatu Feu'u's work, Niki Hasting-McFall presented a contemporary navigational sign coloured in red and made of mixed media (see Figure 3.15). The piece *Red Moana* (2007) answered to the title of the Grand Atrium exhibit, as well as to the theme of navigation. Aside this large signage, a sculpture by Filipe Tohi was shown. In his wooden piece, titled *Uakupenga and Kupengaua* (2007), Tohi captured the patterning of both the outside and the inside of the fishing net. The technique of lalava (lashing/binding) – which the artist explores throughout his work – was used on several items presented in *Vaka Moana* and was demonstrated during the educational activities. By the exit of this first room, on the right, a video made by Jim

Vivieaere was presented.¹⁸ This video was a direct reference to *Bottled Ocean*, the exhibition that the artists curated in 1994. Using the sound-scape of the 1994 show, the piece sought to “devise notions of an Oceanic belonging” (artist’s statement, AM unclassified digital archives, 2007). By the door, a small display case contained the work of Steven Gwaliasi, who made the choice to respond to the kapkap from the Solomon Islands presented in the second section of VM (see Figure 3.14). In *Finding Myself* (2007) – a suspended mobile made of pearl shell and saw blade – the artist reinterpreted the shape of the kapkap and reflected on the notion of temporality as well as on the impact of the legacy of his ancestors onto his present.

The second room – currently the Ancient Worlds Gallery [2014] – was centred around John Ioane’s piece, a carved spirit canoe honouring his late son Keoni (see Figure 3.16). The canoe, *Va’a Aitu Keoni* (2007) was constructed as a black vertical wooden structure and referred to the vaka as a spiritual vessel, a notion brought forth in the 5th session of *Vaka Moana*. Behind this powerful piece, two artworks by Michel Tuffery were hanging from the ceiling. Both representing a fish made of fish tins, *Asiasi 1* (2000) and *O le Saosao Lapo’a* (2000) denounced the responsibility of overfishing practices in the changing diet of local islanders. These artworks were the only pieces of LF belonging to the AM collections. Along the left wall, a series of two-dimensional works were presented. First was the video *Te ’okianga o te vaerua* (2007) (The returning of the soul) by Itiri Ngaro, which recalled the journey of the soul to a place called home (see Figure 3.17). As such, it paralleled VM’s third theme focusing on origins. Next to Itiri Ngaro’s work, Shigeyuki Kihara was represented through three c-type photographs (2004-2005) titled *Ulugali’i Sāmoa* (“Sāmoan Couple”), *Tama Sāmoa* (Sāmoan Man) and *Teine Sāmoa* (Sāmoan Woman). In these works – included in the series *Fa’a fafine* – Yuki Kihara played with the stereotype of the wedding portrait by performing herself both as the husband and the wife. In doing so, the artist “pay[ed] homage to [her] ancestors and simultaneously subvert[s] the dominant western heterosexual normalcy that continues

¹⁸ In *Le Folauga* Auckland, Jim’s piece was titled *This is not an ocean, this is a rented house – this is not a hand, this is a library – this is not a sky, this is a grandfather clock – this is not a child, this is a mirror*. This piece was re-titled *Negate/Disclose* in *Le Folauga* in Taiwan, 2008.

to conflict existence of fa'a fafine people today" (artist statement, online exhibition catalogue, 2007).

Aside Yuki Kihara's triptych, Andy Leleisi'uao brought forth the influence of the Christian Church in Sāmoa and in Aotearoa New Zealand through his paintings *Sunday Afternoon in Apia and Auckland* (2007) and *Restless Spirits in Mangere* (2007). Exploring, like Yuki Kihara's, the confrontation of different worldviews, these artists' works nurtured the discourse developed in VM's section *Two Worlds*. On the opposite wall, a series of four photographs by Edith Amituanai was presented (see Figure 3.18). Titled *First XV* (2006), the series depicted New Zealand Samoans playing professional rugby in Europe, and captured the mirroring relationship between the journey of these players and that of the artist. By the exit door, a sculpture carved in black argillite by Johnny Penisula – *Fatuvalu* (2006) – closed the show. Titled after the name of the village of the artist's mother, this piece evoked the journey, the Folauga, of a legend from Sāmoa to Aotearoa as well as that of the artist from his homeland to his new home. Similar to Edith Amituanai's work, Johnny Penisula's sculpture emphasised the process of translation undertaken by the artist himself, a process mirrored by the characters of the piece.

All in all, these pieces demonstrated how New Zealand-based Pacific artists anchored their personal journeys and their work into their ancestral past and their Pacific heritage, partly displayed in VM. Within this urban gallery, these artists – mostly of Polynesian heritage – projected a sense of self-identity and belonging that transcended the borders of Pacific nations and that existed between their roots and their present and future as tangata Pasifika/people of the Pacific in Aotearoa. In this regard, LF and VM conveyed a similar message: the Pacific was regarded as interconnected space where people and artists shared an Ocean and, with it, a common heritage. Although diversity was exhibited as an evidence of the richness of Pacific creativity, the general narrative of these twin shows emphasised the unity of the Pacific experience. It also challenged the divisions between local (Māori) and foreign Pacific, which still framed the permanent galleries at the time (see Chapter 4). As such, these shows constituted

models of trans-Pacific displays, models that will soon journey across the Ocean to reach other shores.

The KMFA's unexpected touring request

In early 2007, Jiunshyan Lee, then director of the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, undertook an eight-day tour of museums and galleries in Aotearoa New Zealand. At the time, Lee was developing the *Contemporary Austronesian Art Project* (CAAP) and was preparing the exhibition *Across Oceans and Time* at the KMFA (see Chapter 1 and below). He returned to New Zealand with the intent of developing a network of art professionals and artists in Aotearoa and was prospecting for future exhibition projects (Jiunshyan Lee, interview, 10/04/2014). During his short trip, Lee visited the Waikato Museum in Hamilton, the City Gallery, Te Papa Tongarewa and the gallery Toi Māori in Wellington, the Pataka Museum in Porirua, as well as the Auckland Art Gallery and the Auckland Museum (planning by Peggy Huang, KMFA archives, 30/01/2007). At the Auckland Museum, Lee discovered the existence of both *Vaka Moana* and *Le Folauga*, two shows that highly resonated with his vision for the CAAP at the KMFA. Both exhibitions dwelled on the shared heritage amongst the peoples of the Pacific and on the continuation of this trans-Pacific link into the present. Precisely, Lee was then investigating former Austronesian migrations as well as the possibility of redrawing these ancient connections through artistic and institutional collaborations (Peggy Huang, interview, 04/03/2014).

Upon his return to Kaohsiung, the director was informed that *Vaka Moana* was going to be displayed at the NMP in Taitung and at the NMNS in Taichung, on the East coast of Taiwan. Since the beginning of the CAAP, Lee sought to strategically position the KMFA (West Taiwan) as the generator of contemporary responses to the dynamic studied from a scientific perspective in these museums. Envisioning New Zealand as a nexus in the production of contemporary Pacific Arts, Lee contemplated the possibility of presenting the cutting edge exhibition *Le Folauga* at the KMFA (Peggy Huang, interview, 04/03/2014). To a certain extent, the director saw the reflection of the East/West Taiwan museum dynamics in the separation of VM in LF at the Auckland Museum. As

VM was travelling to East Taiwan, Lee thought that LF should travel west and set anchor in Kaohsiung, at his museum.

Lee shared this idea with the KMFA's staff. Peggy Hang and the research department began investigating Tautai, but rapidly had to postpone the project of a touring request until after the closing of the exhibition *Across Oceans and Time* in March 2008 (see below; Peggy Huang, interview, 04/03/2014). Following the closing of this exhibition, director Lee resigned, but the will to host LF at the KMFA remained. On 5 April 2008, Christina Jeffery (Tautai) received an email from the KMFA, forwarded by the AM teams, regarding the potential touring of LF to Taiwan. When she received this request, the show had been closed in Auckland for nearly a year and the artworks were already packed and sent back to their owners (Christina Jeffery, interview, 19/08/2014). As the AM had originally no intention of touring LF – by contrast with VM – the pieces selected were only made available for the duration of LF in Auckland (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 03/09/2014).

Christina thus offered to put together another project showcasing the works of contemporary Pacific artists based in New Zealand. But the KMFA declined this offer (Christina Jeffery, interview, 19/08/2014). They wanted the AM's show or, in the worst case, a close version of it (Peggy Huang, interview, 04/03/2014). It can be argued that, through the display of *Le Folauga*, the KMFA intended to present Pacific artworks but also to showcase a specific expertise on the topic. To a certain extent, the Taiwanese museum was investing in the purchase of a brand, "Le Folauga", made in Auckland. By working closely with Tautai and with the curators of the AM and of the Auckland Art Gallery, the KMFA was also making some durable connections with key institutions in Aotearoa. In this context, the Taiwanese museum agreed to finance a Tautai temporary employee, Karla Bo Johnson, to conduct a feasibility study facilitating the reconstitution of the show. Karla investigated the works available and the cost of presenting *Le Folauga 2* at the KMFA in December 2008. The budget was sent to Kaohsiung. The KMFA validated it. This agreement reached in mid-2008 marked the history of the Taiwan-Aotearoa exhibition-relationships. *Le Folauga* was about to become the first

exhibition to exclusively showcase the works of contemporary New Zealand-based Pacific artists in Taiwan (Ron Brownson, interview, 03/04/2014).

Showing Le Folauga in Taiwan

Following this agreement, the various actors of LF Auckland embarked on a journey to reconstruct the show in Taiwan. Ron Brownson, Fulimalo Pereira and Christina Jeffery were in charge of the pieces' selection, trying to stick as much as possible to that done for LF Auckland. Once the artists were contacted and the pieces were selected, the curators wrote new labels when necessary while Tautai took care of the crating and the shipping. On the KMFA side, the main challenge faced by the teams was to adapt the Auckland show to the KMFA's space, which was six times larger than the AM galleries. The in-house designer Fengju Kuo was in charge of the spatial design for the galleries 101 and 102 of the KMFA. In parallel, Ting-ting Chen, graphic designer, focused on the catalogue and the graphic elements presented in the exhibition. Peggy Huang and the research department coordinated this adaptation with Tautai and the Auckland curators (Peggy Huang, interview, 04/03/2014).

Although the KMFA was technically in charge of the design in its own space, the Auckland teams were in constant conversation with Kaohsiung (Fengju Kuo, KMFA archives, 2008). These conversations about the space triggered more complex questions regarding the artists' selection. Compared to the AM, the KMFA galleries were so large that it could host a greater number of artworks. Since the LF Taiwan could not be an exact replica of the LF Auckland, Ron Brownson seized the opportunity to include three additional artists: Janet Lilo (Sāmoa/New Zealand, Ngā Puhi/Niue), Leilani Kake (Cook Islands/New Zealand, Tainui and Ngā Puhi) and Leanne Clayton (Sāmoa/New Zealand). Ron also slightly changed and extended the selection of pieces for the artists already included. Finally, he excluded the work of John Ioane (*Va'a Aitu Keoni*, 2007) for conservation reasons (Ron Brownson, interview, 03/04/2014). All in all, LF Taiwan was increasingly turning into a different show, which still held LF Auckland as a role model.

On this basis, Fengju Kuo and Peggy Huang worked on the design of two separate rooms, like at the AM (Fengju Kuo, interview, 19/03/2014). In October 2008, the designer – who was working with photographs of the artworks but not those of the Auckland show – attempted to match the pieces visually in a first version of the floor plans (see Figures 3.19 and 3.20). Yet, the designer sought to interfere as little as possible with the view of the Auckland curators. Seeking validation, Peggy Huang sent those first floor plans to Ron for revision. The Auckland protagonist made a few suggestions and provided several guidelines regarding the lighting of the pieces and the display of the video works in particular (Fengju Kuo, KMFA archives, 31/10/2008). These comments were passed on by Peggy to Fengju, who revised her layouts.

According to these revised plans, the first room (101) was a direct reference to the AM show (see Figures 3.21, 3.22 and 3.23). The walls were painted dark and light grey to imitate the concrete of the AM galleries (Fengju Kuo, interview, 19/03/2014). This room originally included the works of the following artists: Shigeyuki Kihara (seven photographs from the series *Fa'a fafine*, 2004-2005), Fatu Feu'u (*Faisua Oka*, 2007), Lonnie Hutchinson (*You Can See What I See*, 2008), Filipe Tohi (*Uakupenga and Kupengaua*, 2007), Itiri Ngaro (*Te 'Oki'anga o te Vaerua*, 2007), Edith Amituanai (two photographs from the series *Dejeuner*, 2007; *Millennial*, 2008; *Atalani*, 2008; *Masina*, 2008), and Niki Hasting-McFall (*Red Moana*, 2007). In the second room (102), the walls were kept white and the designer focused on isolating the videos from the other pieces (Figures 3.24, 3.25 and 3.26). These videos authored by Jim Vivieaere (re-titled *Negate/Disclose* 2007), by Itiri Ngaro (*Ko te au ata mou kore/The Shifiting Shadows*, 2008), and by Leilani Kake (*Ariki*, 2007) were presented in dark alcoves. In addition, this second room showcased Michel Tuffery (*Bula Figure 13*, 2008), Johnny Penisula (*Maile Tanifa*, 2007), Andy Leleisi'uao (*Fa'amalea Heads*, 2008), Ani O'Neil (*Satellites*, 2007), Leanne Clayton (*'ie lava lava puddles*, 2008), and Janet Lilo (*Top 16*, 2007).

Upon the installation of the show, Ron Brownson and Ani O'Neil – one of the artists presenting her work in LF – travelled to Kaohsiung. Helping with the final stretch prior to the opening, Ron was surprised to discover certain artwork arrangements in the gallery space and transformed most of the design put together by the KMFA teams

(Fengju Kuo, interview, 19/03/2014). For Ron, the KMFA's attempt to reproduce the AM show within a different space – which was “more homey and with carpet on the floor” – did not entirely do justice to the new pieces' selection (Ron Brownson, interview, 03/04/2014). Steven Gwalliasi's piece (*Circle of Adoption*, 2008) was transferred to Room 102, and the other artworks were moved around within each room until the curator was satisfied with their visual combination (see arrows on Figures 3.19 and 3.20). Ron and Ani also participated in the opening festivities on 13 December 2008, gave a tour of the exhibition in this occasion, and participated in various activities of the museum programming. In this context, LF became a means to educate about Pacific arts and to promote the work of artists based in Aotearoa New Zealand. From the KMFA's perspective, it was also a way of integrating these dynamics into the museum's recent endeavour and to create new connections with institutions abroad. In parallel, the Auckland protagonists foresaw the KMFA's touring request as a steppingstone in positioning this institution as a key player in the field of “Austronesian heritage” and contemporary art (Ron Brownson, interview, 03/04/2014). As the second part of this chapter will demonstrate, through this collaboration and the display of internationally celebrated Pacific artists, the KMFA was also constructing new pathways for indigenous Taiwanese artists across the Pacific region.

3.2 – (Re)building the Taiwan-Pacific link: *Across Oceans and Time* and *The Great Journey* at the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts

As demonstrated in the previous section of this chapter, in 2006-2007, the Auckland Museum was actively engaging with trans-Pacific narratives through the display of *Vaka Moana* and *Le Folauga* and was also building cross-Oceanic connections by planning VM's touring. Simultaneously, along the Pacific Rim the Kaohsiung Museums of Fine Arts (KMFA) was moving mountains in order to build – or rebuild – the Taiwan-Pacific link. The KMFA had secured generous funding from the Kaohsiung City Government to develop a three-year project (2007-2009) dedicated to contemporary Austronesian arts (CAAP). Seeking to promote indigenous Austronesian artists from Taiwan and overseas, the KMFA's staff and the director Jiunshyan Lee (2004-2008) established a protean museum programming. The latter positioned the KMFA as an active stakeholder in all

aspects of the museum endeavour: collection, research, residencies, education and exhibitions. In particular, exhibitions – as well as residency programmes – became a means through which the KMFA organised a breakthrough in the field of Pacific Arts and took part in the construction of the Austronesian contemporary art scene. As demonstrated in the previous section of this chapter, Rodney Wilson had envisioned *Vaka Moana* as a vessel showcasing the greatness of the AM collections and educating on trans-Pacific stories within and beyond Aotearoa New Zealand. In a similar way, Jiunshyan Lee used these museum functions as a means to construct networks throughout Oceania and to open new horizons for indigenous Taiwanese artists.

The previous section examined how the KMFA requested the touring of *Le Folauga*. While this show was regarded as a transposition or a rerun of an existing show, the KMFA also produced two exhibitions affiliated with the CAAP. The very first of the CAAP series, *Across Oceans and Time: Art in the contemporary Pacific* (AOT), was developed in partnership with the Tjibaou Cultural Centre in 2006-2007. The second, *The Great Journey: In Pursuit of the Ancestral Realm* (TGJ), was presented in 2009 as the result of three years of continuous effort to stimulate exchanges between Taiwan and the rest of Pacific. These two exhibitions had the particularity to present “local” (Taiwanese) and “overseas” (Pacific) indigenous artists all together, and to juxtapose their work in the gallery space.¹⁹ When in *Le Folauga* the connection with other Pacific institutions and artists was being constructed through the exhibiting process, AOT and TGJ not only perpetuated this practice but also showcased the Taiwan-Pacific link. By doing so, these exhibitions clearly positioned Taiwan as a Pacific island.

¹⁹ The terms of “local” and “overseas” artists were used orally and in archival documents at the KMFA (KMFA photo archives, 16/09/2009). These terms designated, on the one hand, the indigenous-Austronesian Taiwanese artists, and on the other hand, the artists coming from the rest of the Pacific. Sometimes also referred to as “foreign Austronesian artists”, the latter did not necessarily include exclusively artists of Austronesian heritage. The term “Austronesian” was indeed translated from the Chinese term “Nán-dǎo” (南島 “South Islands”) and was sometimes employed as an equivalent of “South Seas” (see Chapter 6).

3.2.A – Across Oceans and Time: Art in the Contemporary Pacific (2007)

Venue: Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts.

Partner institution: Tjibaou Cultural Centre, Nouméa, New Caledonia.

Dates: October 20, 2007 to March 30, 2008.

Galleries: Galleries 201, 202, and 203, second floor

Additional outdoor display: Austronesian Park, Neiweipi Cultural Park

Curatorial team: Jiunshyan Lee, Susan Cochrane, Mei-chen Tseng and Peggy Huang

Early encounters

The journey of the exhibition AOT began with a trip undertaken by a delegation from Taiwan to Australia. In January 2006, Jiunshyan Lee – director of the KMFA – accompanied by Mei-chen Tseng (Head of the Research Department) and by Chi-yi Chang (Mayor of Taitung County and lecturer in architecture studies) embarked for Canberra. The delegation sought to attend the annual meeting of the Pacific Islands Museum Association (PIMA) coinciding with the ANU Asia Pacific Week (from January 29 to February 3 2006). On the way to Australia, the group detoured via New Caledonia, with the intention to discover Renzo Piano's architecture for the Tjibaou Cultural Centre (TCC) and to make contacts with what they regarded as an influent artistic institution in the South-Pacific. Upon arrival in Nouméa, they had missed the director, Emmanuel Kasarhérou, who was himself on his way to the PIMA meeting. The delegation visited the TCC before joining him and other museum professionals in Canberra. Taken by the site and the collections she discovered in Nouméa, Mei-chen Tseng approached Emmanuel K. during the meeting, aiming to open new horizons for the future Contemporary Austronesian Art Project (CAAP). Officially launched in 2007, the project included the programming of at least two major exhibitions. Discussing this matter, M. Tseng and E. Kasarhérou reached an agreement for a potential future partnership between the TCC and the KMFA leading to a joined exhibit. This verbal agreement was regarded as an essential step in the KMFA's Contemporary Austronesian Art Project (Mei-chen Tseng, interview, 16/04/2016).

Following this first encounter, the directors Emmanuel Kasarhérou and Jiunshyan Lee worked conjointly to develop this initiative. While Emmanuel K. engaged with the project in a directorial way and enabled it, Jiunshyan played both the role of a facilitator

and of curator (Emmanuel Kasarhérou, interview, 16/10/2013; Susan Cochrane, Archived Email, KMFA, 03/08/2007). Lee had a global vision for the CAAP, but also specific ideas of themes to highlight in the future exhibition (Lee, interview, 09/04/2014). In order to pursue this vision, E. Kasarhérou suggested that Dr Susan Cochrane – the former Head of the Department of Kanak and Pacific Art at the TCC – could become the intermediary between the TCC and the KMFA, and offered to share the cost of future curatorial fees. In May 2006, Susan Cochrane was invited to Kaohsiung (Susan Cochrane, interview, 24/07/2014). Mei-chen Tseng welcomed her at the KMFA and took her on a tour around Taiwan. Travelling together to Pingtung (south of Kaohsiung), Hualien (North East of Taiwan), and Taitung (South East), they visited artists' studios and looked for means to connect their productions with that of Pacific artists in the future exhibition (Mei-chen Tseng, interview, 16/04/2016).

In her article *"Oh, Austronesia! Taiwan" Visiting Taiwan Aboriginal Artists with Dr Susan Cochrane* Mei-chen relates this quest to (re)construct an artistic link between Taiwan and the rest of the Pacific (Tseng, 2006). According to this paper – published in the newly created "Austronesian column" of the KMFA's journal *Art Accrediting* – three questions were then central. These questions were explored through interviews conducted with artists and other community representatives, as well as through the means of workshops given by the Taiwanese stakeholders and by Dr Cochrane. The first question, debated by Susan and her host, was "is there contemporary art in aboriginal tribes?", and are artistic productions described as such (Tseng, 2006: 4)? The second focus of this investigation was the potential existence of links between indigenous Taiwanese and Pacific artistic productions: what do these makers and their arts share today? Finally, Tseng and Cochrane also prospected regarding who would best represent Taiwan indigenous artistic movements in the future collaborative exhibition at the KMFA. Through these various interactions and networking activities undertaken at a micro level, Mei-chen and Susan were not only laying the ground for the visual conversation brought forth by the future exhibition AOT. They were raising a much bigger issue that would soon find answers in the shape of the exhibition. Converted into fieldworkers of the contemporary creation, they were increasingly establishing a new artistic category, that of 'Austronesian contemporary art'. They were also defining the

contours of a greater Pacific region, understood through the spectrum of archaeological records and through the scope of contemporary relationships (Christophe, 2015b). This region, which was sometimes named “Austronesia” and was being mapped through the exhibiting process, would soon materialise in the museum space (Tseng 2006: 1; see Chapter 6).

Exhibition roles and epistemologies: constructing a cultural and artistic link

Following this trip, Susan Cochrane was officially contracted guest-curator for the future exhibition. As she was based at the University of Queensland at the time, she and the KMFA used UniQuest to manage the administrative formalities of this collaboration (UniQuest reports, KMFA exhibition archives, 2006-2007). Simultaneously, Jiunshyan Lee, Peggy Huang and Mei-chen Tseng were designated in-house curators for AOT at the KMFA. The latter were involved in both the research development of the *Contemporary Austronesian Arts* project and in the exhibiting process (Mei-chen Tseng, interview, 25/02/2014). In Nouméa, Sophie Boutin (Head of Visual Arts and Exhibition Department/DAPEX), Sandra Maillot Win Nemou (Collection Manager) and Laura Wadrawane (Exhibition Manager) assisted with the realisation of the project (Lee, 2007: 293-294). They dealt with all the practical requirements on the ground and prepared the convoying of the artworks from the TCC to the KMFA (Pétélo Tuilalo, interview, 01/07/2014). Finally, they organised an exhibition of a smaller scale at the TCC, which featured two indigenous Taiwanese artists in residence, Kulele Tapiwulan and I-Ming (Press kit, DAPEX archives 2007, TCC, undated). This smaller exhibition titled *Contemporary Creation from Taiwan: In the Footsteps of our Austronesian Ancestors* was concomitant to its twin exhibition *Across Oceans and Time* at the KMFA.²⁰ The realisation of these exhibition projects was supported and sponsored by the Agency for the Development of Kanak Culture (ADCK), by the Kaohsiung City Government and its Bureau of Cultural Affairs, as well as by the Taiwan Council of Cultural Affairs. The

²⁰ *Contemporary Creation from Taiwan: In the Footsteps of our Austronesian Ancestors* (in French *Création contemporaine de Taiwan: sur la trace de nos ancêtres Austronésiens*) took place from October 4th 2007 to March 2008 in the room Kavitará at the TCC. The Taiwanese artists Kulele and I-ming were in residence at the TCC from August 28th to October 5th 2007 (Press Kit, DAPEX Archives 2007, TCC, undated).

Pacific Island Museum Association (PIMA) and the French Institute of Taipei facilitated this intercultural/inter-museum conversation (Lee, 2007: 293).

These mirroring exhibition projects as well as the broader CAAP sought to “undot the chart of the Pacific” (Susan Cochrane, interview, 24/07/2014) and to open new cross-Oceanic routes through the means of a museum partnership (see Chapter 6). The following statement, which can be read in the introduction of AOT’s catalogue, gives a sense of how the Pacific was then unframed, or more specifically reframed:

The 21st century is a century without borders and a century of complete openness. In this century, distance no longer serves as a reasonable excuse for a country or region to seclude itself from the rest of the world. [...] Taiwan is a part of the Pacific Islands. (Chih-cheng Wang, in Lee 2007: 15)²¹

Based on archaeological records, the existence of an ancient link across Austronesian cultures was key to the development of the exhibition’s message, and structured the conceptualisation of the project from the early start. Cross-Oceanic migrations, as related in the Auckland exhibition *Vaka Moana*, were in everyone’s mind. The protagonists of the exhibiting process repeatedly highlighted this reference to past trans-Pacific relationships:

Wondering who we are increasingly broadens the horizon of our quest. [Today] this horizon opens up again, just like it did in the past for the first island-fishers of Oceania. Oceania is vast, and the distances so huge that one gets lost by looking at its map. Where do we come from? Through which islands did our ancestors travel? After all this time, do our cultures still share a common heritage? These questions led to this innovative encounter between New Caledonia— located in the south — and Taiwan, positioned at the very north the our basin. (Emmanuel Kasarhérou, in Lee 2007: 18 — Translated from French by the author)

²¹ Chih-cheng Wang is the director of Taiwan’s Bureau of Cultural Affairs at the Kaohsiung City Government. This statement reproduced in the exhibition’s catalogue was translated from Chinese by Scott Hsieh (Lee, 2007: 15).

Going beyond these archaeological findings, the exhibition aimed to suggest that past connections continued to exist in the present. From the curators' perspective, this link could be found across Austronesian arts. In this context, the future exhibit was envisioned as an innovative platform aiming to create a dialogue between Austronesian artists from both Taiwan and the Pacific. These artists were then regarded as representatives of an expanded and interconnected region. Defining and exploring the latter was described by Susan Cochrane as one of the exhibition's major roles:

Across the Pacific, from Taiwan to Tahiti, we are neighbours — but also strangers as we have little understanding of each other's cultures and few tools to enable us to interpret and appreciate the people of our neighbourhood. We are told that understanding our region is a national priority, but too often language and cultural differences make this task seem too difficult. The KMFA and the TCC collaborative exhibition project is a visionary approach that seeks to establish an equal democratic space for the exploration of art. (Susan Cochrane, in Lee 2007: 29)

The project's stakeholders thus drew a clear link between ancient Austronesian connections and their future development through the medium of contemporary art. Positioning this approach as visionary, they sought to provide Austronesian artists with a stage to redefine their regional identity while remaining the mediators between these artists and the public. Further, by challenging existing borders, the curators also intended to promote indigenous Pacific arts in Taiwan and, in turn, to create a space for indigenous Taiwanese arts in the Pacific art scene (Sakuliu Pavavalung, interview, 29/03/2014). Hence, beyond its role of a democratic artistic platform, the first exhibition of the CAAP's series can equally be regarded as an opportunity to stimulate both the indigenous Pacific and Taiwanese art market. From Taiwan, reaching out to the Pacific was envisioned as a means to partly free indigenous artists from the hegemony of the Asian art market, where their voices could barely be heard. For these artists, the KMFA's project was a way-out and as much as a way-in (Sakuliu Pavavalung, interview, 29/03/2014).

The title of the exhibition *Across Oceans and Time* and its subtitle *Art in the Contemporary Pacific* encapsulated the exhibition's role as well as the complexity of (re)binding the un-bound. Originally, director Lee suggested the title "Subjects/Sons of Mountains and Seas", which evoked "the living spaces of Austronesian peoples — the mountains in Taiwan and the seas in the Pacific region — [... and therefore] the tight relations Austronesian peoples have with Nature" (Peggy Huang, archived correspondence, KMFA, 01/04/2007). This title was regarded as misleading by the guest-curator as it did not directly echo the focus of the displayed artworks themselves. Moreover, it did not seem to capture the themes through which Pacific Artists explored their own identities (UniQuest report, 2006: 2). For the TCC, the title chosen was "Origins of Oceania". This title rooted the identity discourse in the idea of Austronesian migrations from the homeland, Taiwan, to the rest of the Pacific (KMFA archives, titles' table 28/03/2007). The final title, "Across Oceans and Time", can be regarded as a compromise between the spatial approach contained in the first option, and the temporal perspective brought forth by the second one. It presented the exhibition as a way to overcome, to cross, time and space in order to connect indigenous Pacific and Taiwanese arts. Interestingly, the differentiation between "mountains" (Taiwan) and "seas" (Pacific) brought forth by Lee's title was abandoned to be merged under the term "Oceans" as a plural yet common noun designating the expanse of this collaboration and of the area it targeted.

The subtitle, *Art in the Contemporary Pacific* was also the product of a negotiation between all parties involved in the exhibiting process. The curatorial team discussed the use of the terms "Pacific" versus "Oceanic" and "Austronesian" (KMFA archives, titles' table 28/03/2007). Like in the title of the general *Contemporary Austronesian Art Project*, the term favoured by the KMFA teams was "Austronesian". From the TCC, this term was regarded as being too closely "associated with archaeology, linguistic and ancient history" (KMFA archives, email, Susan Cochrane, 27/03/2007). Therefore it was deemed to be incompatible with the term "contemporary". Emmanuel Kasarhérou, at the TCC, preferred the term "Oceanic", which not only referred to the French term "Océanien" but was also said to designate "the entire expanse of the Pacific Ocean and all the Islands in the North and South encompassed by the Pacific Ocean" (KMFA

archives, email, Susan Cochrane, 27/03/2007). Yet, the term “Pacific” was finally chosen as the most commonly used term by contemporary artists and writers in the English speaking Pacific (KMFA archives, email, Susan Cochrane, 27/03/2007). The predominance of a terminology affiliated to the Pacific art scene – applied to both Taiwan and Pacific arts – emphasised the need to transform the exhibition into an international platform rather than into a local stage.

Pieces selection and networking

The selection of pieces was the result of a series of conversations between the guest and the in-house curator throughout the year 2007. Since Susan Cochrane was not based in Nouméa, Sophie Boutin was relaying her selection to the Visual Arts and Exhibition Department, and was also making suggestions when some works were not available (Sophie Boutin, interview, 04/07/2014). All parties sought to generate a selection that would represent both indigenous Taiwanese and Pacific artists, and that would also participate in the construction of a visual link across Austronesian artworks. The curatorial teams selected museum collection pieces to be presented indoor, while new artworks made during the residency programmes were commissioned for an outdoor display (see Chapter 5). All in all the AOT showcased over a hundred artworks by 84 artists from 14 Pacific islands: Taiwan, New Caledonia, Palau, the Solomon Islands, New Guinea, Aotearoa New Zealand, Samoa, Vanuatu, the Torres Strait, Fiji, Wallis, Niue and the Cook Islands (Tseng, 2015: 32).

The exhibition catalogue referenced 86 pieces in AOT’s indoor display, with a majority of Pacific/non-local pieces. Amongst the works referenced, 27 were by Taiwan indigenous artists and 59 by artists from the rest of the Pacific (Lee, 2007).²² In addition, 11 pieces were presented outdoors, 9 of 11 being Taiwanese productions. At the time of AOT, the KMFA was still going through a phase of exploration of contemporary aboriginal Taiwanese arts, and its collection of Austronesian artworks was in

²² A few pieces were added and other withdrawn during the installation of AOT, therefore the numbers taken from the catalogue do not entirely reflect these of the final product. However, interviews and exhibition photographed collected in Kaohsiung in 2014 revealed that the Pacific pieces remained in majority in the physical exhibition.

development. Thus, space was given to the guest-curator who had a very good knowledge of the TCC's Collection of Contemporary Kanak and Pacific Art (FACKO) and could therefore meaningfully deploy the selected pieces in the exhibition (Mei-chen Tseng, interview, 25/02/2014). Since the exhibition was driven by the will to showcase the continuity between Taiwan and the Pacific, the lack of balance between local and regional artworks did not seem to be regarded as a limitation to the aforementioned democratic artistic dialogue. Further, it can be argued that highlighting the quality of artworks already recognised as such was envisioned as a means to valorise local pieces.

Although both Taiwanese and Pacific pieces were mingled throughout the exhibition, the distinction between both affiliations was systematically maintained during the development phase. Used by the curators in their correspondences (KMFA archives, 2006-2007), it can also be found in exhibition documents (layouts, object lists etc.), where the numbers associated with the Taiwanese pieces are written in lower case, and those of the Pacific artworks in capital letters (KMFA archives, 2007). Here, like elsewhere, curating trans-Pacific narratives did not come with a complete negation of provenances, rooted in the structure of museums themselves. In AOT, this geographical distinction also echoed an institutional one: the local pieces came from local museums, and the Pacific/regional pieces came from the TCC or abroad, revealing the geography of the relationships triggered by the exhibiting process (see Chapter 6).

Taiwan was represented by part of the KMFA's collection of contemporary indigenous Taiwanese arts (14 pieces), which mainly encompassed sculptures at the time.²³ In addition to the works selected at the KMFA, the Taiwanese curatorial team also undertook to borrow pieces from the Cultural Bureau of Pingtung County (Pingtung, Taiwan; 3 pieces), from the National Museum of Prehistory (Taitung, Taiwan; 2 pieces), and from private collections (8 pieces). The rest of the Pacific was mainly featured through a selection made by Susan Cochrane within the TCC's Collection of Contemporary Kanak and Pacific Art (FACKO), 55 artworks in total, including new

²³ Since the establishment of the KMFA in 1994, the medium "Sculpture" (alongside with "Calligraphy") was defined as a priority for the development of the KMFA's collection (Sofia Hsiu-Wei, Interview, 11/03/2014).

acquisitions made for AOT).²⁴ 2 pieces were also loaned from the Waikato Museum/Te Whare Taonga o Waikato (Hamilton, New Zealand) and 2 from private collections. Through the means of loans, AOT stimulated exchanges not only between the two partner institutions but also between them and several others, in Taiwan and in the rest of Oceania.

Structure, message and design

The structure and the design of AOT were, like the selection of works, the product of a dialogue between the teams of the KMFA and the guest curator Susan Cochrane. The exhibition was composed of an indoor and an outdoor display. The first being located on the second floor of the KMFA's building and the second being situated in the Austronesian Park, a section of the Neiweipi cultural park dedicated to "Austronesian" sculptures. Artworks made by indigenous Taiwanese and Pacific artists were juxtaposed in both spaces.

Indoor, rather than separating local from foreign pieces – as it was going to be the case for the next KMFA exhibition *The Great Journey* – the display was structured around three key themes presented as questions: "Who are we? Where do we come from? Where are we going?" This three-part theme – which unintentionally matched the original structure of *Vaka Moana* in Auckland – served as a thread across the Austronesian artworks showcased in AOT. Suggested by Susan Cochrane in mid-2006, it was directly inspired by Gauguin's painting *Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going?* (*D'où venons nous? Que sommes nous? Où allons nous?* in French) (1897-1898) held at the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston.²⁵ For the guest curator, this piece and its title echoed the concerns shared by indigenous artists regarding their cultural identity, as well as their fear of cultural disintegration "by pressures of urbanisation and globalisation" (S. Cochrane in Lee, 2007: 30). Although, Cochrane originally envisioned "Where are we going?" as the focus of the exhibition – relegating "Who are we?" and "Where are we going?" as research questions – the KMFA

²⁴ The piece *Exces de Convoitises*, made of engraved bamboos by Stéphanie Wamytan was notably acquired and added in the FACKO for the purpose of AOT (Sophie Boutin, Interview, 04/07/2014).

²⁵ Accession number: 36.270, MFA, Boston (MFA's website, December 2015).

protagonist preferred the idea of a triptyc (meeting notes, KMFA archives, 26/09/2006). For the teams, those questions were central to all Austronesian artistic productions and were expressed in Austronesian artworks.

Since the gallery booked for AOC comprised of three rooms, it was decided that each room would explore a question: “Who are we?” in 201, “Where do we come from?” in 202 and “Where are we going?” in 203 (see Figure 3.27). The thematic questions were made visible the using large banners (in Chinese, English and French) positioned above the entrance of each room. An introduction corridor defining the scope of AOT, its message and its challenging geography, would also precede these three rooms. The exhibition space was designed by the KMFA in-house designer Fengju Kuo, who was later involved in the transposition of *Le Folauga* (Fengju Kuo, interview, 13/03/2014). Lica Ting-ting Chen became graphic designer for both the exhibition space and the catalogue (Ting-Ting Chen, interview, 11/03/14). Louisa Mei-chih Chen, from the KMFA’s Research Section, was in charge of the Chinese/English translations for the bilingual exhibition material (Louisa Chen, interview, 10/04/2014).

For over three months, Fengju worked in collaboration with the in-house and guest curators. To construct the layout, the teams “tried to forget where the pieces where coming from to establish a true visual conversation. These artists share[d] roots and [they] wanted the public to feel this” (Peggy Huang, interview, 03/04/2014). On this basis Fengju produced the first layouts for AOT in August 2007 (Fengju Kuo, interview, 13/03/2014). She described her work as semi-interpretative. On the one hand she was asked to limit the use of coloured walls or complex display structures as much as possible. The exhibition should remain, in theory, a plain canvas with white walls, shiny parquetted wooden floors, distancing tape, and non-dramatic lighting. This canvas sought to highlight the brightness of the colours used by Austronesian artists, the texture of the materials employed and the visual conversation amongst them. In each room, pieces were grouped according to their capacity to answer to the thematic questions, but also according to their type (sculptures or paintings), their colours and their style (Fengju Kuo, interview, 13/03/2014). On the other hand, Fengju and the

curators worked on the development of a different atmosphere for all three rooms, preceded by an introduction section and directly followed by a concluding sequence.

All five spaces were completed and staged by the opening of the exhibition on October 20, 2007. Past the information desk, in the Sculpture Hall, the large sculpture *Flux* by the indigenous Taiwanese artist Rahic Talifo welcomed the visitor (Lee, 2007: 286-287). Presented for the purpose of AOT, this piece also connected this temporary exhibition with the semi-permanent display *Sculpture in Development in Taiwan* presented on the ground floor at the time and focusing on the history of sculptural arts in Taiwan (including “Austronesian” artists). On the second floor, the exhibition started with an introduction section displaying a large map of Austronesia covered with the titles of the show and of the CAAP (see Figure 3.29; see Chapter 6). Next to the map, the three main themes of the exhibition were announced in Chinese, English and French. A few meters away, on the opposite wall, a bilingual panel presented the partner institution, the Tjibaou Cultural Centre, through photographs and plans, a panel accessible by both entering and exiting visitors. All in all, the introduction entangled the geography of the Pacific with that of the exhibition project itself.

The first room (“Who are we?”), sought to be “evocative of a big family gathering or a party where we come to meet special people” (KMFA Archives, email, Susan Cochrane, 03/08/2007). To create this atmosphere in 201, the team selected exclusively portraits and figurative representations, focusing mainly on two-dimensional pieces (paintings and photographs) (see Figures 3.30, 3.31 and 3.32). The works were clustered in the gallery, accentuating the impression of a gathering and allowing the viewer to flow through the space while connecting one portrait to another (Susan Cochrane, 03/08/2007). For this section, the designer was also asked to construct a minimalist atmosphere in order to highlight the figurative pieces that it contained (Fengju Kuo, interview, 18/03/2014). Facing the entrance pathway, three acrylics by Daniel Waswas (*Cultural Identity, Huli Man, Redi Long Marit triptych*; 1997) welcomed the visitors and set the tone (see Figure 3.30; Lee, 2007: 92-95; TCC’s collection). The colourful tryptic depicting six characters oriented frontally towards the viewer, brought forth the artist’s response to the question “Who Are We?”. Painting onto the canvas a group of Papua

New Guineans from various parts of the island and wearing a wide range of body adornments, Waswas captured the unified diversity of cultural expressions on his island. By employing this piece as a means to welcome the visitor, the curators affirmed the exhibition's message: the artistic cultures presented in AOT were diverse yet bound by a common heritage.

The second room ("Where do we come from?"), recalled "more traditional art forms" and reflected on the idea of origins (Peggy Huang, interview, 03/04/2014). It aimed to showcase "wood sculptures, paintings on bark cloth, some prints evocating ancestors and spirits, myths and legends" (Uniquist report, 2006: 3; see Figures 3.33 and 3.34). The designer constructed Room 202 on the basis of a comparative layout, attempting to systematically associate a Taiwanese artwork with a foreign piece (Fengju Kuo, interview, 18/03/2014; see Figure 3.28). As archaeological narratives framed the development of AOT, the selection made for this room dedicated to origins largely increased upon the installation. To a certain extent, a large number of selected artworks could be displayed with regards to ancestral ties, a curatorial link supported by scientific findings. While keeping a strong focus on contemporary artworks, this room included pieces that echoed/played with ethnographic discourses. For instance, the carved wooden series by Pan Kun *Wedding Series - Hunting, Preparing, Giving and Feasting* associated a traditional technique with the depiction of a key tribal moment, inviting the viewer "to participate in the wedding process" (Peggy Huang in Lee, 2007:166; collection of Pingtung County's Cultural Bureau; see Figure 3.34). The piece *Excess of Desire* (2007) by Stephanie Wamytan, displayed a meter away, addressed the principle of cultural storytelling in a contrasting manner. In this piece acquired by the TCC for the purpose of AOT, Wamytan reinterpreted Kanak engraved bamboos (Sophie Boutin, interview, 04/07/2014). Instead of representing customary stories, she engraved erotic scenes onto the bamboos, addressing what she described as "a taboo amongst Pacific communities" and inviting "the public to become a voyeur" (Wamytan in Lee, 2007: 170/Translation by A.C.).

The third room ("Where are we going?"), showcased "more abstract and futurist" pieces and dwelled on indigenous artists' future challenges (Fengju Kuo, interview,

13/03/2014; see Figures 3.35 and 3.36). Originally envisioned by Susan Cochrane as the unique focus of AOT, this selection presented “works depicting aspects of urbanisation [and] social change” (Uniquet Report, 2006: 3). The designer was asked to create an atmosphere that matched the futurist tone of the artworks. To do so, she constructed a curvy structure in the centre of the room, evoking the undulations of the sea and hinting at the common journey awaiting the artists (Fengju Kuo, interview, 19/03/2014). Sculptures and paintings described as “mostly abstract” were showcased along the walls and onto the structures designed by Fengju. The painting *Ilan Coke* by Brian Robinson (1995) encapsulated Room 203’s theme. Representing a can of coke shaped as a warup (a drum from the Torres Strait) and floating over a colourful background from which rubbish pop up, this piece emphasised the degradation of Pacific diets and environments. It raised the issue of globalisation and its impact on indigenous cultures and artists, a process that the curators sought to highlight. For Cochrane, Pacific and Taiwanese artists shared common aspirations for the future, leading to answering the question “Where are we going?” by “towards a New Oceanic Nation” (Cochrane, KMFA archives, email from 17/10/2006). In this context, AOT served the construction of a highly political message.

The outdoor display was regarded as a means to further answer to the question “Where are we going?” (Susan Cochrane, report, KMFA archives, 26/09/2006). It sought to highlight the pieces created during the first year of the CAAP and to showcase new artworks commissioned for the occasion of AOT and made during the residency programmes (see Chapter 5). These artworks, defined by the KMFA teams as “environmental sculptures”, were all displayed in the section of the Neiweipi Cultural Park dedicated to Austronesian sculptures (Lee, 2007). This outdoor space aimed to present voluminous sculptural works, while emphasising a correlation between Austronesian artists and nature. The environment of the Austronesian Park, composed of rivers, large trees, and various plantation gardens, contrasted with the urban scenery surrounding it. Precisely, the KMFA’s curatorial team aimed to bring forth this contrast, between urban and nature, in the artworks themselves. The latter were envisioned as the result of a tension between the makers’ Austronesian “traditional” heritage and their “urban” lifestyle (Jiunshyan Lee, interview, 10/04/2014). Differing from non-

indigenous artists, Austronesian artists were said to have a specific connection to nature, which they materialised in their work by using organic materials such as driftwood, fibres, stone etc. Playing on the fine line between primitivism and the promotion of contemporary art forms, the KMFA presented 10 “environmental sculptures” and installations in the Austronesian Park during the exhibition AOT. Outside, like inside, pieces made by artists from Taiwan and the broader Pacific were brought together and juxtaposed in a space mapped and defined as Austronesian.

The selection included *Metamorphosis of the Butterfly – Weaving the Colourful Wings of Life* by the Taiwanese-Amis artist Ruby Swana, installed since December 2006 (Lee, 2007: 272).²⁶ Ruby’s piece neighboured another artwork realised in 2006, the monument *Kanaky* by the Kanak artists Joseph Kenal Poukiou and Jean-Michel Boene (see Chapter 5; Lee, 2007: 274). Near Joseph’s and Jean-Michel’s work, the sculptures *Direction of the Moon* by Sapud Kacaw (Amis) and *Tie* by Tafong Kati (Amis) were created prior to the exhibition opening from August to September 2007 (Lee, 2007: 282, 284). The mixed media installation *Direction of the Moon* was inspired by an Amis myth relating the story of two siblings lost at sea, who had managed to find their way back to their tribal land by recalling their father’s advice and by following the direction of the moon (Peggy Huang, in Lee 2007: 282). Addressing the theme of celestial navigation, this piece directly echoed the exhibition’s message and its trans-Pacific dimension. Sapud Kacaw also recreated the sculpture *Luweili (Sun Moon Door)*, first put together in Hualien (North East Taiwan) in 2006 (Lee, 2007: 276).

In addition, four artists were asked to reconstruct pieces made for a previous event. I-Ming (Puyuma) re-installed *Call of the Mountain* made in 2006 (Lee, 2007: 278), Iyo Kacaw (Amis) recreated *Talo’an* (2006) (Lee, 2007: 280), Eleng Luluan (Rukai) pieced together the large installation *Offspring of the Earth* first made for the National Museum of Prehistory in 2004 (Lee, 2007: 290), and Baliwakes (Puyuma) rebuilt the piece *Chatting between Two Friends under the Moonlight* first installed in Taitung county in 2004 (Lee, 2007: 288). Neighbouring these retrospective artworks, Michel

²⁶ Ruby (Luby) Swana, also called “Doodoo”, was in residence at the KMFA from 01/10/2006 to 13/12/2006. Her piece was ephemeral and no longer existed during fieldwork in 2014.

Tuffery and Jim Vivieaere created the piece *Landscape (One Forest, Two Dogs, Three Boats)* after the opening of AOT (see Chapter 5). Altogether, these installations presented in the Austronesian Park reaffirmed several aspects of AOT's message. They brought forth the connections between Taiwanese and Pacific artists and showcased the quest to engage with ancestral beliefs and heritage. For the curators, this quest engendered a tension between the urbanity of these artists' present and the naturalness of their past. After welcoming Le Folauga in 2008, the following exhibition of the CAAP – *The Great Journey: in Pursuit of the Ancestral Realm* (2009) – further addressed this tension.

3.2. B – *The Great Journey: In Pursuit of the Ancestral Realm* (2009)

Venue: Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts.

Dates: September 26, 2009 to January 1, 2010.

Galleries: Galleries 104 and 105, ground floor.

Curatorial team: Mei-chen Tseng, Nita Lo, and Jim Vivieaere

Making memory

The third and last exhibition of the CAAP series held at the KMFA was envisioned as the result of a three-year intensive exploration of contemporary Austronesian arts in Taiwan and abroad.²⁷ *The Great Journey* (TGJ) brought together several artists already presented in AOT and LF. The goal was to seal the CAAP by constructing a block-buster showcasing fewer artworks but affirming a stronger message. The KMFA wanted to ratify the efforts made to unveil the work of indigenous artists in Taiwan and, as in AOT, regarded their combination with foreign Pacific artworks as a means to build recognition and to open pathways across the Ocean.

Following the costly exhibition *Le Folauga* and the efforts made to build a scholarship regarding Austronesian arts, the teams of the KMFA decided to develop this last

²⁷ Succeeding to the CAAP after a two-year gap, the Multicultural Arts Project was launched by the KMFA in 2012. In the context of this new project, the KMFA and the TCC pursued their collaboration and organised the exhibition *Beyond the Boundary – Contemporary Indigenous Art of Taiwan* at the TCC. Following a 5 week-residency programme at the TCC encompassing four Taiwanese artists (An Sheng-Hui, Lei-en, Lin Gieh-wen, and Ruby Swana) the exhibition opened on October 17, 2012 in the Komwi room. It closed on February 24, 2013.

exhibition in-house. In late 2008, the Acting Director, Chih-kang Li (2008-2009) – who succeeded the instigator of the CAAP Jiunshyan Lee (2004-2008) – tasked Nita Lo and Mei-chen Tseng (Research Department) with the development of this exhibition. Appointed in-house curators, Nita and Mei-chen were asked to select indigenous artists from both Taiwan and the rest of the Pacific, and to combine this selection with a residency programme as for the other shows of the series. The curators wanted to create space for the artists themselves, rather than to focus on a collection of artworks as in AOT. Instead of proceeding by themes or media, they prospected by geographical areas, Mei-chen researching the local artists, and Nita looking for foreign Austronesian artists (Nita Lo, interview, 21/04/2014). In both cases, the curators focused on the artists' capacity to engage in a long lasting quest to reach the realm of their ancestors, a reflection that later led to the title of the exhibition: *The Great Journey: In Pursuit of the Ancestral Realm* (TGJ) (Mei-chen Tseng, interview, 16/04/2014).

Very early on, Nita was challenged by the lack of resources on contemporary Pacific arts available at the KMFA, and faced the complexity of selecting a handful of artists for the future show. The other challenge was to pick a "Pacific location that was good for contemporary art" while representing the diversity of the Pacific art forms (Nita Lo, interview, 21/04/2014). To overcome this difficult, Nita contacted Tautai with which the KMFA had collaborated in the context of *Le Folauga*. But she remained unsatisfied with Tautai's suggestions, explaining that they all required a great deal of background information regarding the artists' cultural heritage. Reviewing these suggestions and balancing them with the anticipated knowledge of the Taiwanese public, Nita came to the conclusion that very little space would be left to promote the artists themselves:

We wanted to focus on the artists. We thought that maybe this was going to be our very last show on Austronesian arts from Taiwan and the Pacific, and we wanted to make the show easy to understand and visually accessible. Most importantly, we wanted to create a memory of our project and of the artists' works. (Nita Lo, interview, 21/04/2014)

Aiming to establish a link between local and foreign artists, Nita searched for makers who could “translate their traditional language into modern creations while using an international artistic language” (Nita Lo, interview, 21/04/2014). By doing so, she wished to “encourage local artists to develop a global visual vocabulary” (Nita Lo, interview, 21/04/2014). Pursuing her efforts to use former exhibition networks to build the selection, she reached out to Jim Vivieaere, the Pacific artist and curator based in Aotearoa New Zealand who had taken part in the residency programme in 2007 (see Chapter 5). As Nita was busy with other projects at the time and could not travel to New Zealand personally, Jim played the role of a connector with Pacific artists based in Aotearoa. He notably suggested Michel Tuffery and Greg Semu, who both presented their work in the final exhibition. Additionally, the in-house and guest curators selected Daniel Waswas (whose work had set the tone in AOT), Shane Cotton, Lisa Reihana, and Virginia King. The inclusion of Virginia King, a non-indigenous New Zealand artist was long discussed by the KMFA curators (Nita Lo, interview, 21/04/2014). As “her art [was regarded as] an active response to the powerful call of nature in South Pacific island environments”, she was foreseen as connected to the issues explored by her indigenous contemporaries and was eventually selected (Tseng, 2015: 24). All in all, following the inspirations and networks developed mainly through *Le Folauga*, the selection of “foreign Austronesian artists” encompassed exclusively makers who had developed their artistic practice in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Simultaneously, Mei-chen Tseng constructed the selection of local Austronesian artists. Mei-chen wanted “the best” of the makers discovered during the development of the CAAP. She sought to showcase those who were “already famous, active and exhibited in Taiwan” (Mei-chen Tseng, interview, 16/04/2014). Like Nita, Mei-chen’s main goal was to generate visibility for the artists themselves, and to create individual portraits of these makers. As promoting local artists was regarded as a priority by the KMFA, the Taiwanese selection was particularly central (Nita Lo, interview, 21/04/2014). To showcase their excellence, the in-house curator decided to commission new pieces for the purpose of TGJ. By contrast with the foreign makers, who suggested some of their already existing creations, the local protagonists would be given a space to develop exceptional artworks, simultaneously allowing the KMFA to develop its collections. After

several months of research, Mei-chen invited six Taiwanese makers into the museum space. This section included: Anli Genu, Ruby Swana, Sakuliu Pavavalung, Walis Labai, Yuma Taru and Rahic Talifo. The latter eventually declined, narrowing down the selection to five makers, and leaving more space for those who had committed to create for the exhibition.

Mapping the gallery

This separation in the research process and in the nature of the displayed artworks (loaned versus commissioned) triggered the establishment of a spatial division in the exhibition space. After the galleries 104 and 105 were selected for the show (ground floor), the local makers were allocated the first room (104) to create new pieces (see Figure 3.37). The works of the foreign artists were showcased in the second section (105).²⁸ In both rooms, the artworks were organised by maker, forcing Mei-chen to negotiate with the local artists regarding the space they wished to occupy. Sakuliu, a well-established Paiwan carver, cultural practitioner, and political leader, took up the centre of the room. This artist also came with several members of his workshop, projecting to construct an ambitious piece composed of five totem poles showing Paiwan patterns, and circling a stone altar with small bronze characters engaging in various activities (see Figures 3.41 and 3.43).²⁹ Each picking a wall or a corner of the gallery, the other artists adapted to Sakuliu's central installation (Mei-chen, 2015). The position of the artworks reflected the power relations established before, and transforming during, the exhibiting process.

Fifteen weeks prior to the opening of TGJ, the in-house designer Ya-pei Chang was tasked with designing the galleries. Working very closely with the two in-house curators, and with Jim Vivieaere through them, she focused on creating a separate atmosphere for each room. By playing with various lighting levels and display materials, she sought

²⁸ The same galleries had showcased the long-term display *Sculpture Development in Taiwan* prior to 2007.

²⁹ Sakuliu and his workshop began to carve the totem poles on the East coast of Taiwan (in Dulan), but were forced to create a new set of poles (three only) after a typhoon had blocked the road used for conveying. Partly realised in Sandimen (Pingtung County), the artists and his crew of carvers completed the last totems at the KMFA prior to the exhibition opening (Sakuliu Pavavalung, interview, 29/03/2014).

to materialise the difference between local and foreign indigenous artists. For Ya-pei, like for the curators, TGJ compared both artistic dynamics rather than showcased a link in the manner of AOT (Ya-pei Chang, interview, 03/04/2014). For the first section dedicated to the local artists (104), she aimed to suggest “the sacredness of [Taiwan] Austronesian arts” (see Figures 3.39 - 3.42). Plunging the first room into the dark, she constructed a lighting system that would allow the new artworks to be put in the spotlight, a design that she envisioned as a metaphor of the curatorial ambitions. This contrasting lighting also aimed to emphasise the organic nature of the material used by local artists, showcasing their “strong connection to nature and to their ancestral traditions” (Ya-pei Chang, interview, 03/04/2014). The piece *Three Mountains on Our Mind* realised by Sakuliu and his workshop was the centre of this dramatic staging (see Figure 3.41).

For the second room (105), the presence of large windows forced the designer to engage with the lighting differently (see Figures 3.44 – 3.48). For Ya-pei, while the local Austronesian makers demonstrated strong connections to their past, the foreign Pacific artists expressed a “blunt contemporaneity” throughout their works. Nurtured by this quality, the designer attempted to highlight the “straight forward and more political message” of the foreign artworks (Ya-pei Chang, interview, 03/04/2014). Aiming for a “minimalist layout”, she based her design on white and glossy walls, onto which she organised the pieces in a linear manner. In parallel, the graphic designer Lica Ting-ting Chen realised a series of text panels positioned alongside each artist’s work. These display elements presented a photographic portrait of each artist, accompanied with a short biography in English and Chinese, revealing the curators’ initial intent to promote individual makers (see Figure 3.47). Finally, the KMFA’s teams decided to install a large floor map of “Austronesia” in the entrance hall in order to facilitate the public’s understanding of the geographical scope of TGJ (see Figure 3.38). The addition of this map as an introduction to the exhibit paralleled the mapping exercise undertaken by designers and curators to place the various artists into the gallery space. It emphasised the correlation between the process of mapping and that of curating (see Chapter 6; Christophe, 2015b). This map and the exhibition space were also performed by the makers during the opening festivities on 26th September, 2009. The artist Anli Genu,

who was a Christian priest, first blessed the space. The ceremony continued through the means of songs shared by Paiwan performers and by the group of New Zealand based Pacific artists all invited for the occasion. To pay tribute to their host, the Aotearoa artists sang back in Māori (Mei-chen Tseng, interview, 16/04/2014).³⁰

Conclusion

While attempting to reconstruct the Taiwan-Pacific link, TGJ redrew an epistemological and spatial boundary between local and foreign Austronesian artists. TGJ moved away from the connective display structure put together for AOT, which was organised through a tryptic of questions taken from Gauguin and echoing the first layouts of VM. Suggesting yet another manner to engage with cross-Oceanic connectivity, TGJ became merely comparative, while still being nurtured by the intent of instating a relational space. Rather than establishing connections between local and foreign artists, the exhibiting process tended to bind the participants within each display category, a separation that materialised during the opening ceremony and the performance of the floor map (see Chapter 6; Christophe, 2015b). As such, TGJ demonstrated the complexity of developing trans-Pacific narratives and of fostering relationships through and within the exhibition space. It also revealed that engaging with a broader cultural and artistic family often comes hand in hand with promoting local cultures and makers.

Beyond the complexity of establishing trans-Pacific narratives and the diversity of methods employed to showcase them, VM, LF, AOT and TGJ were all nurtured by networks of makers established within and beyond the museum's walls. Despite the variations in the nature of the material presented in these shows, their trajectories intertwined through specific agents, artefacts, concepts, spaces and pathways, constructing entangled genealogies (see Chapter 5). While conserving a dichotomy between "art" and "ethnography" –embodied by the bi-directional path followed by VM

³⁰ Following the opening of TGJ, the artists Yuma Taru (Atayal, Taiwan), Greg Semu (Sāmoa), and Sakuliu Pavavalung (Paiwan, Taiwan) joined the KMFA's residency programme. They respectively realised the pieces *From 921 to 88* (05/10/2009 - 29/11/2009), *Sacrifice For Glory* (05/10/2009 - 06/12/2009), and *Deer Friend* (05/10/2009 - 04/02/210). This residency encouraged various interactions between both local and foreign artists (Christophe, 2015b; Tseng, 2015).

and LF – these exhibitions and their makers bound through the development of a common discourse. This exhibition discourse sought to blur the boundaries of various Pacific localities in order to showcase Oceania as an interconnected space, a space where people, like exhibitions and their makers, travelled and continued to do so. In this context, exhibitions, backed by ramifying networks intertwining indigenous and non-indigenous actors, played the role of connectors and route openers. The following chapter will investigate the ways in which this dynamic was absorbed by museums to construct long-term trans-Pacific displays after 2009.

Chapter 4:
Constructing Long-Term Displays, Musealising Trans-Pacific Pathways

Introduction

By presenting the four temporary exhibitions studied in this research, Chapter 3 investigated the ways in which the making of temporary displays triggers the development of networks and opens new museum routes across Oceania. It also demonstrated how, in return, these interactions impact on exhibition-products. As shown through the KMFA case studies, exhibitions integrate various agencies gathered through networking activities, and become the product of situated relationships. Chapter 4 pursues the investigation of this dynamic by examining how temporary exhibitions nurture the making of long term displays and how short-term narratives are *musealised* in a more permanent manner.³¹

Chapter 4 describes and analyses the renovation of the long-term Pacific displays presented in two major museums of the Pacific: *Pacific Hall* (PH) of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (BPBM; Honolulu, Hawai'i) and the Pacific Galleries (PG) of Auckland War Memorial Museum (AM; Auckland, Aotearoa). The former – *Pacific Hall* – was restored from 2009 to 2013, while the latter – the Pacific Galleries – are currently being developed (2010-present). The renovation of both Pacific displays was, at the BPBM as at the AM, regarded as an element of a broader Master Plan. As such, the making of new displays is entangled with the process of redefining the mission of each museum: representing Oceania within these Pacific museums becomes a means to position themselves as institutions of and for the Pacific. This aspiration places the renovation of Pacific galleries in the spotlight and further demonstrates the importance of researching exhibiting processes.

While these galleries have their newness in common as well as their focus – the Pacific as a whole – the parallel between these two renovation projects is also encouraged by a common exhibition designer. Although at the time of the selection of these case studies by the researcher this link did not yet exist, in 2013-2014 it appeared that both the

³¹ The verb to *musealise* – from the French “muséaliser” – is employed here to describe the process of “putting something into the museum”. This general term encompasses all the processes that may be applied onto an object when brought into the museum space (and turned into a museum object) such as collecting, preserving, restoring, researching, exhibiting etc. (Desvallées & Mairesse, 2011: 251-271).

BPBM and the AM had chosen Ralph Appelbaum and Associates (RAA) to rethink and redesign the new galleries. Chapter 4 demonstrates how, through the designers and other channels, long-term Pacific displays in Oceania not only absorb former temporary exhibition models but also generate mirroring discourses falling under the overarching theme of trans-Pacific connectivity.

While echoing each other by picturing an interconnected Pacific, these two renovation projects also present several differences. At the BPBM, *Pacific Hall* can be regarded as a restoration – a return to former exhibition models – orchestrated mostly internally. At the AM, the Pacific Galleries have become a driving force for renewal – the transformation of the museum space and endeavour – that seeks to reach out to Pacific communities and invite them into a collaboration in order to shape the galleries of the future. The projects also took place at different times. Their temporality – closely corresponding to that of this research – impacted the ways in which they were documented and how this study now wishes to present them. *Pacific Hall* at the BPBM was the only exhibition physically visited during this research. For this reason, the section dedicated to *Pacific Hall* in this chapter includes a detailed exhibition walkthrough, further documented in Volume II. To a certain extent, this chapter also aspires to continue, and pay tribute to, the meticulous documenting of the BPBM's Pacific displays – undertaken through the *Handbook* published by Brigham in 1903, and through the precious accounts put together by Roger Rose in the recent years (1980; 2004; 2005). As the conversations regarding the renewal of the AM's Pacific Galleries are still in progress, the section dedicated to this display focuses strongly on the preparation process. Information regarding its physical realisation was also brought together here, but was, and must be, treated with care by the researcher and the reader. In both cases, the analysis provided below aims to give a sense of the practices, epistemologies, object selections and narratives constructed in the long-term Pacific exhibitions developed in Oceania at the dawn of the 21st century.

4.1— Restoring *Pacific Hall*, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (2009-2013)

This first section analyses both the process of restoring *Pacific Hall* (former *Polynesian Hall*) between 2009 and 2013 as well as the result of these negotiations in the shape of the exhibition itself. The first part demonstrates how the renovation of PH developed from that of Hawaiian Hall. As such it was envisioned as a means to root Hawaiian cultures in the broader Pacific context, which triggered the inclusion of archaeological narratives also echoing the temporary exhibitions presented in Chapter 3. After piecing together the conceptual and physical making of the Hall, this section takes the reader on a tour of the newly reopened *Pacific Hall*.

4.1.A — Reconstructing Oceania: from Polynesian Hall to Pacific Hall

Hawaiian Hall versus Polynesian Hall

The reopening of Hawaiian Hall (HH) on August 8th 2009 completed the first renovation phase of the Hawaiian Hall Complex, the first building ever constructed on the Bishop Museum campus (Phase I, 2006-2009). The renovation of this Hall sought to give voice to Hawaiian indigenous communities and to reaffirm the original museum mission as envisioned by Charles Reed Bishop and Bernice Pauahi. Its reopening was regarded as a determining and extremely empowering moment. It allowed the BPBM to engage with its audience in a meaningful manner and to reconnect this institution with the broader Hawaiian community. Once the “cathedral” of Hawaiian cultures was reconstructed, the contrast increased between this new display and the neighbouring Polynesian Hall, which had last been renewed in 1980 (Noelle Kahanu, interview, 26/09/2013). In 2009, driven by the energy of HH’s reopening, the Bishop Museum launched the second phase of the renovation project (Phase II, 2009-2013) dedicated to Polynesian Hall (Betty Kam, interview, 13/08/2013).

In early October 2009, Vilsoni Hereniko, Director and Professor of Pacific Studies at the University of Hawai’i at Mānoa (UH), took his students to the Bishop Museum. Vilsoni asked them to undertake a museological exercise by comparing the newly renovated

HH with that dedicated to the broader Pacific (Vilsoni Hereniko, interview, 28/10/2014). Critiques from the students, compiled in the form of individual essays, were then sent to the BPBM renovation team for review. These critiques were implacable. Enchanted by the new museography and the storytelling developed by Ralph Appelbaum for HH, the students described the new galleries as authentic and respectful of a living Hawaiian culture. In contrast, what was then called “Polynesian Hall” was re-baptised the “hall of misrepresentations” (Chai Blair-Stahn, essay, 17/10/2009: 4). Not only was the hall itself described as dark and mouldy, but the taxonomies employed to structure the display were also tackled by the students. For some of them, the entrance map divided into the three zones of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia, epitomised PH’s misinterpretation, which the title – “Chiefs, Bigmen, and Mariners” – further emphasised (see Chapter 6). Their conclusion was irrevocable: Polynesian Hall offered a static, stereotypical and outdated perspective of the Pacific. In light of HH’s renovation, it had become disrespectful towards Pacific peoples, and also materialised a gap between the representation of Hawai’i and that of the broader region at the BPBM (student essays, 17/10/2009).

When the museum staff received these essays they had already begun to discuss the content of the future Pacific display (content meeting no 1, notes, 09/10/2009). Yet, UH’s criticisms constituted an additional and urgent push towards a comprehensive renovation (Noelle Kahanu, interview, 26/09/2013). A renovation team, also referred to as content or curatorial team, was established. It was composed of twelve members: Elizabeth Tatar (Project Director), David Kemble (Exhibit Designer and Content Team Leader), Roger Rose (Consultant, formerly Cultural Collections/Resources) Betty Lou Kam (Cultural Collections/Resources), Marques Hanalei Marzan (Cultural Collections/Resources), Noelle M.K.Y. Kahanu (Education/Cultural Consulting), Anne Lokomaika’i Lipscomb (Education), DeSoto Brown (Library and Archives), Leah Caldeira (Library and Archives), Tianlong Jiao (Anthropology/Archaeologist), Jennifer G Kahn (Anthropology/Archaeologist) and Yosihiko H. Sinoto (Anthropology/Archaeologist).³²

³² At the Bishop Museum the “Anthropology” department was then understood to be a department dedicated to Archaeology. “Cultural Collections” sometimes also referred to as “Cultural Resources” was then described as the department dedicated to Ethnology and Arts. The “Library and Archives”

From October 2009 to September 2013, the team members met weekly to discuss the content, design and installation of the future Hall.³³

The renovation of Polynesian Hall was originally envisioned as an extension of that of Hawaiian Hall. Unlike the former exhibit *Chiefs, Bigmen, and Mariners* (1980-2011), the future display would emphasise the link between Hawai'i and the Pacific. The use of archaeological collections – displayed neither in *Chiefs, Bigmen, and Mariners* nor in the new *Hawaiian Hall* – would facilitate the construction of this connective narrative (Mulrooney, 2013).³⁴ This link between Hawai'i and the Pacific was also materialised in the museum space in 2007 by the construction of two bridges across the Atrium Lobby, which were envisioned as “a metaphor for taking the visitor back to where Hawaiians came from” (PH Exhibit Concept, 28/10/2009). In other words, rather than being developed as a fully independent display, the new Polynesian Hall sought to “root the Hawaiian people in a Pacific context through shared ancestry” (PH Exhibit Concept, 28/10/2009). This early statement, which was first formulated prior to the renovation of Hawaiian Hall, underlined the scope of the future display, which would move away from an “encyclopaedic” perspective. Rather the content team foresaw the future exhibit as “innovative” (Content Team meeting no 2, notes, 22/10/2009). Across the new display, “the peoples of the Pacific” would be portrayed “through their material culture and oral traditions” (PH Exhibit Concept, 28/10/2009).

In October 2009, reflecting upon the conceptual plan for both HH and PH put together by RAA in 2006, the teams further defined their aspirations regarding the design and the content of the future Hall. Firstly, the curatorial team decided to go against RAA's first recommendation, which suggested a rethink of the entire design of Polynesian Hall

department was correlated yet separated from these two departments (Bishop Museum intranet, 29/08/2013). These appellations were recently transformed: “Cultural Ressources” now encompasses the “Ethnology”, “Archaeology” and “Library and Archives” collections (Bishop Museum website, 31/08/2016).

³³ Dr Mara Mulrooney (Archaeologist) joined PH's renovation team in 2013. Dr Jenny Khan and Dr Tianlong Jiao left the Bishop Museum in 2012-2013, prior to the installation and the opening of *Pacific Hall*.

³⁴ The museum records show that only two objects from the archaeology collections were displayed in *Chiefs, Bigmen, and Mariners*, and that no archaeological items were included in the newly renovated *Hawaiian Hall*. In this context, the future *Pacific Hall* became the designated space for the promotion of the museum's archaeology collections (Mara Mulrooney, interview, 30/08/2013).

by presenting the collections in large glass cases positioned in the centre of the gallery (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2). Instead the team wished to “restore PH’s interior architecture to its original look” (PH Exhibit Concept, 28/10/2009). To restore Brigham’s original design, the 1950s renovation would be deconstructed and new cases resembling those presented in PH in 1894 would be created (see Chapter 2). The exhibition would be deployed over the gallery’s two floors. Regarding the content, the team wished to focus on two main themes that would best unify Hawaiian and Polynesian Halls, and that would connect archaeological, ethnographic and artistic perspectives: ocean peoples and ancestors. Without specifically intending to, by choosing such themes and by bridging these perspectives the content team inscribed the future Pacific galleries in the continuation of the temporary displays examined in Chapter 3.

Early content development

In October 2009, the content team made the decision to connect the first theme, “Ocean Peoples”, with the idea of “Seafaring”. This theme would reveal how “seafaring affected every aspect of traditional cultures and continues to affect contemporary Pacific cultures” (PH Exhibit Concept, 28/10/2009). Bringing forth the differences and the similarities among those cultures, this narrative would mobilise ethnographic, archival, archaeological, art and audio-visual collections. By contrast, the content team sought to develop the second theme – “ancestors” or “origins” – as a more specifically archaeological one. “Origins” would explore the Pacific in terms of “Near” and “Remote” Oceania. It would investigate a thread – mostly “Austronesian” – beginning in Southeast Asia and cross-connecting the entire region (PH Exhibit Concept, 28/10/2009). This sequence would rely on genetic, archaeological and linguistic evidence, and would also include a reflection on the timeframe of the settlement through the Pacific (RAA Conceptual Plan, HH, 20/04/2006: 61). Finally, the narrative developed within PH would be linked to that of Hawaiian Hall through “the stories of Hōkūle’a and Hawai’iloa” (PH Exhibit Concept, 28/10/2009). Altogether, the themes developed by the Bishop Museum Content Team in 2009 for the future display paralleled very strongly the narrative brought forth by *Vaka Moana* at the Auckland Museum in 2006-2007.

This division into two main themes triggered a separation of the curatorial team into three content-oriented research groups, coordinated by Betty Tatar and based on the structure of the institution itself. Marques Marzan, Roger Rose and Betty Kam focused on the ethnology collection. They began looking for objects related to “seafaring” and “migrations” such as canoes and canoe models, ornaments, fishing implements, mats and bowls (Content Team meeting no 3 & 4, notes, 29/10/2009 & 05/11/2009). They attempted to construct a narrative based on object types rather than on provenances, while mainly pre-selecting artefacts firstly from “Polynesia” and secondly from “Micronesia”. In the meantime, the archaeologists Tianlong Jiao, Jennifer Kahn and Yoshihiko Sinoto were looking into the museum’s large archaeological collections seeking to retrace the peopling of the Pacific in time and space. Their early investigations encompassed adzes and artefacts made of shell and bone from Micronesia, and Eastern and Western Polynesia (Content Team meeting no 5, notes, 12/11/2009). Since Tianlong was researching Austronesian settlements in the Taiwan Strait, and Jenny and Yoshihiko had both worked in French Polynesia, the archaeologists also used this expertise to construct their pre-selection. Adopting a chronological approach, very early on the archaeologists stressed the need to include replicas in order to fill the gaps in the timeline that they aimed to reconstitute. They also sought to make the archaeological displays more engaging by including reconstructive artworks and interactive stations and by juxtaposing, when possible, ancient with more ethnographic material (Content Team meeting no 3, notes, 29/10/2009). Linking both ethnological and archaeological approaches, DeSoto Brown and Leah Caldeira explored the rich collection of archival photographs, as well as that of audio and video recordings. They sought to select material associated with both Oceanic cultures and peoples and with the role of the Bishop Museum as an active research institution. These divisions into themes and micro-content groups later impacted the spatial organisation of the future hall.

Content in space: the exhibition design

In February 2010, Ralph Appelbaum and Associates became the Consultant for PH’s renovation. Ralph Appelbaum, the owner of the company, had a personal connection to Hawai’i. As a gesture of goodwill, he offered to oversee the entire project for which his

teams had already drafted guidelines in 2006 on the occasion of HH's makeover (RAA Conceptual Plan, HH, 20/04/2006).³⁵ According to this arrangement, the company would suggest narratives and provide the Content Team with advice and layouts during the Schematic Design Phase. However, RAA would not be directly in charge of the exhibition fabrication (Dave Kemble, interview, 10/09/2013). Though financially advantageous, this arrangement generated ambiguities regarding the leadership of future designs. These ambiguities added to the complexity of coordinating various voices within the Content Team. Dave Kemble, the In-house Designer, originally developed the design in association with RAA, until the company adopted a purely advisory role during the Design Development Phase (March 2011; pre-installation) (Dave Kemble, correspondence, 25/09/2013). PH's final design should therefore be regarded not only as the product of relationships between internal and external agents, but also as the result of negotiations between internal agents themselves.

Envisioning PH's renovation as a collaboration, RAA sent two staff members to Hawai'i for a "kick-off visit" on February 3-5, 2010. Melanie Ide (design, RAA New York) and Miranda Smith (content, RAA New York) were welcomed at the BPBM by the Director, Timothy E. Johns (2007-2011), and the Content Team. The meetings organised over the three-day period were also attended by the Architect Glenn Mason (Mason Architects Inc.) and by three cultural consultants: Vilsoni Hereniko (Director, Centre of Pacific Studies at UH Mānoa), Emil Wolfgramm (Historian and Cultural Practitioner), Carlos Andrade (Director, Centre for Hawaiian Studies, UH Mānoa). Also designated as consultants for PH's renewal were, Patrick Kirch (Professor of Archaeology at UC Berkley), Geoffrey White (Chairman, Anthropology at UH Mānoa) and Caroline Sinavaiana (Professor, English, UH Mānoa). They were not present during RAA's visit but were in contact with the attendees (RAA site visit, notes, 02/2010).

During individual and small group meetings, general questions regarding both content and design were raised. The name of the future exhibit was debated. The titles of "Hall of Oceania" and "Pacific Hall" were rejected to the benefit of "Polynesian Hall" (RAA site

³⁵ RAA's strategy and input on Pacific displays across the world are discussed in Chapter 5.

visit, notes, 02/2010: 2). At the time, it was thought that “Polynesian Hall” was the name of a building, rather than an exhibition title, and that the historical name given by Brigham should therefore prevail (DeSoto Brown, interview, 16/09/2013). The teams also discussed the inclusion of natural history collections. The lack of space eventually triggered a mainly cultural focus, combining DNA, linguistic and archaeological evidence with ethnographic collections and oral storytelling (RAA site visit, notes, 02/2010: 3, 10). The structure of the hall was also a topic of conversation. The committee examined the possibility of “turn[ing] PH into a physical map of the region”, and to integrate the sky in the shape of “a star map” in the hall (RAA site visit, notes, 02/2010: 11; see Chapter 6). Simultaneously, it was suggested that full-size canoes could be suspended from the ceiling. Covered with a star map or used as a support system for hanging artefacts, the wooden beam structure of the Hall would be restored to its original look. A new staircase connecting Level 1 and Level 2, as well new cases, would also be built in koa wood to match older display elements (RAA site visit, notes, 02/2010: 12-13). To design these new wooden cases, the Content Team suggested using the original sketches made by Brigham in 1900 for the cases of Hawaiian Hall, cases that had never been realised (Roger Rose, interview, 17/09/2013).

As the future display began to take shape, the cultural consultants were interviewed and made several suggestions which, later on, strongly impacted PH’s general discourse and key messages. Vilsoni exhorted the teams to portray Pacific Islanders as very much alive, a dimension that could be further emphasised through the use of multimedia (RAA site visit, notes, 02/2010: 10). He also proposed organising the exhibit in terms of values (“reciprocity”, “generosity”, “respect for elders”, “hospitality”), as opposed to classical museum categories (RAA site visit, notes, 02/2010: 4). For Vilsoni, material objects were, in the Pacific, often regarded as vehicles of values and shared experiences. The latter, rather than the former, should structure the display (Vilsoni Hereniko, 28/10/2014). Emil Wolfgramm also emphasised the importance of Pacific values. He stressed that terms such as “Polynesia” were rooted in western epistemologies and preferred that of “Kau Moana” (RAA site visit, notes, 02/2010: 5). Simultaneously, the teams agreed on the need to address the colonial history of the region (RAA site visit, notes, 02/2010: 6). Finally, Carlos Andrade further stated that

Pacific connections did not have to be created by the curatorial team, but that they already existed. Andrade underlined the major role played by recent Pacific voyaging endeavours, such as that of the Hōkūleʻa, which demonstrated the continuity of these relationships in the present (RAA site visit, notes, 02/2010: 6).

After this visit and with RAA's input, the Content Team began to piece together the layouts of the future gallery. One of the main challenges was the positioning of archaeology, as well as the balance between archaeological, ethnographic and artistic narratives. Supporting the teams with these articulations, RAA suggested the reading of the catalogue of *Vaka Moana*, an exhibition that seems to have been inspirational for the company (content meeting, notes, 18/02/2010). While attempting to mingle various collections, the first layouts placed most of the archaeological material on level 1 – the main floor and beginning of the storyline – and situated the ethnographic-thematic narrative on level 2, the mezzanine floor (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4). In April 2010, a series of correspondences between Roger Rose, Jenny Kahn and Noelle Kahanu shifted this spatial organisation. From the archaeologist's perspective, level 1 should present an archaeological narrative, providing the visitor with a timeline regarding the establishment of cross-oceanic migrations and connections. In this context, level 2 and most of the ethnographic collections were envisioned as a consequence of these ancient ties. In contrast, Roger Rose and the Education Department thought that the linearity of the mezzanine floor (level 2) suited a chronological approach, deployed mainly through archaeological material. The structure of level 1, less physically constraining, could benefit from a thematic organisation mostly highlighted by ethnological collections. It was also argued that this second option would expose the visitor to a living "Pacific family" first, then dwell on its ancient history across the mezzanine floor (content meeting, notes on email correspondences, 08/04/2010).

The conceptual plan proposed by RAA the following month, May 2010, validated the second option. Entitling the future exhibit *Kau Moana: Peoples of the Ocean Deep*, the document portrayed the Pacific as a family bound by past and present connections. Opening and closing the document with references to Albert Wendt and Epeli Hau'ofa,

RAA defined the main theme of the hall as “Pacific connections”. The overarching theme was detailed in these terms:

The fields of archaeology, ethnography, genetics, linguistic and oral tradition support the idea of a single Pacific ancestry and reveal a Family of the Pacific. [...] The Pacific is an “ocean of connection”, a sea of islands, each a different landscape. As the people who settled these islands adapted to their new homes, their common traditions, culture and beliefs diversified. (RAA visualised concept, 27/05/2010: 21)

Developing from this overarching statement, a set of six main messages were brought forth by the teams. The first, “Hawaiians are Pacific Islanders”, paralleled the desire to bridge Hawaiian and Polynesian Hall, and to reconnect Hawai’i with the broader Pacific. Three other key messages emphasised trans-Pacific connections developing across the “blue continent” in the past and the present, as well as the value of ancestral lineage for Pacific Islanders. Another highlighted the idea of change through cultural adaptation and colonisation. Finally, the last point considered the role of the Bishop Museum in studying and preserving Pacific natural and cultural histories, which added a reflective element to the storyline (RAA visualised concept, 27/05/2010: 21). The conceptual plan also provided the team with more definite floor plans for both levels 1 and 2. The structure of these floor plans was discussed by the Content Team and RAA from May 2010 to February 2011, a phase during which minor changes were made. These layouts positioned the thematic approach on the main floor, level 1 (see Figure 4.5). Level 1’s cases were divided into the themes of Sea, Community, People, Land, Fishing and Gods, intertwining the idea of presenting Pacific values suggested by Vilsoni (“Community”) with that of classical museum themes (“Fishing”). Level 1 also encompassed a canoe case, showcasing canoe models from across the region a couple of treasure cases and a Pacific wooden floor map (see Chapters 5 and 6). Level 2, presented an archaeo-chronological narrative retracing the peopling of the Pacific region. The path developed on the mezzanine floor followed that of ancient navigators. Originally framed from the Taiwan Strait to Eastern Polynesia, the scope of the migration pattern was extended to include New Guinea and South America in a later floor plan. This second version was

adopted for the final display without truly challenging the main focus on Austronesian and Polynesian migrations (see Figure 4.6).

Restoring and installing Polynesian Hall

In late 2010, the BPBM put together a touring exhibition titled *The Splendor of Hawaii and Polynesia*, which stimulated content development towards PH's renovation. The Hong-Kong born BPBM archaeologist Tianlong Jiao, who was also a member of PH's content team, coordinated its touring to China (Betty Kam, interview, 13/08/2013). This exhibition was sent to the Fujian Museum, where it opened in January 2011. In April, the exhibit travelled to the Zhejiang Provincial Museum, before returning home to the BPBM. In the meantime, Polynesian Hall and its permanent display, *Chiefs, Bigmen and Mariners*, had closed to the public on April 11 2011. Internally referred to as "Mini Poly Hall", the exhibit *The Splendor of Hawaii and Polynesia* was reconditioned by the BPBM's staff to be presented in the gallery adjacent to Polynesian Hall – the Long Gallery – from September 9, 2011 to May 6, 2013 (Annual Report, BPBM, 2011: 7). For a year and half, this smaller exhibition compensated the temporary lack of pan-Pacific display at the BPBM.³⁶

Concurrently, Blair Collis was appointed new BPBM Director (2011-2016). While the architects had begun to restore the hall, Collis undertook to redefine the role of the Board of Trustees and to restructure the museum's mission (Blair Collis, interview, 26/09/2013). The latter was reworded in these terms:

As "The Museum of Hawai'i", Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum's mission is to be a gathering place and educational centre that actively engages people in the presentation, exploration and preservation of Hawai'i cultural heritage and natural

³⁶ Mini Poly Hall focused on Polynesia and was organised geographically. It presented collections from ten island groups: Austral Islands, the Cook Islands, Rapa Nui, Fiji, Hawaii, Marquesas, Aotearoa, Samoa, Tonga and the Society islands. It also included a section on Chiefly Cultures and another on Polynesian Origins (*Pacific Hall*, digital folder, Welo panels, 2011). The touring of this exhibition to China was facilitated by Tianlong Jiao, who had also begun a collaboration with the National Museum of Prehistory in Taitung (NMP), Taiwan, in 2005. Two years before *Vaka Moana* travelled from Auckland to the NMP, the Bishop Museum sent the exhibit *The Mysterious Hawaii, from the Feathered Gods to the Melting Pot* to this museum from December 11, 2005 to September 1, 2006.

history, as well as its ancestral cultures throughout the Pacific. (Mission statement document, 2011)

In comparison to the former mission statement, this vision positioned the Pacific as Hawai'i's ancestral home.³⁷ This perspective corresponded to the approach followed in the renovation project, and strengthen the current direction of the project.

In the Hall, the physical renovation began in May 2011. Glenn Mason Architects were in charge of the restoration process. They revised the architectural structure of the building, and fixed issues related to air-conditioning and lighting. Undertaking a form of archaeology through the hall and the history of its display, the architects also scraped off the 1950s paint from the beams, and scrubbed PH's original floor. While doing so, they made surprising discoveries, such as that of small tiles with numbers positioned aside several display cases. These tiles had been designed by Brigham in 1894 and corresponded to the numbering put together by the first curator in his Handbook (1903) (Glenn Mason, interview, 25/09/2013). Mason also constructed the new central staircase connecting levels 1 and 2, while the company Robert Marcos created the new display cases made of koa wood. Later, Shayn Smith (Yarema Marquetry, Michigan) was contracted to produce and install a marquetry map of the Pacific, which was positioned on the floor. This map occupied the most central position in the gallery and came to act as a mirror of the negotiations undertaken in the broader space (see Chapter 6).

After RAA withdrew to a purely advisory role in March 2011, Dave Kemble (In-house Designer) became fully in charge of the design and its spatial realisation. As soon as the hall closed to the public, Kemble stressed the need to organise ephemeral display fittings for the entire hall prior to the definitive installation of the artefacts. The internal arrangement of the cases designed by Appelbaum was complex. Inspired by the display structure developed for the Arctic Studies Center (Anchorage, Alaska) – but simplified due to budget restrictions – the cases were organised around metallic poles (see Figure 4.7). A series of rods, supporting the mounts holding the artefacts, were fitted into

³⁷ The museum's mission until 2011 was: "Our mission is to record, preserve and tell the stories of Hawaii and the Pacific, inspiring our guests to embrace and experience our natural and cultural world."

these poles. To avoid unforeseen fitting issues, Kemble orchestrated a phase referred to as “the mock-up phase” from August 2011 to August 2013, starting with the second floor (PH2-10) and finishing on the first floor (PH1-05) (see Figure 4.8). On the basis of digital layouts made by the in-house designer, the mount makers – Robert Owens, Dave Kiyabu, Susan Smolinski and later Richard Hards – created temporary mounting structures. Once these structures were realised, the mount makers and several members of the content team would then gather in Polynesian Hall to take part in mock-up exercises, week after week, case by case. Assisted by the temporary mounts designed by Robert, Susan and Dave, everyone would hold the artefacts at their designated location. Meanwhile, the designer would photograph the case – containing objects and makers – to allow for future adjustments (mountmakers, collective interview, 29/08/2013). Both collection items and mounts would then be taken back behind the scene, allowing for a period of reflection regarding the content and for potential reconstruction of the mounting system. Staging connections between Pacific Island cultures, the teams were themselves bound through the fastidious practice of exhibition making (see Chapter 5).

While the physical restoration took place, the curatorial team carried on with the development of the content for the individual cases brought forth in RAA’s conceptual plan (see below). The group Delphi was hired for the exhibition fabrication in May 2012 (Dave Kemble, interview, 10/09/2013). Meanwhile, the Conservators Linda Hee, Christina Bisulca, Liane Naauao and Nicole dela Fuente provided collection care for the selected artefacts and restored the BPBM’s Tahitian mourning costume as well as a feather cloak belonging to Te Rangi Hiroa’s wife (object numbers 1971.198.001a-f and D.00077; Nicole dela Fuente, interview, 27/09/2013). Tianlong Jiao coordinated the purchase of replicas with several institutions, including the National Museum of Prehistory in Taiwan where *Vaka Moana* had toured in 2008 (Tianlong Jiao, correspondence, 29/07/2014). These replicas were mostly ordered for the beginning of the archaeology storyline, which sought to present Taiwan as the homeland of Pacific cultures (see Chapter 5). Simultaneously, Lokomaika’i Lipscomb and the Education Department developed an Education Resource Centre for the future hall, which included a series of games on Pacific patterns, canoe reconstructions and costumes

(Lokomaika'i Lipscomb, interview, 27/09/2013). They also trained PH's future docents for a tour later entitled "Moananuiākea, Oceania" (daily activity programme, BPBM, 09/2014). During the last year of the renovation project, the BPBM's staff also reflected upon the commissioning of contemporary artists, who could create pieces for the future hall. Kamalu du Preez, Assistant Collection Manager, suggested inviting the Māori Fashion Designer Shona Tawhiao and the Choreographer Jack Gray to create a piece for the opening. Eventually, Jack was retained to develop a collaborative performance with selected museum staff members. This piece was titled *Te Reinga* (see Chapter 5; Kamalu du Preez, interview, 11/09/2013). Through Noelle Kahanu, the museum also commissioned Hālau Pāheona to paint a mural for the galleries (see Chapter 5). In parallel, Noelle approached George Nuku, a Māori carver, regarding the realisation of a sculpture that would cover part of the hall's ceiling. On the model of a Māori wharenui/meeting house, this sculpture would be envisioned as the spine of an ancestral body. The piece was never completed (Noelle Kahanu, interview, 26/09/2013).

While the staff pulled the last strings of the exhibition together, the Museum Director and the Trust Board discussed the extension of the renovation project. In January 2013, "building on the positive momentum gained by the restoration and the reinstallation of Hawaiian and Pacific Halls", the Executive Team put together a greater Master Plan (Interpretative Master Plan, BPBM, 24/01/2013: 2). Collaborating with RAA and Mason Architects Inc., they reflected upon the positioning of the BPBM as "the most iconic museum of the Pacific region" (Blair Collis, interview, 27/10/2014). To do so, the museum campus will become a stage for interpreting "the interdependent natural and cultural worlds of Hawai'i and the Pacific region [or] Blue Continent" (Interpretative Master Plan, "Approach", 24/01/2013: 19). To a certain extent, the practice of exhibition making and its implications generated a push to examine the relevance of the BPBM as an institution of Oceania and to promote it as "the authentic, must-see destination in Hawai'i and the Pacific" (Interpretative Master Plan, "goals", 24/01/2013: 3).

Renaming and opening Pacific Hall

The hall was installed throughout the year 2013 (until September). A few months before the opening, while the teams were actively involved in the installation process, the BPBM's Board and the Director made the ultimate decision to change the name of the exhibit. Retitled "Pacific Hall", the new display aimed to be advertised as more inclusive (see Chapter 6). By replacing "Polynesia" with "Pacific" the Executive Team also aimed to better promote the founders' original vision for the museum and for the Hawaiian Hall Complex in particular, which encompassed the entire Pacific region (see Chapter 2). However, this decision arrived too late to have an impact on the content of the display and to emphasise this wider geographical scope. Most of the Content Team eventually felt that the term "Pacific Hall" was more appropriate and that it also challenged historical divides by presenting the region as a family. Following this relabelling, staff members continued to wonder whether the terms "Hall of Oceania" or "Hall of Austronesia/Austronesian Hall" would have described the content of the show more accurately (Kamalu du Preez, interview, 11/09/2013; see Chapter 6).

Despite the interrogations regarding its name, the opening of the newly restored *Pacific Hall* sought to "bring together people from across Oceania and throughout Hawai'i" (PH's Grand unveiling, master timeline, 30/08/2013). The opening festivities were organised over a three-day period, each with a specific programme. On Thursday 19 September 2013, the first official opening ceremony took place for the museum staff, the volunteers and the Executive Board. At 8am, a blessing protocol led by Sam Gong III, Marques Hanalei Marzan and other members of Hālau Mele marked the beginning of a new chapter for *Pacific Hall* (this protocol is described in Chapter 6, section 6.4). This ceremony was followed by a media preview, and in the evening, by a VIP opening organised for the founders. The VIP opening included another blessing by Kahu Cordell, speeches by the Board and the Director, as well as a first presentation of the piece *Te Reinga* in Hawaiian Hall and some "Pacific entertainments" (music, dances, awa; master timeline, 30/08/2013). The following day, Friday 20 September 2013, the museum welcomed, a delegation from Aotearoa representing the Māori King in the morning (not present). In the evening, a special preview of the Hall was organised for the museum

members. This preview included the piece *Te Reinga*, as well as special shows on Pacific voyaging organised in the museums' planetarium. Finally, on Saturday 21 2013, the Bishop Museum organised the official public opening, *Pacific Hall's* Grand Unveiling. On this occasion, the museum offered free admissions from 9am to 9pm. These festivities were envisioned as a one-day Pacific festival hosted throughout the BPBM campus. They began with speeches and a keynote by Vilsoni Hereniko, followed by a procession into the Hall called by Marques Marzan (see Figure 4.9). They combined live performances, lectures by artists and Pacific scholars, and film screenings (see detailed programme Figure 4.10). A symposium on Pacific weaving had also been coordinated by Betty Kam to correspond with the opening week. A group of weavers from the Marshall Islands, French Polynesia and Hawai'i gave demonstrations. All in all, this three-day opening celebrated "the family of the Pacific", a family unfolding in the new display (master timeline, 30/08/2013).

4.1. B – Exhibition Walkthrough³⁸

General statement

After the opening, the new daily programme offered the visitor the opportunity to "take a journey through the vast island family of Oceania" (daily activity programme, BPBM, 09/2014). Welcomed by greeters at the entrance of the Hawaiian Hall complex, visitors could now discover the new *Pacific Hall*, the product of a four-year renovation (see Figure 4.11). On the first floor, the portraits of the founder Charles R. Bishop and his beloved wife Bernice Pauahi Bishop, frame PH's main entrance door.

The new exhibit develops over two floors, each building on an individual story line falling under the overarching theme of Pacific connectivity. They are 552 items over

³⁸ In order to allow for further research on the history of geographical and indigenous terminologies employed in Pacific exhibitions, the spelling the format and the inconsistency of these terms presented in this walkthrough match those displayed in *Pacific Hall* in September 2013. For instance, when a label indicates "Aotearoa (New Zealand)", "Ngati Mutunga" or "Gilbert Islands", the researcher maintained these appellations rather than replacing them by "Aotearoa New Zealand", "Ngāti Mutunga" or "Kiribati", keeping in mind that the latter would be preferable. The italic forms used in the labels for specific terms or quotes were reproduced here. Similarly, the terms of "Micronesia", "Polynesia" and "Melanesia" were only added to this walkthrough when they actually figured on the labels.

both floors: 330 objects come from the Cultural Collections/Resources Department, 156 objects come from the Anthropology [Archaeology] Department, 12 are natural specimens, and 54 are replicas of both cultural (19) and archaeological (35) items. Several multimedia, digitised archival photographs, and educational replicas are also presented (Mulrooney, 2013). The first floor (level 1) presents 212 pieces (see Figure 4.5). It tells the story of the “Peoples of the Ocean Deep” – the family of the Pacific – through ethnographic and artistic pieces (introduction multimedia, PH, 2013). The second floor (mezzanine level/level 2) encompasses 340 items (see Figure 4.6). Level 2 presents the origins of trans-Pacific connections, and brings forth an archaeological narrative. This narrative is mainly based on the archaeology collections but is also supported by the display of ethnographic items showing the continuity between past and present. The path followed in this description begins in the main entrance hall, then directly to level 2, originally envisioned as the beginning of the storyline. After level 2, this section presents the content of level 1, to then end the visit on the bridges crossing the atrium and taking the visitor to *Hawaiian Hall*.

Entrance hall (levels 1 and 2): acknowledging the ancestors

[PH1-01 and PH1-SD]³⁹ The visitor enters a small rectangular hall covered with the gallery’s original tiles, which were rediscovered during the renovation process (see Figure 4.12). The entrance hall is dedicated to the voices of the ancestors, which welcome the visitor. On the left side, a panel recalls a Mangarevian welcoming chant collected in 1934 by Te Rangi Hiroa/Sir Peter Henry Buck (PH1-01). Facing the chant, on the right side, three slit drums from Vanuatu materialise the voices of the ancestors. Behind the drums, a wooden staircase takes the visitor to level 2.

[PH2-01] Upstairs, a small rectangular carpeted hall precedes the main gallery. In this introduction hall, a single display case honours Te Rangi Hiroa/Sir Peter Henry Buck (Ngati Mutunga) as the first indigenous curator of the BPBM and as “an ariki” (see Figure 4.13). Buck is acknowledged as a part of both the Pacific and the Museum

³⁹ The coding system in square brackets corresponds to the numbering used in the floor plans (figures 4.5, 4.6).

‘ohana/family (see Chapter 5), and is referred to as “the world’s greatest Polynesian” (M. Kawena Puxui, quoted in PH2-01). The case presents his wife’s *kahu kiwi*/feather coat – restored for the occasion – a *facsimile* of one his fieldwork notebooks, his *taiaha*/staff, his *mere pounamu*/club and two photographs of Buck in Aotearoa and in Hawai‘i. Aside the case, a text panel summarises the great destiny of Te Rangi Hiroa (PH2-W02). This display also includes a recording of his commencement address to the students of the Kamehameha schools in 1951, during which he performed a greeting chant in Te Reo Māori. With this last greeting, the visitor can begin exploring the ancient ties that bind the family of the Pacific.

Level 2: piecing together the origins of the Pacific family

General Structure [PH2]. PH’s second floor encompasses 156 items from the Anthropology (Archaeology) Department, 119 pieces from the Cultural Collections/Resources Department, 11 natural science specimens, 54 replicas, and a large number of photographs coming from the BPBM’s Library and Archives (Mulrooney, 2013). By pairing archaeological and ethnographic material, the gallery emphasises both historical connections between Pacific island cultures as well as the continuity of these ties from past to present. Contrasting with level 1, this floor is based on an archaeo-chronological storyline and therefore clearly affiliates specific cultures with a notion of time and space. Simultaneously, it also promotes archaeology as a discipline by emphasising the importance of studying the past to understand the present (see Figure 4.14).

The story line of the mezzanine gallery starts where the two possible entrances meet, by the bridge connecting Hawaiian and Pacific Halls on the second floor. The story then develops anti-clock wise on each side of a narrow path running between the balustrade and the wall. Along the wall, a set of fourteen in-wall cases and six protruding cases form seven segments or steps into the narrative (PH2-02 to PH2-21). Along the balustrade, a succession of fourteen rail cases presenting small objects emphasise related themes. The central part of the gallery showcases, hanging from the ceiling, a canoe from Fulaga (Fiji) made around 1985 and loaned by the master sailor John Koon

in 2013, as well as a large AV screen showing photographs and films. Their positioning highlight PH's wood structure restored by Mason Architects Inc. (MAI). The path created by the curatorial team throughout the mezzanine follows the Pacific migration patterns from Near Oceania to Remote Oceania. The cases' colour coding, from purple to green, emphasises this movement from West to East and accentuates the idea of continuity and fluidity. After a brief stop in New Guinea, level 2 depicts the Pacific as an interconnected space, from the Taiwan Strait to Hawai'i (see Chapter 6).

Eastern and Northern Sections: from Near to Remote Oceania [PH2-E02]. The reference-terms of Near and Remote Oceania are introduced at the very beginning of the storyline through a migration map titled "The Settlement of Oceania", which expands over the *quasi* totality of the eastern wall (see Chapter 6). A series of seventeen replicas of Pacific adzes, from the Trobriand Islands (Papua New Guinea) to Aotearoa (New Zealand), are presented in a linear way under the map (see Figure 4.15).⁴⁰ They are used as material evidence of the migrations, and convey the message of an unbreakable cultural and material link across the region. The message of the map is further highlighted by quotes from Hau'ofa and Finney regarding the relationship between Pacific Islanders and their Ocean.

[PH2-N01] Following the migration map, a reflective archaeological display is presented in the north-eastern corner of the gallery (see Figure 4.16). This station titled "How We Know" functions as a tribute to both the BPBM proactive archaeological campaigns and to archaeological methods themselves. It explores various ways of "knowing the past" through text panels, photographs, multimedia and educational replicas of scientific tools (text panel, How We Know). This exhibition material mainly dwells on linguistic studies and excavation techniques. The first aspect is explored through comparative multimedia, which maps linguistic relationships – mostly "Austronesian" – and shows the transformation of specific words throughout the region. The second aspect is further explained via a display reproducing the stratigraphy of an archaeological site. On each stratigraphic level, the visitor can pull out a drawer containing an artefact found

⁴⁰ These replicas were originally not presented as such. The museum plans to modify the original labels, which did not differentiate them from original pieces (Dave Kemble, interview, 07/10/2014).

on the site. Further information regarding specific archaeological sites and campaigns can be found in four multimedia displays, one in each corner of the balustrade.

Having explored both the migration patterns and the methods through which they can be traced, the visitor commences a walkthrough of the mezzanine. Along the wall, the display sequences are organised in L-shaped segments, each encompassing two in-wall cases topped with inspiring quotes, and a protruding case. The latter were referred to as “butterfly cases” by the designers, due to their internal winged-structure (Dave Kemble, interview, 10/09/2013). Along the balustrade, the rail cases form a succession of thematic stories affiliated to the region explored along the wall.

[PH2-02, 03 & 04] On the northern part of the mezzanine, the exhibition story line begins with Near Oceania, which is defined as a zone that was peopled by short distance island hopping (migration map, PH, 2013). Three L-shaped segments are dedicated to Near Oceania (see Figure 4.17). The first segment explores the pre-Austronesian migrations and the first settlement of the Pacific around 40 000 BP (see Figure 4.18). Along the wall, two in-wall cases are respectively dedicated to “Hunters and Gatherers” and to “Voyaging, Trade and Ancestral Spirits”. The first case presents exclusively ethnographical material from New Guinea: a bow, an arrow and a couple of *bilums*/string bags (PH2-02; see Figure 4.18). The use of the present tense in the labels suggests that such practices are still central today. The second case dwells on the circulation of specific objects and patterns between the coast of New Guinea and the neighbouring islands (PH2-03). It emphasises the role played by trading in the distribution of resources and the construction of networks. This first segment ends with a portion of the butterfly-case explaining the first peopling of Oceania from the Sunda to the Sahul (PH2-04; see Figure 4.19). Here, shells and fragments of obsidian coming from the Anthropology [Archaeology] collections are used to describe the settlement dynamic amongst the archaeological sites of Near Oceania. Along the balustrade, a first rail case further explores the importance of agriculture in Papua New Guinea through small Abelam yam masks and photographs (PH2-R04L; Figure 4.20). The next rail-case highlights the role of genetic analysis conducted on animals to better follow early Pacific migrations (PH2-R04R; Figure 4.21).

[PH2-04] The first protruding butterfly-case marks the end of the display on early Papuan migrations and starts introducing an “Austronesian” Pacific. From here, to the other side of the mezzanine, the cases background shifts from purple to blue. The frontal section of this case is titled “First Settlement of the Pacific Islands” (see Figure 4.22). It first investigates the differences between Papuan and Austronesian settlements, to then present the link between coastal China and the Pacific via Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait. This case encompasses a set of replicas of adzes and containers found in the Fujian province of China (Tanshishan and Damaoshan sites). These replicas were ordered by Tianlong Jiao in partnership with the local Fujian museum to fill the gap in the storyline (Tianlong Jiao, Correspondence, 29/07/2014). In the right section of the case, a replica of a canoe paddle found in the Zhejiang Province (Tianluoshan site) and dated between 5000-7000 BP evokes the practice of seafaring in the region, a practice presented as shared across the Pacific.

[PH2-05, 06] The second display segment is dedicated to Taiwan (see Figure 4.23). It aims to draw a clear link between the Island and the rest of the Austronesian realm. The first in-wall case presents adzes and replicas of ceramic pots from the Dapenkeng culture, which was “the earliest Ancestral Austronesian culture in Taiwan” (Text Panel, PH2-05). The artefact copies were ordered by Jiao from the National Museum of Prehistory (NMP, Taitung, Taiwan), which had them made in Taiwan (see Chapter 5). The second in-wall case shows the continuation of this Austronesian heritage in contemporary Taiwan indigenous material (PH2-06; see Figure 4.24). It more specifically focuses on the Paiwan and Atayal tribes, the first being known for its textile and adornment productions, and the second for its pots decorated with a double snake pattern. This pattern is a source of inspiration for contemporary Taiwanese artists, as demonstrated by Sakuliu Pavavalung in the piece created for *The Great Journey* (see Chapter 3). Here again, the items presented are replicas of actual artefacts held at the NMP, Taiwan. Replicas were systematically preferred to inter-museum loans due to the permanent nature of the exhibit (Tianlong Jiao, Correspondence, 29/07/2014).

[PH2-07] Moving east into the Pacific, the second segment begins with a 2/3 replica of a Lapita pot, displayed in the protruding butterfly-case (PH2-07; see Figure 4.23). This

articulation emphasises the visual parallels between the patterns found on contemporary Taiwan indigenous material and the designs observed on ancient Lapita ceramics. The interpretative exhibition design and the additional artefact copies ordered by the content team portray Taiwan as the homeland of all Pacific cultures (see Chapter 5). The Lapita segment is supported by two rail cases running along the balustrade (“Lapita Lifeways” and “Lapita Trade”/PH2-R05L & R; see Figures 4.25 and 4.26). The latter presents smaller items such as fishhooks, scrapers and armbands. They aim to highlight the trading networks developed by the Lapita in the region. This combination of cases prepares the visitor for the third segment of the gallery, linking the Lapita cultures with Fiji, and connecting Near Oceania with Remote Oceania.

[PH2-08, 09 & 10] The third segment begins with an in-wall display case on Lapita pottery motifs, followed by another case on ancient and modern Fijian ceramics (see Figure 4.27). The first showcases several sherds of Lapita pottery, which are visually associated with a Fijian *masi*/barkcloth and an *ipu*/kava cup from the Marquesas (PH2-08). Similar to the previous segment, the artefact patterns are used to connect one sequence to the next, and one culture to another. Here again, a continuous line is drawn between archaeological and ethnographical material. The second in-wall case further stretches the Lapita visual semiotic by associating fragments of ancient Fijian pottery with more recent ceramic containers (PH2-09). This sequence materialises the passage from Near to Remote Oceania, a passage that is presented as made by Lapita cultures themselves. It also depicts the Lapita zone as the cradle of the Pacific cultures developing further East. Interestingly enough, the avoided terms of “Micronesia” and “Polynesia” are here re-introduced. Along the balustrade, a rail-case is titled “Micronesia” (PH2-R06L; see Figure 4.28). Through the display of shell adornments, tools and moneys, it briefly presents the region as the product of the migratory encounters explored until this point.

[PH2-10, 11 & 12] The last segment of the Northern mezzanine gallery showcases the birth of “a distinctly Polynesian culture” (text panel, PH2-10). A first protruding case is titled “Hawaiki” (PH2-10; see Figure 4.29). Here, the term refers to a specific location rather than to the mythical site and is used to address the ancestral cultures of Western

Polynesia. Overall, the display dwells on the “shift from Lapita cultures to Polynesian cultures” happening in the region around 2500BP (text panel, PH2-10). Comparisons between Lapita and early Polynesian pottery and adzes are used to explain this phenomenon in two thirds of the case. On the left, the third part presents the social transformations accompanying this cultural change. It indicates that the material found in the Polynesian homeland suggests a stronger social hierarchy, which laid the ground for the “later Polynesian chiefdoms” (text panel, PH2-10). Archaeological material, such as body adornments from Tongan sites, is compared with a tabua from Fiji as well as 19th and 20th century photographs of anonymous Islanders wearing adornments (see Figure 4.31). The idea of Polynesian chiefdoms is further explored along the balustrade, in a rail-case titled “Tongan Maritime Chiefdom” (PH2-R06R; see Figure 4.30). Presenting two ivory figures from Tonga, it dwells on the construction of an empire through political alliances, voyaging and exchange. It contributes to the description of Western Polynesia as a single cultural block, a description that is supported by the two last in wall-cases of the Northern pathway (PH2-11 & 12; see Figure 4.31). The latter, respectively dedicated to the kava ceremony and to Samoan mats, mix ethnographic material from Fiji, Tonga and Sāmoa (a kava bowl, cups and a mat).

As visitors enter a “Polynesian” Pacific, an interesting change in the display structure can be observed. Until this point, the juxtaposition of archaeological and ethnographic material within the same cases supported a temporal message. It suggested a strong continuity between material evidence from the past and more recent Pacific productions. At this stage, the function of the in-wall cases is slightly modified. Rather than present material from both the Cultural Collections/Resources and the Anthropology [Archaeology] Departments, they showcase quasi exclusively ethnographic artefacts. The archaeological material is mostly grouped in the protruding butterfly-cases and in the rail cases. As the mezzanine storyline evolves from a migratory narrative to the depiction of a Polynesian cultural realm, the distinction between archaeological and ethnographic material becomes clearer and the number of ethnographic objects increases. From this section of the display onwards, the in-wall cases are used to highlight the cultural connections between Polynesian cultures, rather than to create associations between the past and the present. This shift in the

archaeological/ethnographic balance can be directly correlated to the will to promote the Hawaiian culture as a unique Polynesian culture. In other words, the closer the viewer gets to Hawai'i, the more specific the display becomes, as opposed to the first cases that grouped cultures and periods in a narrower space (see Chapter 6).

Western and Southern Sections: from Hawaiki to Hawai'i [PH2-W4]. The second part of the mezzanine gallery is dedicated to Remote Oceania, which was characterised by long distance voyaging in the introduction map. Moving further east into the region, the western gallery pathway features the passage from Western to Eastern Polynesia. Two rail cases on each side of the central staircase, on Western and Eastern Polynesian monumental architecture respectively materialise this step from west to east (PH2-R08 & 09). On the wall, a large mural titled *Anu'u Nu'u Ka'ike (The Many Levels and Planes of Wisdom and Insight)* "takes the viewer on a visual journey, to far corners and reaches of our Blue Continent, to the depths, to the shoals and reefs, to the heavens above, to those realms where the akua [gods] live" (Meyer, Artists' Statement, 2013). This painted mural was created by the Hālau Pāheona, an artist collective based in Honolulu and commissioned in May 2013 (see Figure 4.32; see Chapter 5).

[PH2-13 & 14] The subsequent section of the mezzanine was developed as a geo-thematic journey through Eastern Polynesia (see Figure 4.33). The region is first described as a whole, to then be approached by island group, as the visitor gets closer to the apexes of the Polynesian triangle. The first segment marks the beginning of this journey by showcasing material from the Society, Cook and Austral Islands as well as artefacts from the Tuamotu Archipelago (see Figure 4.32). The first two in-wall cases encountered by the visitor are dedicated to "Eastern Polynesian Chiefs" and to "Tahitian Barkcloth" respectively. Both themes are approached through ethnographic material only, encouraging the visitor to draw cultural links rather than to operate temporal comparisons. The first case aims to present the ways in which Eastern Polynesian elites materialised their status, through the display of chiefly artefacts such as a fan, an adze, a couple of flywhisk handles and a few breastplates (PH2-13). Displayed in the lower part, a copy of the engraved portrait of Omai, by Francesco Bartolozzi after Nathaniel Dance, 1774, wrapped in white tapa and holding a stool illustrates the case's overall

message. This representation finds a direct echo in the neighbouring case, which features a barkcloth mallet (*'ie'ie toa*) and a cape with leaf impressions (*'ahufara*) (PH2-14).

[PH2-15] The following protruding butterfly case presents mainly archaeological material found on various sites across Eastern Polynesia (see Figures 4.34 and 4.38). Two thirds of the case (left and right sides) dwell on the relationships between chiefs and commoners both in daily life and ceremonial practices. The right side, titled “Change Through Time”, echoes the reflection on Eastern Polynesian elites started in the in-wall cases. It discusses the development of a new war cult to the god ‘Oro and its direct impact on the material culture and the architecture of the region. The artefacts presented here – adzes, slingstones, fishing gears and a pounder – along with fieldwork photographs and historical engravings, show how the division between chiefs and commoners was increased in the Society Islands around 400 years ago. The remaining third of the case (front) explains how ancient Polynesians settled in Eastern Polynesia after leaving a “homeland in the Tonga-Sāmoa region” (see Figure 4.35; text Panel, PH2-15). The case lays out evidence of the first settlements of Eastern Polynesia, and characterises this progression as “rapid” (Text Panel, PH2-15). It aims to highlight both the similarities with the material found in the western part of the region (showcased in PH2-10) and to show the formation of specifically Eastern features. It encompasses artefacts from the so-called “Archaic Period”, which “share similar forms” (Text Panel, PH2-15). Here, adzes, fishing gear, pounders and knives, nurture the core of the exhibition message, and play the role of material evidence of the interactions and exchanges amongst Eastern Islanders. Along the balustrade, this message is supported by three “Pan-Eastern-Polynesian” rail cases, dedicated to ornaments, ritual sites and fishing respectively (PH2-R11 L & R, PH2-R12L; see Figures 4.36, 4.37, 4.38).

Although focusing on the connections between Eastern Polynesian islands, the first segment also lays the ground for a reflection on local styles later developing across Remote Oceania. This phenomenon is explored in the two subsequent and last segments of the mezzanine gallery, which focus on “Tattooing” and on “Marquesan Ornamentation” respectively (PH2-16, 17 and 18; see Figure 4.39) as well as “Chiefly

Cultures” and on the three apexes of the Polynesian triangle (Easter Island, New Zealand, and Hawai’i in PH2-19, 20, and 21; see Figure 4.41). At this stage, the background of the display cases becomes greener, which visually detaches them from the blue segments. The colour coding emphasises the process of cultural and stylistic diversification across Polynesia.

[PH2-16 & 17] The following in-wall case encountered by the visitor focuses on tattooing (PH2-16; see Figure 4.39). This practice is said to have “a long history in the Pacific Islands”, and is therefore approached as a Pan-Pacific theme, encompassing material from Polynesia (including Hawai’i) and Micronesia. However, the material selected for the case includes tattooing tools and artefacts engraved with tattoo motifs, which are *quasi* exclusively Marquesan. To a certain extent, this case and the following mark an articulation in the narrative, from a “Pan-Eastern-Polynesian” approach to a discourse focused on single Polynesian cultures. This discourse fully unfolds in the neighbouring in-wall case, which is exclusively dedicated to Marquesan ornaments. Here, a combination of engravings and artefacts aims to showcase “the highly embellished style [used by] Marquesan artists” (text panel, PH2-17).

[PH2-18] The establishment of a Marquesan culture is explored in the next protruding case, which essentially brings together archaeological material (see Figure 4.40). As such it validates once again a stronger separation between ethnographic and archaeological stories on this side of the mezzanine. One third (front) is dedicated to the settlement of the archipelago, which is explored through the display of ancient tools. The right side of the case, titled “Innovation and Change through Time”, pursues this exploration of early Marquesan material with a focus on the development of new modes of subsistence (cultivation and fishing). The left side of the case dwells on the later increase of a chiefly culture and its impact on the growth of ritual architecture and monumental tiki, during the Classical Period (600-300BP). All parts also emphasise how active the Bishop Museum’s archaeologists were in the Marquesas from the 1960s onwards. This active engagement is brought forth through a series of fieldwork photographs.

[PH2-19] The final segment of the mezzanine gallery features the cultures developing on each apex of the Polynesian triangle (see Figure 4.41). They are presented as “Chiefly Cultures” in the first in-wall case, each of them having “developed its own particular style of ornaments, using locally available materials that were worked by expert craftsmen” (Text Panel, PH2-19). The case pieces together ethnographic material from Easter Island, New Zealand and Kaua’i. Each island is characterised by one type of chiefly adornment – a *rei miro*/breastplate, two *hei tiki*/pendant, and a *lei niho palaoa*/necklace respectively – which is presented aside a historical engraving showing how it would have been worn. Atop the display case, a quote reads: “*Taonga (treasures) refers to all dimensions of a tribal group’s estate, material and non-material – heirlooms and wahi tapu (sacred places), ancestral lore and whakapapa (genealogies), etc.*” (Sir Hug Kawharu, Aotearoa, 1989). Headlining the display, the term *taonga*, which is a Māori term, seems to apply to all artefacts/treasures presented here. Like in the aforementioned display case on tattooing, the curatorial team plays on the fine line between a pan-Pacific approach and a culturally specialised discourse. As the visitor progresses towards the apex of the triangle and the exit of the exhibition, and notably towards Hawai’i and Hawaiian Hall, the exhibition discourse ultimately transforms from a connective to a specific approach.

[PH2-20 & 21] The neighbouring in-wall case is dedicated to “Rapa Nui/Easter Island” and “its unique cultural attributes” (Text Panel, PH2-20; see Figure 4.41). The island is described as the only one having developed a written language pre-contact. The case presents exclusively ethnographic material, including a rongorongo tablet, and a series of wooden images. This ethnographic presentation is paired with the subsequent protruding case (see Figure 4.42). The latter dwells on the “Settlement of Remote Eastern Polynesia”, where “Polynesians [...] had to adapt to new environments, necessitat[ing] changes in subsistence as well as material culture” (Text Panel, PH2-21, front). Each of the three sides of the case was attributed to one of the “far corners of the Polynesian Triangle” (Text Panel, PH2-21, front). The “Settlement of Rapa Nui” appears first on the right. The front and left sections respectively showcase the settlement of Aotearoa and of Hawai’i (see Figures 4.43 and 4.44). In all three parts, archaeological material is juxtaposed with ethnographic objects, which draws a stronger

link between the ancient and more recent history of these islands. The inclusion of ethnographic objects within a protruding case seeks to suggest the historical depth of these island cultures. This approach finds a direct echo in the neighbouring Hawaiian Hall.

[PH2-R12 & 13] Along the balustrade, the last three rail-cases draw the north-eastern borders of Oceania and play two key roles. Two of them, dedicated to “Early Hawaii” can be regarded as an introduction to Hawaiian Hall, which is directly accessible via a bridge across the atrium (see Figures 4.45 and 4.46). As mentioned above, the inclusion of Hawaiian archaeological material in *Pacific Hall* was regarded as necessary since the neighbouring *Hawaiian Hall* does not showcase the archaeology collection. The last case, titled “South American Contact”, terminates the history of Oceanic settlements with a question mark (see Figure 4.47). Emphasising the circulation of animals and plants, it brings forth the probability of human contact between the Pacific and South America. An *ipu*/gourd from Hawai‘i, is also showcased as a form possibly inherited from South American artefacts.

Level 1: a family amidst a Blue Continent

General structure. PH’s first floor encompasses 211 ethnographic and artistic pieces from the Cultural Collections/Resources Department (and one stuffed bird from Natural Science). Archaeological collections are not represented on level 1, despite the originally proposed layout made in March 2010. Ethnographic objects are presented as such through interpretative designs and enclosed in the display cases. Contemporary artworks are presented between these cases and hung on the gallery’s walls.⁴¹ As on the mezzanine level, the floor of level 1 is entirely covered with a dark blue carpet evoking the colour of the Ocean (see Figure 4.48). In the centre, a large wooden staircase leads to a large floor map made of marquetry (see Chapter 6). The gallery is composed of six double-sided wooden cases, matching the historical structure and look

⁴¹ The selection of artworks presented outside the cases was done towards the end of the renovation process. In 2013, it included: *Siapo Mamanu* by Mary Pritchard, 1970; *Poutokomanawa* (House pole) by Paratene Matchitt, 1985; *Canoe Launching* by Herb Kawainui Kane, 1976; *Classification* by Pax Jakupa, 2012; *Aurora* by Donna Campbell, 2009; *The Legend of Māui Netting Te Rā, The Sun* by Cody Hollis, 2013.

of the 19th century Polynesian Hall (see Chapter 2). In addition, level 1 encompasses a canoe case, two treasure cases designated for rotating displays (PH1-03 and PH1-07), and one resource centre presenting the games put together by the Education Team (see Figure 4.57). In each wooden case, the east side conveys a general message based on a Pacific theme, activity or value. The west side features a more specific example, applying the east-side-theme onto a specific cultural context. Each case was curated by one member of the Content Team, in conversation with Elizabeth Tatar, the Project Director. The realisation of some wooden cases was also privately financed. Unlike the curator's name, that of the benefactor is indicated in each case through a small panel.

Central displays and general exhibit message [PH1-02]. The canoe case covers the eastern extremity of the gallery and presents a series of canoe models from Oceania (see Figure 4.49). It is the first display case encountered by the visitor on level 1, and is paired with PH's wooden floor map (see Chapters 5 and 6). This case titled "Vaka, Waka, Va'a, Wa'a – Canoes of the Pacific" aims to show the variety of canoe types across Oceania. Linking models and full-size boats, a series of archival photographs, picturing Pacific canoes, are screened in the bottom right section of the display. Atop the case, a quote reads: "*The wa'a is perhaps the most potent of oceanic vessels for connection and linkage between people, place, and gods.*" (Tengan et al., 2010). This quote, paralleling the discourse of the case and of the broader exhibit, brings forth the role of the Ocean as a connector amongst Pacific Island cultures and peoples (see Chapter 5).

[PH1-E01 & N05] This message is clearly stated in the neighbouring multimedia and text panel, which play the role of an introduction to the first floor (see Figure 4.50). Both were given the title of the exhibition itself "Kau Moana – Peoples of the Ocean Deep". The text panel brings together several quotes from Pacific scholars and synthesises the exhibition message:

Living on a Sea of Islands, on the Blue Continent, bound by the vastness of the sea and sky, has given a special identity to the 13.8 million people who call Oceania home. The people of Oceania are diverse yet similar. Their cultures have been shaped by their

common origins and environments, their interactions and relationships, and by the sometimes cataclysmic changes wrought by an outside world. (Excerpt from the Introduction Text Panel, PH1-E01, *Pacific Hall*, 2013)

Going hand with hand with the introduction text, the neighbouring video presents the perspective of four Pacific scholars: Emil Wolfgramm (Tonga), Dr. M.L. Fata Simanu-Klutz (Sāmoa), Dr. Vilsoni Hereniko (Rotuma), and Dr. Manulani Aluli Meyer (Hawai'i).⁴² Successively sharing their thoughts about the Pacific as a family and the Ocean as a connector, they bring forth trans-Pacific relationships and also activate them through this multimedia collaboration. While an image of the Hōkūle'a appears on the screen, M.A. Meyer professes:

Our oceans teach us about our values, teach us about our knowledge systems, teach us about our history. But most of all, our oceans teach us about ourselves. We are rising, the Pacific is rising, Moananuiākea. (Introduction multimedia, PH, 2013)

[PH1-07] Along the western extremity of the gallery, a treasure case dedicated to Pacific textiles echoes the trans-Pacific approach followed in the canoe case and in the introduction multimedia (see Figure 4.57). Mirroring the canoe display, this treasure case also encompasses a specific type of material presented in all its diversity and was also developed according to a comparative structure. Currently showcasing “woven treasures from Polynesia and Micronesia” (Text Panel, PH1-07), the display is meant to rotate on a regular basis to limit the exposure of these artefacts to the light. Its format (long and shallow) designates it as a permanently textile-focused case, demonstrating the importance of this kind of material in the construction of trans-Pacific narratives (see Chapter 5). This display is also paired with a set of children’s costumes and a table with educational replicas, allowing the young public to play with Pacific patterns while looking at full-size artefacts.

⁴² Emil Wolfgramm is a Tongan scholar, orator and storyteller. Dr. M.L. Fata Simanu-Klutz is an Assistant Professor at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Dr. Vilsoni Hereniko is a Professor at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Dr. Manulani Aluli Meyer is an Assistant Professor in the He Waka Hiringa programme at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa New Zealand.

Northern section [PH1-03]. Back along the eastern wall, another treasure case is positioned beside the introduction multimedia. It was developed as a shrine for the BPBM's Tahitian mourning costume (*heva*) (see Figure 4.57). The latter was collected during Cook's second voyage (1772-1775) and is one of the five complete costumes of this kind ever collected. First held by Trinity College (Dublin) and then by the National Museum of Ireland, it was gifted to the Bishop Museum in 1971. Treated as a masterpiece in the former Polynesian Hall (1980-2011), where it was presented in the centre of the gallery, the costume remains a highlight of the newly renovated *Pacific Hall*. The display of this piece, which has benefited from conservation work, is distinctly aesthetic in contrast with the neighbouring cases. The background of this three-sided case is black, and free of text panels (relegated to the lower part), which reinforces the presence of this masterpiece and its visual qualities. Along the northern wall, three interpretative cases on the themes of "Gods and Ancestors", "Sea/Fishing" and "Land" follow the mourning costume.

[PH1-04] The first double-sided case along the northern part of level 1 is dedicated to gods and ancestors. It was curated primarily by Marques Hanalei Marzan, the BPBM Cultural Resources Specialist, in collaboration with Elizabeth Tatar and Roger Rose (E. Tatar, interview, 27/09/2013). The dominant colour of the case is grey. The approach followed in both parts intertwines the concepts of "gods" with that of "ancestors". Objects of worship referring alternatively to the supremacies of specific gods or to that of ancestral bodies are juxtaposed. On the east side, a Sawos gable figure, a Fijian *bure kalau*/spirit house and a Kanak *apouema*/ceremonial mask are combined with other significant pieces such as a *naan*/spirit canoe from the Carolines, a Marquesan genealogy cord, and an archival photograph representing grade figures in Malekula (see Figure 4.51). These free associations between the displayed artefacts purposefully avoid the classical distinctions between so-called Melanesian and Polynesian belief systems. Although each artefact is thoroughly labelled in the lower part of the case, the general text panels refer to concepts that are not always applicable to the whole display. For instance, a text titled "Mana and Tapu" and presented on the east side does not directly apply to artefacts from New Caledonia or Papua New Guinea. On the western side, Hawaiki is referred to as the birthplace of the pantheon, which is illustrated by several

god figures from New Zealand, Tahiti, the Marquesas, and Rapa Nui (see Figure 4.52). Throughout the case, several pieces address the impact of Christianity on local beliefs. Woven hats from the Gilbert Islands and from the Cook Islands, as well as chalices from the Sepik, showcase the devotion to “The One God” (Text Panel, PH1-04W).

[PH1-05] The next case was curated by Roger Rose, former Ethnology Curator at the Bishop Museum (PH1-05). Light blue is the dominant colour of this case dedicated to the theme “Of the Sea/Fishing”. The east side focuses mainly on line fishing, said to have occurred “nearly everywhere” in the Pacific (Text Panel, PH1-05E; see Figure 4.53). It sets side-by-side fishhooks, lines and lures from across the region, as well as photographs illustrating the use of these implements. The bigger pieces are mounted individually while smaller pieces are assembled on Plexiglas plates. Based on an interpretative display style, each hook is paired with a number referring to a label in the lower section of the case. The west side of the case dwells on “the distinctive, highly specialised and localised techniques” developed by the “fishermen of Oceania” (Text Panel, PH1-05W; Figure 4.54). It notably addresses the techniques of octopus catching, kite fishing and shark calling commonly used in the Solomon Islands, Santa Cruz, and “sporadically through Micronesia and Polynesia” (Text Panel, PH1-05W). Several pieces, such as shark floats, clubs and rattles materialise the practice of shark calling. Connecting this display with the previous case, a quote emphasises the status of the shark itself as a “*clan totem, a god and an ancestor*” (K. Luomala, 1948, in Text Panel, PH1-05W).

[PH1-06] For Roger Rose, the fishing case and the following display dedicated to “The Land” and presented on a green background were complementary (Roger Rose, interview, 17/09/2013). The east side presents tools manifesting various ways of “getting, processing, and consuming food” across the Pacific region (Text Panel, PH1-06E; Figure 4.55). The west side explores the practices of hunting, gathering and gardening in Papua New Guinea (PNG). Originally, the in-house designers envisioned using replicas of Pacific plants as illustrative documents for this case (Dave Kemble, interview, 10/09/2013). Never completed, these replicas were replaced by a large plate of drawings referencing Pacific food sources, which borrows characteristics from natural

science displays. Walking on the dark blue carpet, the visitor passes the Treasures Case dedicated to Pacific textiles and its adjacent Educational Resource Centre, also including games on food sources (see Figure 4.57). The thematic journey through the Pacific family continues across the southern section of the gallery. The latter develops around three themes: “People”, “Chiefs and Community” and “Of the Sea/Navigation”.

Southern section [PH1-09] The first case is dedicated to the “People”. It was curated by Noelle Kahanu. The display is based on a yellow colour palette. Originally envisioned as complementary to the following case about “Chiefs”, this theme addresses the notion of core values in island societies. These values are listed on the east side: “*concern for kin and land, generosity, hospitality, feasting, merrymaking, and reciprocity*” (V. Hereniko, quoted in PH1-09E; see Figure 4.58). A link between the importance of relationships and their materialisation/activation in the form of specific adornments is drawn here. These “treasured items” (Text Panel, PH1-09E) such as necklaces, headdresses, belts, combs etc., are presented as connectors, passed down through families. By investigating the ways in which specific treasures bind Pacific people, this case aims to move away from a strictly thematic display on Pacific adornments and to echo the broader exhibition discourse. The west side of the case applies this message to the context of Sāmoa and presents men’s and women’s ceremonial dresses (see Figure 4.59).

[PH1-10] The next double sided display is dedicated to “Community” on the east side and to “Chiefs and Leaders” on the west side (Figures 4.60 and 4.61). Curated by Betty Tatar, it develops on a red background, a colour often associated with Polynesian chiefly artefacts. The east part dwells on the concept of communal spaces by describing the house – *fale* in Samoan, *whare* in Māori or *hale* in Hawaiian – where people and families gather, and where rituals are carried out (text panel, PH1-10). It showcases a Māori carved post (*poupou*) and a couple of drums from the Marquesas and Tahiti beside an orator’s stool (*teket*) from the Sepik (Sawos). Next to these artefacts, a text panel details the role of the Samoan *fale* as a gathering space. Rather than interpreting the displayed artefacts, the general text provides the visitor with additional information, which is not systematically linked to the object selection. Text, photos and objects hold

a quasi-similar status in the depiction of the case's theme. This tacit rule – which can be observed across level 1, is also applied to the west part of the case dedicated to Pacific leaders. While presenting “chiefly symbols” from Gilbert Islands, Fiji, the Marquesas, Sāmoa, Aotearoa, the Cook Islands and Rapa Nui, on the text panels quotes mingle from Hau'ofa regarding the role of leaders in Polynesia with explanations about “the big man” of “Melanesia” (Text Panel, PH1-10). To a certain extent, the categories brought forth in the previous exhibition *Chiefs, Bigmen and Mariners* (1980-2011) continue to frame the display in *Pacific Hall*.

[PH1-11] The last double sided case of level 1, curated by Roger Rose, is dedicated to wayfinders and navigators. Matching the general colour coding, this ocean-focused case includes blue graphics and panels. The west side is dedicated to trading networks in Santa Cruz and presents artefacts circulating through these networks such as woven mats, baskets, adornments and other currencies (see Figure 4.63). The east part of the case is titled “Wayfinding from the Ancestors” (see Figure 4.62). Notably presenting stick charts, canoe models, navigation charms as well as a stuffed bird (fairy tern), this display explains the skills developed by Pacific navigators to cross their Ocean. It relates the story of Mau Piailug, described as a “beloved teacher” of navigational techniques, who guided the Hōkūle'a on her first trip to Tahiti in 1975 (text panel, PH1-11). A quote from Mau reads “*I have laid the stick that connects people together [...] before men separated us with their imaginary political boundaries of today's Polynesia and Micronesia*” (Piailug, 2005 in text panel, PH1-11). Embodying the interconnectedness of the Pacific Ocean, Mau is one of the prominent figures of *Pacific Hall*, alongside Te Rangi Hiroa honoured in the neighbouring introduction hall. Interestingly, beside this display case, a large text panel relates the story of the Polynesian god Maui, who is described as a “hero of the Pacific” (text panel PH1-S02; see Figure 4.48). This juxtaposition demonstrates how the *Pacific Hall's* discourse takes part in the construction of contemporary trans-Pacific mythologies. This case, referred to as “the wayfinding case” by the docents, is often used as an introduction to their tour of *Pacific Hall*, alongside the cross-Oceanic canoe case and the Pacific wooden floor map. Each of these displays constitute the apex of the galleries most popular triangle. From this case, visitors are also invited to enter Hawaiian Hall through the bridges built across the

atrium in 2007. On their way to HH, they can discover miniature models of the Hawai'ioloa and the Hōkūle'a, which connect the Pacific with Hawaii through modern cross-Oceanic endeavours.

Conclusion

The transformation of *Polynesian Hall* into *Pacific Hall* was nurtured by the will to connect Hawai'i with the broader Pacific. Integrating archaeological narratives and artefacts as well as trans-Pacific display elements and narratives, the Bishop Museum's Content Team constructed a representation of Oceania that sought to transcend the historical classification of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia structuring the former permanent display. Negotiated during a four-year period, this epistemological renewal went paradoxically hand in hand with a physical reinstatement of the original look of Polynesian Hall. While restoring the former display structure and expressing a certain nostalgia for the golden age of the museum in Brigham's time, the new exhibit aims to bring together the family of the Pacific. This family is depicted as bound by a shared Ocean generator of common values, practices and artefacts (see Chapter 5). Through the development of connective narratives, certain epistemologies primarily coming from so-called "Polynesia", have been applied to the entire display, demonstrating the complexity of showcasing diversity while preaching unity. The history of early western explorations and that of colonisation has been excluded from the storyline, emphasising an unbroken line between past and present (see Chapter 6). Despite the challenges faced by the teams to articulate these newly musealised epistemologies with the history of the hall and of the collection, *Pacific Hall's* opening was celebrated for its connective qualities, with the hope that it would better represent indigenous views of Oceania. By restoring the Hall, the BPBM therefore also aimed to position itself as an iconic institution of and for the 21st century Pacific.

4.2 – Renewing the Pacific Galleries, Auckland Museum (2010-present)

Approximately 7500 km away from the BPBM, the Auckland Museum (AM) is also being renovated to become an iconic Pacific institution. Although the AM's Pacific Galleries are still being developed [2016], the epistemological renewal began in 2010 with the announcement of a new Master Plan. This section firstly pieces together the process of constructing a connective museum on Pukekawa Hill. Secondly, it relates the ways in which Pacific displays, epistemologies and artefacts are envisioned as a driving force in the establishment of this connective museum model. In this context, the museum space and its staff are metaphorically affiliated with a canoe carrying a crew ship. As this section will demonstrate, this crew ship is currently transforming the discipline of Pacific museology by institutionalising trans-Pacific narratives and practices rather than focusing on local museological models.

4.2. A – Towards a Connective Museum

New Master Plan

In 1992 the Auckland Museum had begun its largest renovation since its opening on Pukekawa Hill in 1929. This renovation, led by Rodney Wilson, had ended with the opening of the Grand Atrium, which coincided with that of *Vaka Moana* in December 2006 (see Chapter 3). While being regarded as a major amelioration, the conversion of the courtyard into the Grand Atrium increased circulation issues within the museum building, and raised the question of the structural coherence between the front (original building) and the back of the building (1960 extension). The building itself also required constant maintenance and the newly redeveloped galleries, opened between 1999 and 2002, were already calling for renewal. In 2008-2009, a second phase of general redevelopment started being discussed. This set of projects preparing the museum's future – Welcome Project, Gallery Project, Exterior Lighting Project etc., were designated under the root term "Capital Projects Master Plan" (Annual report, AM, 2008/2009).

The 2009 conversations regarding the renewal emphasised the need to “refresh and update the museum for decades to come” (annual report, AM, 2009/2010: 13). This new comprehensive Master Plan included the revision of the physical structure of the museum as well as the transformation of all permanent galleries across the building, including the Pacific Galleries (*Pacific Masterpieces* and *Pacific Lifeways*). Under the directorship of Vanda Vitali (2007-2010), the AM sought to become “connected and inspirational for Aucklanders and to New Zealand as a whole” (annual report, AM, 2009/2010: 13). A cross-disciplinary Capital Project Team began to be constituted with the purpose of furthering an understanding of the visitor experience in relation to spatial navigation, practical needs, general programming and exhibitions. The team started to conduct consultation and surveys aiming to “re-tell the museum” (annual report, AM, 2009/2010: 23).

The “Waka Process”

Based on these investigations, the years 2010-2011 were dedicated to “detail[ing] imaginings” (annual report, AM, 2010/2011: 8). With Sir Don McKinnon as an Interim Director (2010), a Pre-Master Planning Information Gathering project was established in September 2010. This project was more commonly referred to as the “Waka Project” or “Waka Process” (“Canoe Process”; Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/08/2014). Running until September 2011, it can be defined as a series of institutional brainstorming workshops, divided into fourteen missions or waka/canoes, requiring the attention of the museum in the midst of the latest redevelopment.⁴³ The use of the term “waka”, “canoe” in Te Reo Māori, demonstrated the will to engage ostensibly with the Māori dimension/ He Kōrahi Māori described as “an ongoing and growing commitment to bi-cultural principles in a multi-cultural city”.⁴⁴ “Waka” can also be regarded as a reference to the dynamic encapsulated by *Vaka Moana*, which tied the exhibition to the history of

⁴³ Originally the annual report stated the existence of twelve waka but the final waka reports present fourteen themes (waka reports, AM digital archives, 2011).

⁴⁴ This Māori dimension/He Kōrahi Māori was developed by the Māori advisory committee/Taumata-ā-Iwi, established by the Auckland Museum Act in 1996. The function of the Māori committee is “to provide advice to the Auckland Museum Trust Board on the protocols of the museum, facilitating its relations with iwi throughout New Zealand and He Kōrahi Māori, the Māori dimension of the museum” (Annual report, AM, 2011/2012: 25).

the museum while bringing forth the role of canoes as connectors across the Pacific. To a certain extent, the *Vaka Moana* moment triggered the construction of a parallel between the museum space and a ship, both from the perspective of its physicality and its endeavour (see Chapter 5). This metaphor was further accentuated by the arrival of new Director Roy Clare in April 2011. Clare, who was a former Rear Admiral in the Royal Navy and the ex-Director of the National Maritime Museum of Greenwich (2000-2007), compared his role with that of the captain of a crew ship (Roy Clare, interview, 09/09/2014). In this context, the museum teams gathering in the cross-disciplinary waka meetings were like a large crew intending to build the museum-canoë of the future, a canoe that sought re-connection with Auckland, New Zealand and the broader Pacific.

These fourteen waka focused on: 1) Content, 2) Collection Impacts, 3) Circulation, 4) Space Usage, 5) Commercial, 6) Gallery Infrastructure, 7) Life Long Learning, 8) New Media, 9) Personality, 10) Short Term Programming, 11) Public Events, 12) War Memorial Events, 13) Conferences and 14) Enquiry Pathways. Each of these meetings resulted in the production of a report, the first of which – *Introduction* – defined and summed up this endeavour:

The information gathering exercise, known as “the waka process”, carried with it an open invitation to the entire museum community to contribute their experience, knowledge, ambitions and vision to directly contribute to the future shape of the museum. The stated intent was to create a picture of the future not weighed down by worries of the present and of the past, but answering the question “what will define Auckland Museum in 2020?” (Introduction, waka report, 2011: 1)

The *Introduction* also provided elements regarding the organisation of these “waka groups”, which took the shape of “internal workshops, hui [meetings], experiments, consultation, creative exercises, and external expertise” (Introduction, waka report, 2011: 1). While respecting the physical integrity of the building, described as “the largest object of the collection” (Introduction, waka report, 2011: 7), these meetings avoided thinking in terms of space and emphasised a trans-spatial approach based on

threads. Thus, the final reports did not provide the museum teams with a master plan but rather, bound the museum community on the basis of principles and ideas to develop in the future. One of these guiding principles defined Auckland as a Pacific capital: “Auckland [is] uniquely linked to and positioned in the South Pacific, geographically, genealogically, biologically, spiritually” (Introduction, waka report, 2011: 1). This statement connected the future museum not only with Aotearoa New Zealand but also with the broader Pacific region, a dimension that would keep expanding in the following years. Another “golden rule” was to construct the new museum as “visitor-centric” (Introduction, waka report, 2011: 5). While targeting a wide and diverse range of audiences, the museum envisioned deepening its engagement with “Māori communities”, “Pacific communities”, and the “Chinese community” (Introduction, waka report, 2011: 3). Developing stronger links with these communities further strengthened the position of the Auckland Museum as an institution in Oceania, and for Oceania.

Engaging with communities was not the only reference made to Oceania in the reports. Beyond the targeted public, the method employed to construct new narratives across the permanent galleries of the museum was based on an Oceanic metaphor. Synthesising the outcome of the Content Waka, the report described this thinking as follows:

Think of stories like islands. Groupings like archipelagos. Themes like currents and winds. Visitors like navigators. (Introduction, waka report, 2011: 9)

The “island” concept can be understood literally – referring to stories of isolation of the Pacific, of voyages and exchanges between remote landmasses – but also as a metaphor for organising the Museum’s content. Thinking of the Museum’s stories as islands [...] recognises the autonomy of individual stories as well as the value and meaning inherent in each one. (Content, waka report, 2011: 23)

Based on this metaphor, which supported that of the museum as a ship, the Content Waka proposed to break the current thematic structure of the museum. The conveners

came to the conclusion that each of the AM's three floors should no longer be affiliated with a rigid storyline showcased through a set of individual galleries. Instead, they envisioned the future display space as populated by cross-disciplinary stories expanding across the building and interconnected by a series of threads (Introduction, waka report, 2011: 13). These threads would become trails for the visitor, whose visit would be supported by "navigational tools" (Content, waka report, 2011: 21). These tools would allow the visitors-navigators to "plot their course" and "unlock the museum" (Content, waka report, 2011: 21).

Searching for new pathways for this renewed learning experience, the Content Waka based its reflections regarding the future story-oriented structure on an artefact from the Pacific collections. A stick chart (type rebbelib), from the Marshall Islands presented in *Pacific Lifeways* was described as an "ideal analogy" (Content, waka report, 2011: 23; see fig 4.64).⁴⁵ This type of artefact had already been used as a source of inspiration for the "stick chart treasure hunts" organised during *Vaka Moana* (see Chapter 3). What was then called the "stick chart framework" was described in these terms:

[It] offers a way of thinking about the museum's content as a balance of islands (individual stories that provide experiences in their own right, whole and complete) and currents (linkages between areas of content; not tied to a particular area, but rather translated into tools that visitors take with them as they travel through the museum). (Content, waka report, 2011: 23)

This analogy between the new museum structure and a Pacific artefact was intertwined and reinforced by a reference to the Māori concept of whakapapa/genealogy.

In the Māori world-view, all things are related. This interconnectedness between people, the natural environment, inanimate objects, and materials is whakapapa. The interconnectedness represented by 'whakapapa' is non-linear, holistic, and cross-disciplinary. (Content, waka report, 2011: 23)

⁴⁵ Artefact number: 1998.13.17.

The concept of whakapapa aimed to inform the visitor experience, while populating the future museum with the Māori Dimension/ He Kōrahi Māori. All in all, the Content Waka sought to gather the content around the concept of connections, regarded as physical, geographical, spiritual, genealogical and metaphorical (Content, waka report, 2011: 22). In this manner, the waka process itself was regarded as a model for the learning and sharing experience envisioned for the AM 2020. The reports concluded that, like the future museum, the “waka thinking create[d] connections between knowledge, each other and communities” (Content, waka report, 2011: 21). These reflections marked the termination of the single-gallery structure envisioned by the first Director of the museum, Frederic Cheeseman, in the late 19th century (see Chapter 2). It also constituted a first step in reconnecting various museum geographies and epistemologies. The organisation of the waka meetings and the completion of the affiliated reports allowed the museum to enter the next phase of the renovation.

The “Future Museum”

The following year, in 2012, the annual report referred to the Pacific as “Te Moananui-a-Kiwa” for the first time in the history of this document (annual report, AM, 2011/2012: 9). The report also announced the publication of the first online official foundation for the AM’s Master Plan in the shape of a document titled “Future Museum”. Bringing together the conclusion of the waka process and that of a series of foundation reports, this strategic document laid down the museum’s vision for the next 20-years and emphasised a certain number of principles and values. The team in charge of the Capital Projects Master Plan was also progressively established. Answering the Director Roy Clare’s motto “nothing will be done to us, it will be done by us”⁴⁶, the team was led by Sally Manuireva (Director Public Programmes and Capital Projects), main author of Future Museum (Sally Manuireva, interview, 08/08/2014). Supported by Sharon Lipsey (Executive Administrator), she was also seconded by an Executive Team composed of Tim Dowson (Head of Master Plan Delivery), Rachel Davies (Head of Content and Interpretation) and John Glen (Head of Building and Infrastructure). The

⁴⁶ Roy Clare is said to have employed this motto since his arrival at the museum in 2011. He repeated this statement to describe the renewal process during an interview on 09/09/2014.

Heads of Projects were themselves supervising a crew of managers including Amber Ah Mu (Project Management Coordinator Master Plan), Hanka Sonnekus (Project Management Coordinator Content), Penny Wilson (Project Manager Content), Tanya Wilkinson (Project Manager Pacific Content), Nicola Railton (Project Manager Māori Content) and Katie Kennedy (Project Manager Auckland Stories). Finally, the curators Chanel Clarke (Curator Māori), Fulimalo Pereira (Curator Pacific), and Fin McCahon-Jones (Curator Auckland Stories) nurtured the development of the future content through mediation and with the support of the managers (Tanya Wilkinson, interview, 10/07/2014).

The museum proposed six strategic goals: 1) achieve the museum's vision,⁴⁷ 2) open up the collection, 3) reach more people, 4) fulfil the building's potential, 5) inspire its audience, and 6) make it sustainable (Future Museum, 2012: 3). It sought to develop a strong presence onsite, offsite and online by increasing collection access in those various spheres. This would notably be achieved by renewing its permanent galleries and by bringing a larger number of objects on display (onsite). The museum would also increase its collection in certain areas and deepen collection care for all artefacts. All aspects of the Master Plan would be rooted in the AM's bicultural foundation, encapsulated by the He Kōrahi Māori, and guided by the principles of 1) mana whenua/authority over the land, which aimed to nurture relationships with iwi and with "Pacific communities through the unique whakapapa between people, landscapes and collections" (Future Museum, 2012: 11), 2) kaitiakitanga/guardianship, which recognised the link between the iwi and the taonga through their whakapapa/genealogy, and 3) manaakitanga/hospitality, which would lead to welcoming the visitors with care and generosity (Future Museum, 2012: 11). With this Master Plan, He Kōrahi Māori became more than a dimension applicable to Māori collections, galleries, visitors and staff members. It was transformed into a holistic approach, woven in the structure of the entire museum and its principal functions.

⁴⁷ This vision is defined as "work from a solid bicultural foundation, observing the principles of He Kōrahi Māori, and honours our role as a war memorial" (Future Museum, 2012: 11).

In this context, following the “waka thinking”, He Kōrahi Māori would also be employed as a means to generate relationships within the museum and beyond. The museum’s mission was redefined and focused on “connecting through sharing stories of peoples, land and seas” (Future Museum, 2012: 10). “Serv[ing] the people that the collections are for” (Future Museum, 2012: 4), the museum would construct links between people, people and collections, extend its networks by strengthening ties with external organisations and groups and by engaging with the broader city (Future Museum, 2012: 10). By doing so, it would “contribute to the shaping of Auckland as a city of the Pacific, and as a home to Pacific Island, European, Asian and many other people” (Future Museum, 2012: 7). This renewal being a part of the broader development plan for Auckland/Tamaki Makaurau as a “Super City” of Pacific (Future Museum, 2012: 3), the museum announced the future elaboration of a Pacific Dimension, tied to, yet separated from, the Māori Dimension (Sally Manuireva, interview, 08/08/2014; see Figure 4.65).

This Pacific Dimension would trigger an “understanding of the context of historical and contemporary Auckland through its relationship with the Pacific and Pacific people: sea, journeys, settlement, [and] contemporary diversity” (Future Museum, 2012: 12). The stories and threads brought forth throughout the new museum display would incorporate this Pacific Dimension by raising the following overarching questions: “who are we? (people), where are we? (land), where did we come from? (seas, journeys), and what is happening now? (current issues)” (Future Museum, 2012: 19). These questions echoed the first layouts of *Vaka Moana*, as well as the structure of the exhibition *Across Oceans and Time* at the KMFA. The themes of “settlement”, “people”, “land”, “sea” and “journeys” also paralleled those developed in *Pacific Hall*, at the BPBM. While not being described as directly inspired by these exhibitions, it can be argued that the reflections towards the future display were part of a trans-Pacific connecting trend observed across all six case studies. The approach developed in the Waka Project and presented in Future Museum laid the ground for the construction of a connective culture of display, rooted in Māori and Pacific values, regarded as entangled through their whakapapa/genealogy (see Chapter 5).

4.2. B – Pacific Dimension and Future Pacific Displays

Both the Waka Process and Future Museum created the will to construct a connective museum. This vision effectively deconstructed the idea of thematic displays, and challenged the structure of a museum composed of individual galleries. As a consequence, both Māori and Pacific values would spread across the entire museum and the future Māori and Pacific galleries would become further entangled, firstly with each other and secondly with other galleries such as that of natural or war history. By blurring the lines between these units, the AM was not only transforming the cartography of its own space but was also stimulating new perceptions of the Pacific geography (see chapter 6). It softened the distinctions between local (Māori) and regional Pacific, established in the 19th century and already challenged by *Vaka Moana* and *Le Folauga* (see Chapters 2 and 3).

The Pacific Dimension: Teu le Vā – Nurture the Relationship

In September 2013, the Auckland Museum unveiled for the first time in its 162-year history (seventeen years after He Kōrahi Māori), a founding document for a Pacific Dimension, *Teu le Vā – Nurture the Relationship* (see Figure 4.66). This title, in Sāmoan language, was inspired by the philosophy developed by the Sāmoan author Albert Wendt, the work of whom had already impacted the renovation of *Pacific Hall* at the Bishop Museum (see section 4.1).⁴⁸ Wendt described the core meaning of this document in the following terms:

“Teu” means to tidy and to keep the relationships tidy, orderly, and in accordance with expected convention of behaviour. “Vā”, if you just take it literally is “space”, or “gap”. But it means your relationship to other people, to your society, to the environment, and everything else. It's not empty space, its relationship which holds everything together. (Albert Wendt, *Teu le Vā* documentary by Janet Lilo, AM website, 26/02/2014)

⁴⁸ The principle of reciprocity supporting the concept of “teu le vā” is also discussed in an article by the New Zealand-born Sāmoan scholar Melani Anoe in Tengan et al., 2010: 222-240. However, no direct link between this paper and the AM's Pacific Dimension was established by the museum staff during the field research in 2014.

In an essay first published in 1996, Wendt had already brought forth the concept of “Va”, which he then defined as such:

Va is the space between, the betweenness, not empty space, not space that separates, but space that relates, that holds separate entities and things together in the Unity-that-is-All, the space that is context, giving meaning to things. The meanings change as the contexts [/relationships] change. (Wendt, 1999: 402)

In the context of the museum, nurturing the *vā* – the ties that bind people to each other, people to spaces, people to things – was precisely about transforming meanings, that of the collections as well of that of the future displays. Further, highlighting this concept in the newly born Pacific Dimension was also regarded as a means of constructing meaningfulness for the museum as a whole, and to position the institution within a Super City of the Pacific. The latter was described as a “sacred space” or “*vasa*”, a space that connects, a shared space (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 6).

To a certain extent, the Pacific Ocean – also referred to as *Moana-nui-a-Kiwa* – was envisioned as an incubator of past, present and future relationships, which the museum sought to engage with, stimulate and capture. *Teu le Vā* became the guiding document enabling the museum to do so. Dwelling on the dynamic triggered by *Vaka Moana*, it was also associated with the tools used by Pacific navigators:

Teu le Vā is a guiding principle. What the ancient navigators used in the past to settle, to move from one island to another. They would have used the stars, the waves, the birds in order to navigate. So that is what I see *Teu le vā* as - it is a document to navigate us from the past to the present and into the future. (Ma’ara Maeva, *Teu le Vā* documentary by Janet Lilo, AM website, 26/02/2014)

Binding Aotearoa New Zealand with the Pacific, this navigational tool sought to empower Pacific source communities. Firstly it aimed to “divest [the museum] of colonial views and interpretations of taonga and treasures” (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 12). As at the Bishop Museum, the term “taonga” is employed here for artefacts from Aotearoa

and the rest of Oceania. The Pacific Dimension recognised and emphasised the value of indigenous worldviews and knowledge. Secondly it strengthened the intent to engage in a direct manner with Pacific communities, “by inviting them into a partnership in caring for the collections” (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 11; Fulimalo Pereira, *Teu le Vā* documentary, AM website, 26/02/2014). While keeping an open mind as to which communities to empower, the document emphasised New Zealand’s large “Polynesian populations”, “young, diverse and increasing” (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 8). The communities named in this report were however not all “Polynesian”. Groups of Samoan, Cook Islands, Tongan, Niuean, Fijian, Tokelauan, Tuvalu, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu and Solomon Islands heritage were listed in *Teu le Vā* (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs quoted in *Teu le Vā*, 2013: 8). Paradoxically, although it valued this diversity, the Pacific Dimension remained driven by central Polynesian connective concepts which, to a certain extent, merged the meaning of “Pacific” with that of “Polynesia” in the founding document, an association that would keep growing in the following years. By decolonising perceptions of the Pacific, the museum was indeed peopling spaces and epistemologies with concepts that were not from the West but that were no less ethnocentric (see Chapter 6). Yet these concepts paralleled the demographics of the Auckland region and of Aotearoa New Zealand (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/08/2014). Therefore the Pacific Dimension went hand in hand with the need to transform the museum as a place where cultural identity could be expressed and constructed.

Teu le Vā, and the values for which it was the vessel, would be woven through the various museum functions and areas of expertise: collections, public programmes, trainings and exhibitions (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 14-17). The latter, understood as both short-term (special exhibitions) and long-term (permanent galleries), would present Pacific perspectives, incorporate Pacific values and languages, and would tell stories about and for Pacific peoples (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 15). The museum teams would engage with communities as early as possible in the exhibiting process in order to collect and feed the display with “the stories of Pacific people in the Auckland region” (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 15). The permanent display would present a living culture, deriving from existing collections but pieced together through new connections. In order to channel these Auckland Pacific stories, the AM would reach out to Pacific communities, groups and

collectives through a Pacific Advisory Group (PAG), the museum's "first point of contact" (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 15). The establishment of the PAG directly followed the publication of *Teu le Vā*.⁴⁹

A Pacific Advisory Group (PAG)

In October 2013, the museum approached twenty people of "Pacific heritage", involved in a wide range of activities in the Auckland region (community leaders, academics, educators, artists, performers, business and media stakeholders, etc.) (Marilyn Kohlhase, interview, 21/08/2014). The main selection criteria was "skill focused", balanced by geographic, ethnic, gender, age and knowledge-type factors, which aimed to encapsulate the diversity of Auckland's Pacific population (PAG Terms of Reference, 10/2013: 2). Further, the members were not expected to be experts in Pacific collections, practices and protocols, but had to show a capacity to "draw on this expertise through their networks" (PAG Terms of Reference, 10/2013: 2). The mission of the future members was described as follows:

The PAG will help guide and inform Museum staff and management, acting as a source of knowledge and information, and assist the Museum to create strong links into Pacific networks and communities with the aim being to have high levels of meaningful engagement with collections, exhibitions and programmes by Pacific people, as well as reflecting a strong *Pacific Dimension* back to national and international visitors to the Museum. (PAG Terms of Reference, 10/2013: 1)

Interviewed by the Director Roy Clare and Tanya Wilkinson (Manager), eight members were retained on a yearly contract (Marilyn Kohlhase, interview, 21/08/2014). Marilyn Kohlhase (of Sāmoan heritage) was appointed Chairperson. Marilyn is notably a freelance curator and board member of Creative New Zealand. Tigilau Ness (of Niuean heritage) was given the role of Deputy Chairperson. Tigilau is an activist and reggae

⁴⁹ Although the annual report 2013/2014 suggested that the PAG was involved in the development of *Teu le Vā*, the document was not discussed with the PAG members who were not yet involved in the renewal (Marilyn Kohlhase, interview, 21/08/2014). As the document was requested with a tight time frame, it was authored by internal staff members, including the Pacific Curator Fulimalo and the Manager Tanya Wilkinson (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/08/2014; *Teu le Vā*, 2013: 21).

artist performing with the band *Pacific Unity*. The other committee members included: Linda Aumua (Fiji; Director of Unitec's Centre for Learning Teaching and Research), Mele Nemaia (Niue; teacher), Richard Pamatatau (Cook Islands; Programme Leader at Auckland University of Technology), Amiria Pua-Taylor (Cook Islands, Tahiti, Sāmoa; Founder of the art collective Painting for the People), Melanie Rand (Hawaiian, Fiji; Co-founder of Ecostore), Dr Damon Salesa (Sāmoa; Professor at the Centre for Pacific Studies at the Auckland University) (PAG biographies, internal document, 28/07/2014: 1-3).⁵⁰ Upon their appointment, the members received a letter from the Director, who greeted them in nine Pacific languages and welcomed them as a part of the "museum family" (establishment letter, personal communication, Marilyn Kohlhase, 21/10/2013). Their inclusion in this family was celebrated in February 2014 by a powhiri/welcome ceremony, during which the link between the PAG and the Māori Advisory Committee/Taumata-ā-Iwi was celebrated. An exchange of gifts, a carved conch, Hawaiki-Pu-Mamo, and a contemporary tanoa (Sāmoan kava bowl), materialised and sealed this link. Bringing this museum connection to light was also regarded as an occasion to "renew the ancient ties of Hawaiki and Te Moana-ā-Kiwa" (annual report, AM, 2013/2014: 23)⁵¹, and with it, to reinforce the bonds between the Pacific and Aotearoa. Here again, present connections became a re-enactment of past relationships, explored notably in *Vaka Moana* (Christophe, 2015b; see Chapter 5).

Future space and Pacific displays

At this stage of the renovation process [2016], the AM has not yet produced the final layouts for its new display in general, and for its Pacific displays in particular. However, the aforementioned conversations undertaken during the Waka Process and the elaboration of Future Museum and *Teu le Vā*, provided elements for the future Pacific Galleries. These elements are enriched by interviews and information coming from a certain number of draft documents that are pieced together in this section and treated

⁵⁰ The geographical affiliations of each PAG member figures as such on their biographies compiled by Tanya Wilkinson and published on the museum website in March 2014.

⁵¹ The annual report 2013/2014 employed the term of *vā* for the first time, in the context of the presentation of the PAG's mission (annual report, AM, 2013/2014: 23).

with care. The reader should also be aware that these elements are currently being discussed in Auckland and are therefore subject to future changes.⁵²

At this stage of the renewal, the architects and gallery designers have been chosen. The local company Jasmax and the Australian group Francis-Jones Morehen Thorp (FJMT) were hired to rethink and consolidate the internal and external architecture of the AM. In February 2014, they were asked to reflect upon the position of the museum within the city, and on that of the city within the Pacific. Throughout their structure plan, the architects seek to create a visual connection between the museum, the harbour and Rangitoto Island in the Auckland bay. Emphasising this axis seeks to trigger awareness regarding the omnipresence of “a shared Ocean”, the Pacific Ocean (Tim Dowson, interview, 20/08/2014). These two architectural companies are collaborating with a third Auckland-based firm, designTRIBE, which specialises in the elaboration of spaces that are adapted to Māori protocols and embody Māori worldviews. In the context of the AM renovation, Rau Hoskins, Director of designTRIBE, ensures that the Māori and Pacific dimensions are represented throughout the museum space (Rau Hoskins, interview, 04/09/2014). In other words, Rau and his teams were commissioned to transcribe the future application of the tikanga/custom and the kaua/protocol Māori into the architecture. Developing spaces for powhiri/welcoming ceremonies, hui/meetings and collection care, Rau attempts to construct designs that remain inclusive of Pacific practices. In particular, he focuses his attention on how both Māori and Pacific protocols can meet and merge through the space, and how the space can facilitate this fusion/conversation (Rau Hoskins, interview, 04/09/2014). Several of these protocol-oriented spaces could be developed in the southern part of the museum, notably in the Grand Atrium area, where *Vaka Moana* was presented in 2006-2007 (see Chapter 3). Positioned as such they could be articulated with joined Māori and Pacific exhibitions presented in the aforementioned suspended kava-bowl-structure (see Chapter 3). The latter could thus become a connective display space throughout all three levels.

⁵² The deadline for the completion of the future Pacific Galleries was recently changed from “very near future” to 2024 (Fulimalo Pereira, personal communication, 21/04/2016).

Like at the Bishop Museum, the designers Ralph Appelbaum and Associates (RAA) were selected to construct narratives throughout the entire museum. Similar to the Bishop Museum, RAA was notably chosen firstly because of their key role in the development of the Arctic Studies Center (Anchorage, Alaska). Secondly, the AM teams valued their experience in projects that triggered reflections on bicultural identities through interpretative displays, such as their participation in the design of Te Papa Tongarewa (Sally Manuireva, interview, 08/08/2014). Contracted to undertake Phase One of the galleries redevelopment, RAA focuses on the general threads rather than on the design of micro galleries, which in the future could be delegated to local firms and creative New Zealand-based stakeholders (Sally Manuireva, interview, 08/08/2014). In 2014, the designers Phil Hughes and Philip Tefft (RAA's London office) as well the content developer Paul Williams (New York office) were designated by RAA to lead this project. In the New York office, Paul Williams was in contact with Melanie Ide, in charge of the Bishop Museum renovations (Paul Williams, interview, 01/08/2014). In early 2014, the RAA teams were invited to Auckland for a first visit during which they reviewed the museum, and discovered Auckland and its surroundings. They were taken to several of the city's hills (former Māori pā/villages) such as Mount Eden. They also went on a trip to Rangitoto Island to get a sense of the perspective that was being developed by the architects. During these visits, they received a thorough training from the museum staff. The Pacific and Māori curators, Fulimalo Pereira and Chanel Clarke, briefed them regarding the indigenous history of the region and taught them the importance of acknowledging the tangata whenua/people of the land (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 25/07/2014).

Following this trip, RAA sent a first design brief which missed both the Māori and the Pacific dimension (Elisabeth Cotton, interview, 05/09/2014). The documents were reviewed by the Executive Team and sent back to be modified (Rachel Davies, interview, 13/08/2014). RAA came back to New Zealand a second time after this follow up, and produced a first spatial plan for the whole building in July 2014 (Tanya Wilkinson, interview, 10/07/2014). This plan was discussed during a third visit at the end of July 2014, which encompassed several meetings and workshops (Paul Williams, interview, 01/08/2014). The new layouts, focusing on broader threads, presented several options

as to the future museum's storyline. One of these options was to address one question per floor: "Who are we" on the ground floor, "How we came to be" on level one, "How we remember" on level two, "Where we are going" on level three (south wing). These questions directly echoed those brought forth in Future Museum and in the original layouts of *Vaka Moana* (Future Museum, 2012: 19).⁵³ In this context, Pacific and Māori collections, stories and perspectives would be presented across all four levels, at the front and the back of the building. Further, the presence and development of Pacific collections and narratives across the museum is currently being discussed with the members of the PAG, who review strategic documents, and take part in the redevelopment.

Despite this stickchart-like structure (see Waka Process), the ground floor – Who are we – would remain the centre of the conversation on cultural identities. It would conserve, yet smoothen, the separation into galleries, which was forced onto the designers by the historical structure of the building, a phenomenon also observed at the Bishop Museum (see section 4.1 and Chapter 6). Additionally it could include a large section transformed into a visible storage. The efficiency of a displayed store is currently tested at the AM through the pilot project Te Awe, opened behind the Māori court in 2013 and described as "a window into our taonga Māori collection" (AM website, 10/12/2013; Chanel Clarke, interview, 11/09/2014). The history of Pacific migrations and Māori settlements could possibly be presented on level one (How we came to be), while that of colonisation and war could be explored on level two (How we remember). Acknowledged through the building, contemporary dynamics could find an anchor point on level 4 (Where we are going), a space that also offers a view of the broader city, the bay, and the Pacific Ocean.

In 2014, the conversations between the designers and the teams reinforced the will to further blur the line between Māori and Pacific galleries, a dimension already stated in the various founding documents including *Teu le Vā*. Though connected via the

⁵³ In Future Museum, they were formulated as such: "who are we (people), where are we (land), where did we come from (seas, journeys), and what is happening now (current issues)" (Future Museum, 2012: 19)

museum's narrative, the AM could still maintain one or several specifically Pacific or uniquely Māori galleries, following in this regard the approach adopted at the Bishop Museum in 2006-2013. In this context, one of the issues discussed by the Māori and Pacific curators, Chanel Clarke and Fulimalo Pereira, was the internal structure of these individual galleries (Chanel Clarke, interview, 11/09/2014). Should they emphasise a thematic approach, a story-based structure or a geographical layout? In this regard, a survey conducted throughout the museum by Morris Hargreaves McIntyre in January 2013 suggested that Pacific and Māori visitors clearly favoured a geographical organisation. The latter seem to facilitate the process of self-identification with the artefacts (Gallery Testing Phase 1, 19/02/2013).

The portion of this survey shared by the Auckland teams presented two case studies – *Pacific Masterpieces* and *Pacific Lifeways* – which follow an opposite (yet complementary) approach. Therefore, this survey brings forth two different types of visitor experience, which reveal the complexity of constructing trans-Pacific narratives. The first gallery (*Pacific Masterpieces*) currently [2016] presents artefacts by object type (headrests, wooden bowls, masks etc.) and emphasises the aesthetic quality of these treasures. The second (*Pacific Lifeways*), is envisioned as more properly ethnographic (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/08/2014). It is divided between thematic alcoves on one side (food, music, dance etc.), and geographical displays on the other side. The geographical alcoves showcase the most demographically prominent groups of Pacific Islanders living in New Zealand (Tonga, Sāmoa, Kiribati, Niue and the Polynesian outliers, the Cook Islands and Papua New Guinea).

The visitors surveyed in 2013 spent an average time of 2 min 52 seconds in *Pacific Masterpieces* (Gallery Testing Phase 1, 19/02/2013: 19). They mostly deplored the darkness of the room and the lack of interpretative content. Pacific Island visitors (distinguished in the study) specifically requested detailed information. Further they declared being confused by the thematic layout and suggested to “group [objects] by location/origin rather than by type” which would give “a better picture of carving styles” for instance (Gallery Testing Phase 1, 19/02/2013: 23). Contrasting with the “dwelling time” in this gallery, the visitors spent twice as much time in *Pacific Lifeways*. The Pacific

visitors were unhappy about the small quantity of contemporary material on display but praised the organisation by island groups. Surprisingly, the report stated that these physical separations allowed them to draw connections between the displayed material and between island cultures themselves (Gallery Testing Phase 1, 19/02/2013: 37). This survey demonstrates that at the AM, as in other research case studies, the development of trans-Pacific narratives is not, in theory, opposed to fixed geographical categories. In practice however, a decision has to be made as to how far trans-Pacific connections can frame the display, whether these are encapsulated in the broader narrative (at the AM), or materialised in the exhibition space (at the Bishop Museum). In the context of the AM – which seeks to be visitor-centric and to become more meaningful for Pacific visitors – the declarations of Pacific Island visitors oriented the AM teams towards the possibility of organising the galleries geographically. Paradoxically, this approach could re-establish historical boundaries challenged by *Teu le Vā* (see Chapter 6). The same approach seems to prevail for the Māori gallery, which could be reorganised by iwi/tribe, as it was in the 1980s, in order to facilitate the relationships between individual Māori communities and their taonga (Chanel Clarke, interview, 11/09/2014).

While the survey conducted in 2013 suggested that Pacific galleries should favour a geographical structure, it also informed the curators regarding which geographies or island groups to highlight in the future exhibition. When asked what was envisioned as the priority of *Pacific Masterpieces*, a Sāmoan visitor declared “I reckon it was mainly aimed at the Melanesians” (Gallery Testing Phase 1, 19/02/2013: 26). When asked what they would prefer to see on display, “Pacific island visitors want more Polynesian content” (Gallery Testing Phase 1, 19/02/2013: 27). The use here of the term “Pacific island visitors” interestingly only refers here to Sāmoan, Niuean and Cook Island visitors (Gallery Testing Phase 1, 19/02/2013: 13-28). As witnessed in *Teu le Vā* and in the composition of the PAG, at the AM the term “Pacific” is often merged or affiliated with that of “Polynesia”, an association that is directly related to Auckland’s demographics (see Chapters 5 and 6). In 2014, Fulimalo P. (Curator Pacific) explained that the collections from islands such as New Guinea were larger than those from Polynesian islands. In this context, the visitor-centric approach followed by the teams contrasted

with the history of the collections and therefore with the former foci and trajectory of the museum. While attempting to keep these non-Polynesian collections in the loop, Fulimalo brought forth the need to increase Polynesian collections and to facilitate their access in order to make the museum more relevant for the communities living in Auckland. Following this intent, the Pacific Collection Access Project was launched in 2016 (Fulimalo Pereira, personal communication, 21/04/2016). This project seeks to engage with Pacific communities in order to channel renewed interpretations of the collections. These interpretations may feed the gallery renewal (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 15). From 2016 to 2019, the project will focus on the Cook Islands, Easter Islands, Fiji, French Polynesia, Hawai'i, Kiribati, Niue, the Pitcairn Islands, Sāmoa, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Wallis and Futuna. Starting with the smallest collections, it is supposed to move to other parts of the Pacific after 2019.⁵⁴

Despite this strong so called “Polynesian” and “Micronesian” focus in terms of collection access and museum values, the content areas put together by the renovation team for the future galleries so far addresses most Pacific regions. These stories also cover past and contemporary dynamics. The main themes corresponding to various displays across the museum were designated as “Origins”, “Exploration and Settlement”, “Early Adaptation”, “Cultural Expressions throughout the Pacific”, “Contact Period 17th/18th Century”, “19th Century”, “20th Century and the Link to New Zealand”, “Social, Political and Commercial Links Between New Zealand and the Pacific”, “New Zealand Contemporary Pacific Culture” and “Conflict in the Pacific” (Proposed Key Pacific Content Areas, 23/05/2013). The stories covered by these broader themes show awareness of the Pacific as a whole as well as a strong emphasis on the link between Aotearoa New Zealand and the rest of Oceania. It also reveals the inclusion of the idea of conflicts, contemporary dynamics and the establishment of diasporic Pacific cultures in Aotearoa. These aspects had been discussed by the BPBM’s team but had not really materialised in the final hall “due to the lack of space” (DeSoto Brown, interview, 16/09/2013). The potential general structure of the future museum “Who are we”,

⁵⁴ The progress of the Pacific Collection Access Project can be followed online: <http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/collections-research/research/research-projects/pacific-collection-access-project/about-the-project>

“How we came to be”, “How we remember” and “Where we are going” associated to some of these themes also mirrors the development of *Vaka Moana* in 2006.

Conclusion

The analytical description of the newly restored *Pacific Hall* and of the future renovation of the Pacific Galleries demonstrated the existence of correlations between the exercises undertaken in Honolulu and in Auckland. Firstly, it showed how permanent displays tended to musealise the categories and narratives developed through former exhibitions, even when these sought to be challenged in their form and content. Secondly, it showed that both the BPBM and the AM attempted to reconnect the local Pacific cultures (Hawaiian in Hawai‘i and Māori in Aotearoa) with cultures from the rest of the Pacific and to position themselves as institutions of, and for, the Pacific. As both museums are located in so-called Polynesia, the construction of trans-Pacific narratives came hand in hand with stronger foci on the Ocean, and the practice of navigation (see Chapters 5 and 6). As a consequence, certain parts of the Pacific where the Ocean is not regarded as central (such as the Highlands of PNG for instance) were left aside or their dedicated space was narrowed down. To the contrary, new regions – such as Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait – were integrated in these new narratives. This can be explained by the fact that, in both museums, archaeological understanding of the Pacific region replaced the racial divides of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia, even though the two last appellations were still being employed. At the Bishop Museum, like at the KMFA, this resulted in the progressive construction of a new region sometimes referred to as Austronesia. Unlike at the KMFA however, this region was not presented as such in the BPBM’s or the AM’s trans-Pacific displays. Yet these articulations also confirmed the approach followed in the temporary exhibitions presented in Chapter 3, which directly and indirectly influenced the making of these long term displays. Finally, connections not only developed through narratives but were also framed by museum practice, strengthening relationships within each museum and allowing these institutions to reach out to other actors beyond their walls. By weaving various exhibition threads, Chapter 5 will combine these observations in order to investigate the establishment of a connective culture of display across the case studies.

Chapter 5:
**Weaving Exhibition Threads, Establishing a Trans-Pacific
Culture of Display**

Introduction

Chapters 3 and 4 pieced together the construction of various trans-Pacific exhibitions, their narratives, their making and their support networks. By presenting both short and long-term displays, developed in Aotearoa New Zealand, in Taiwan and in Hawai'i these Chapters suggested the existence of correlations between various Pacific and museum localities, a set of connections established through and within the exhibition space. Chapter 5 aims to articulate, to weave in, the various threads and pathways witnessed throughout the description of the case studies. Playing the role of a nexus in the thesis, it brings forth the construction of a trans-Pacific culture of display in Oceania between 2006 and 2016.

Chapter 5 explores the role of multiple actors and actants (exhibition producers, artists, artefacts, artworks, spaces etc.) in developing a set of connective imageries and epistemologies (Latour, 2005). The latter not only bound Oceanic cultures and artists but also intertwined the trajectories of the studied exhibitions, while reactivating ancient ties into the present and towards the future through the means of museum displays. Rather than presenting cultural institutions and their exhibitions as passive entities, Chapter 5 envisions the case studies as key players in the construction of trans-Pacific relationships.

To highlight this statement, this chapter is structured around three dynamics, or ingredients, that were combined to establish a connective culture of display. Firstly, Chapter 5 demonstrates how exhibitions, regarded as stages, shed light on shared Oceanic storylines, patterns and artefacts. Once musealised, the latter become components of visual and material connective epistemologies, deploying in the exhibition space and transforming this stage into a mirror of cross-Oceanic relations and aspirations. Turning back to the makers, Chapter 5 secondly explores the ways in which these connective patterns, embodied in the gallery space, were constructed behind the scene. It suggests that, precisely, such epistemologies emerged from the establishment of cross-Oceanic networks – inward and outward going – which channelled multiple agencies and power relations into and through the galleries. Finally, the chapter

concentrates on one type of connective process and on one kind of “mover”, which played a significant role in the establishment of trans-Pacific conversations: the artist in residence. Exploring the very meaning of “residing”, it demonstrates how connective exhibition dynamics created a relational space for artists, performers and storytellers to redefine the modalities of belonging in/to Oceania. All in all, Chapter 5 investigates the institution of a trans-Pacific museum culture, embodied in exhibitions staged in Oceania at the dawn of the 21st century.

5.1 – Articulating Shared Display Narratives and Patterns

The analytical description of the six case studies in Chapter 3 and 4 highlighted the existence of echoes between the exhibitions and of parallels between their storylines. This section captures a few elements that were key to the development of trans-Pacific narratives. While challenging the analysis of exhibitions as texts – or “spatial books” – this body of work seeks to highlight and articulate the establishment of a trans-Pacific display language in Oceanic museums (Davallon, 1999). By approaching exhibitions as spaces that combine multiple agencies, epistemologies but also material elements and contingencies, the first part of Chapter 5 demonstrates how shared curatorial intents generated similar conceptual and visual display patterns across Oceania. Firstly, whether they were developed from Taiwan, Hawai’i or Aotearoa, all case studies were rooted in questions regarding the existence of a common Pacific homeland. Moving away from 19th century racial understandings of the region, the displays relied on archaeological data, artefacts and stories, which structured trans-Pacific narratives (Howe, 1984; Kirch, 1997, 2000; Kirch & Green, 2001; Bellwood et al., 1995; Bellwood, 2013). Secondly, the emphasis on origins and genealogies generated a strong focus on the Ocean, which was described as the connective vehicle for people, cultures, objects and values (Hereniko & Wilson, 1999; Hau’ofa, 2008; Tengan et al., 2010). By and large, these foci responded to the often encountered tryptic question: “Who are we?”, “Where do we come from?”, and “Where are we going?” (see Chapters 3 and 4). By systematically combining these questionings and foci, the exhibition case studies took part in the establishment of a cross-Oceanic culture of display. Further, they also

redefined the scope, the structure, and the limitations of the disciplines of archaeology, ethnology and art as well as their materialisation in the gallery space.

5.1. A –From Racial to Archaeological Perspectives: the Homeland.

The exhibitions presented throughout this thesis addressed and invested various conceptions of the “home-land”. Firstly, it was depicted as a mythical place called “Hawaiki” (in *Pacific Hall*, *Vaka Moana* and the future Pacific Galleries). Located in “central-Polynesia”, Hawaiki was defined as the birthplace of the Polynesian pantheon and as a site from which ancestors travelled and to which descendants will return (Kirch & Green, 2001). The second type of homeland brought forth by several exhibitions can be more specifically affiliated with the feeling of “home” (in *Le Folauga*, *The Great Journey* and the future Pacific Galleries). This depiction of the “home-land” directly addressed the Pacific diaspora and explored the complexity of constructing a sense of belonging and identity between localities. It suggested that diasporic communities develop a sense of belonging that transcends geographies and that binds ancestral home(s) with new dwellings (Teaiwa in Harvey and Thompson, 2005: 15-35; Brownson et al., 2012; see 5.3). Finally, all exhibitions included reflections towards a common archaeological homeland, putting Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait in the spotlight and redefining the contours of Oceania (see Chapter 6). These various interpretations of the concept of “home-land” were not presented as contradictory in the studied exhibitions. Instead all were addressed and staged as evocative components of a “sense of belonging” and of a reflection on origins and common grounds. As such, they often co-existed and reinforced trans-Pacific narratives by merging oral traditions with scientific discoveries and contemporary dynamics. Furthermore, juxtaposing mythological, contemporary and archaeological homelands constructed a link between past, present and future. As such it emphasised the structural role of genealogies in Pacific worldviews and trans-Pacific displays (Tengan et al., 2010). While keeping in mind the constant entanglement of these various conceptions, the following reflections are more specifically centred on an archaeological understanding of the homeland. Common to all case studies, this understanding paved the way for a comparative reading.

The early 21st century marked the starting point of a shift of perspectives in Pacific displays. Pan-Pacific exhibitions and their makers increasingly started challenging racial narratives as well as the dichotomies between local and foreign Pacific. Simultaneously, they began engaging with archaeological material and records as a means to bind Pacific cultures, artefacts and artworks. Defined as trans-Pacific, the six case studies for this thesis both displayed and relied on archaeological sequences. The latter paired the concept of origins with that of settlements and migrations across Oceania and created a strong link between hypothesis about the past and aspirations for the future. Archaeological sequences acted as a common and continuous thread throughout each exhibit and from one exhibit to another.

Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors (VM), was a turning point in the construction of trans-Pacific displays. The exhibition relied heavily on archaeological findings and narratives, and engaged with the later in two ways. Firstly, VM showcased archaeological material – such as adzes and Lapita pots – mainly positioned in the third section “Search for Origins” (see Chapter 3). Secondly, part of the exhibition message was structured around archaeological discoveries regarding Oceanic original migrations, a theme that was integrated throughout the display. The latter incorporated the terms of “Near” and “Remote” Oceania, which directly echoed the investigations regarding the settlement process and therefore referred to archaeological understandings of the region. The show also remained cautious as to localising the Pacific homeland and placed it somewhere in Asia. Since the exhibition aimed to cover the entirety of Oceania (“Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia”), situating the homeland in the south of the Asian continent conveniently combined theories about both Papuan and Austronesian settlements (exhibition overview, AM unclassified digital archives, circa 2005). Although Taiwan was presented as a hypothetical starting point of Austronesian migrations, very little information was provided on the island and its ancestral material culture. It can be argued that – be it a potential homeland – Taiwan remained outside of the exhibition’s scope. While encompassing a reflection on the Rim, VM was centred on the “inner-Pacific”.

Le Folauga (LF) – VM’s twin – was rooted in the representations deployed in the Grand Atrium. While stimulating artistic responses from makers of mainly Polynesian heritage, LF engaged with the idea of an Asian homeland through the touring process (see Chapter 3). In the AM version of the show, artists had already addressed the concept of origins but had not matched this concept with a location. Rather, origins had become a quest in the works of these Pasifika artists. The KMFA’s touring request played the role of a response to this artistic quest. Upon the reconstruction of LF and its touring to Taiwan in the context of the Contemporary Austronesian Art Project (CAAP), archaeological discourses became central. Simultaneously, Austronesian speakers became the main focus of these discourses, which designated Taiwan as the unique homeland of all Austronesian people. As for the rest of the CAAP, archaeological findings and material were envisioned as vessels for present and future connections. Reactivating ancient ties, the KMFA legitimised the broader project as well as the presentation of LF in Kaohsiung through these scientific discoveries. Chih-kang Li, acting KMFA director at the time, introduced this exhibition as a way to “put the Taiwanese culture within the broader context of the Austronesian cultural sphere and allow it to play a more active role” (Li, 2009: 11). Finally, it can be argued that the emphasis on archaeological discourses in the margins of the exhibition were also a means to integrate indigenous Taiwanese artists and cultures in the display without actually showcasing their work. In other words, the archaeological homeland – reinjected in LF through the touring process – bound the represented with the invisible, and the so called “inner Pacific” with its “Rim”.

The two other exhibitions put together in the context of the CAAP – *Across Oceans and Time* (AOT) and *The Great Journey* (TGJ) – also emphasised the importance of Taiwan as the archaeological homeland. This initial statement – supported by scholars such as P. Bellwood who wrote for the exhibition catalogue and emphasised the existence of shared DNA and linguistic patterns amongst Austronesians (Bellwood in Lee, 2007: 32-42) – laid the ground for contemporary relationships between the island and the rest of Oceania. Further, it transcended the use of archaeology in a patrimonial context to apply to the field of contemporary art. In AOT, archaeological narratives were employed as a means to connect local and foreign Pacific and to bring forth cross-Oceanic ties.

Since the exhibition was developed through a collaboration between two institutions situated in the Austronesian-speaking realm (the KMFA and the Tjibaou Cultural Centre), these connective narratives focused exclusively on Austronesian cultures and artists. On AOT's introduction text panel, the visitor could read:

This spectacular exhibition [will] captivate the viewer and will promote understanding and respect of the ancient maritime civilization of the Austronesian people. We also hope that the exhibition will inspire Austronesian peoples to overcome the spatial constraints that separate them and engage in a deeper dialogue and mutual cultural exploration. (Introduction text panel, AOT, 2007)

The introduction text panel clearly rooted the exhibition message in the Austronesian realm and hinted at the significant position of Taiwan within this realm. By doing so, this text – encapsulating the exhibition message – contrasted with the content of the show itself. The latter included the work of Pacific artists from regions where Papuan languages are spoken, such as the *Phantom Shield* from the highlands of Papua New Guinea (Lee, 2007: 101). It can be argued that the agenda of the exhibition – positioning Taiwan as a Pacific homeland – enlarged the Austronesian realm (see Chapter 6). While binding “Austronesian arts”, it also generated a new context of interpretation for pieces and artists that were formerly excluded from this realm by linguists and archaeologists. The last exhibition of the CAAP series – *The Great Journey* – further confirmed this phenomenon by employing similar display taxonomies. Additionally, it also rebuilt a clear separation between the artists of the homeland (Taiwanese) – whose artworks were presented in a dark and mysterious atmosphere – and the Pasifika artists shown as “bluntly contemporary” (see Chapter 3; Ya-pei Chang, interview, 03/04/2014). To a certain extent, by creating this atmospheric and temporal distinction between local and foreign Pacific, TGJ staged the role of Taiwan as an ancestral homeland.

The KMFA exhibitions demonstrated how the positioning of the homeland and the omnipresence of archaeological narratives in trans-Pacific displays directly revealed the display's agenda as well as its scope (see Chapter 6). This phenomenon was also perceptible in *Pacific Hall*. In this exhibition, the narrative deployed on Level 2 included

two display cases on Papuan migrations. These cases were directly followed by a segment on Austronesian origins, located in the Taiwan Strait. The depiction of the homeland was strongly supported by the use of replicas of artefacts (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2; see Chapter 4). Ordered at the National Museum of Prehistory (NMP; Taitung, Taiwan) by Tianlong Jiao – BPBM archaeologist and member of the content team – these replicas included copies of archaeological and ethnographic material. On the one hand, these replicas compensated for the lack of collections from Taiwan and the Taiwan Strait at the BPBM. As PH was envisioned as a permanent display, loans were not an option (Tianlong Jiao, correspondence, 29/07/2014). On the other hand, it can be argued that the display of facsimiles conflicted with the richness of the BPBM’s collections and the team’s constant struggle to fit this collection in the future display. Thus, their presence in the hall emphasised the exhibition message rather than the history of the collections. Indeed, showcasing the starting point of Oceanic migrations was a priority in order to reconstruct the *Blue Continent* in the new *Pacific Hall* and to bring forth the interconnectedness of the *Sea of Islands*. As this agenda transcended the current state of the BPBM’s collections, the teams constructed a collection of museum copies. Interestingly, even though these replicas did not hold a museum number, they materialised the will to connect the Pacific to Taiwan and *vice versa*. In other words, while not being regarded as “authentic” by the teams, these artefacts became a means to stage a new perspective on Oceania and to authenticate this new vision. As the products of negotiations between Jiao and the NMP, they also embodied museum networks (see 5.2; Desvallées & Mairesse, 2011: 409-414).⁵⁵ As such, they can be regarded as key elements in the establishment of an exhibiting material culture rooted in trans-Pacific narratives.

By articulating the ways in which each case study addressed and displayed the archaeological homeland, this section demonstrated the importance of archaeology in trans-Pacific exhibitions. It also showed how the key status of this discipline was constructed beyond its own scope. Replacing racial theories formerly framing Pacific

⁵⁵ It seems that very little literature explores the role of replica in the construction of museum networks. The work of Jude Philp on the role of duplicates in museum exchanges could serve as a starting point for further research on the topic (Philp in Byrne et al., 2011: 269-289)

displays, archaeological perspectives became a means to transcend both geographical and epistemological borders. In this context, showcasing the archaeological homeland came hand in hand with a political agenda, which redefined the contours of the region and the relationships within (see Chapter 6). This theme – common to all the exhibits studied in this thesis – often triggered an emphasis on the Ocean as a connector.

5.1. B – The Ocean and its Vessels

As demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4, the Ocean played a major role in the construction of trans-Pacific exhibition narratives. The case studies for this thesis found various means to represent and musealise this space in the gallery. In *Vaka Moana* (AM), the Pacific Ocean was a multidirectional pathway through which Pacific Islanders had travelled in the past and continued to journey in the present. Without directly being described as a connector, it was showcased as the bedrock of Pacific migrations, navigations and interrelations. To a certain extent, while heavily relying on geographical and archaeological categories (Melanesia, Polynesia, Micronesia, Near Oceania and Remote Oceania), *Vaka Moana* began to depict the Ocean as a continuous space and as a boundary-breaker (see Chapter 6). In *Across Oceans and Time* (KMFA), in *Le Folauga* (AM and KMFA) and in *The Great Journey* (KMFA), the Ocean was a source of inspiration for many of the artists presented in the exhibitions and was also at the core of the displays' storylines (see 5.3). Here again, it was envisioned as the starting point of visual conversations rather than as a concept musealised in its own right (see Chapter 3).

In this regard, the long term displays presented in this thesis constituted a turning point in the ways in which exhibitions engaged with the idea of the Ocean (see Chapter 4). They also demonstrated the interpenetration of Pacific displays and Pacific scholarships, by directly referencing Hau'ofa and Wendt for instance, and by absorbing various indigenous anthropological articulations (Hau'ofa, 1994, 1998, 2008; Wendt, 1976, 1999; Tengan et al., 2010). By doing so, these exhibitions not only highlighted the significance of their Ocean for Pacific Islanders in the past and in the present, but also brought forth the philosophies and the epistemologies (re)constructed on the basis of past connections from the 1970s onwards. In *Pacific Hall*, the Pacific Ocean was

depicted as a *Blue Continent*, as a shared space and as a connector (see Chapter 4). This Ocean was the vehicle of common values, aspirations and mirroring material cultures. As the docents would emphasise during the tours, PH encouraged the visitor to “think about our Ocean as a highway, as a continent of water and lands and as a web of connections” (Bill Marston & Taueva Fa’otusia, PH tours on 10/10/2014 and 24/10/2014).

The conversations towards the development of the future Pacific Galleries equally revealed a direct engagement with the physical, metaphorical and philosophical figure of the Ocean. The Pacific Dimension *Teu Le Vā – Nurture the Relationship* encapsulated the directions taken by the AM teams to construct the future galleries. The use of the concepts of “Vā” and “Relationship” (singular) demonstrated the will to approach the Ocean as a continuous space, as a container and a catalyst for connectivity rather than as a physical means to establish multiple connections (plural). It can be argued that, at the AM, the Ocean and the relationships that it generates were approached beyond their plurality and in an essentialist manner, strongly stating the unity of the Pacific. This principle was already suggested at the BPBM without being institutionalised as it was at the AM. As explained in Chapter 4, this connectivity was also mostly supported by philosophies developed by diasporic scholars of central Polynesian heritage (Wendt and Hau’ofa). For these scholars who had themselves experienced translations, movements and cross-Oceanic relations, “diaspora” was both a topic of research and a philosophy of life (see Chapter 1). Fed by their journeys and their networks, their scholarship redefined the contours of Oceania by establishing it as a ramifying, uncharted and interconnected place that transcended the western understanding of spatiality.

At the BPBM and at the AM, this connective philosophy, relying on the figure of the Ocean, was used as a tool to unlock the challenges generated by the plurality of Pacific cultural and artistic expressions, and as a means to construct meaningfulness for diasporic Pacific communities. It can be argued that these aspirations generated the establishment of a trans-Pacific culture of display, which was supported by several types of artefacts, figures (or heroes) and display components.

Firstly, showcasing the Ocean as an exhibition and Pacific character came hand in hand with the use of the colour blue in the BPBM's *Pacific Hall* and in the AM funding document *Teu le Vā*. As explained in Chapter 4, PH was originally envisioned as a mirror of the Oceanic space, with a blue carpet on the ground representing the water and a celestial map covering the ceiling (never constructed in PH but seen in *Vaka Moana* for instance). A similar metaphor was observed at the AM, where the museum's future structure was paralleled with a Marshallese navigation chart, suggesting that galleries, like the Pacific, could be navigated. Secondly, this parallel between Oceanic and exhibition spaces triggered a strong focus on the actor of the process of navigation: the navigator and its tools. Promoted to the status of cultural heroes, navigators, their canoes, and all the goods (artefacts, plants, animals etc.) and practices (fishing, tattooing, textile weaving, tapa making etc.) they transported with them were brought into the spotlight of these new Pacific galleries. The figure of the navigator or the mover was also extended beyond the scope of navigation itself. In the context of these trans-Pacific exhibitions, personalities that had played the role of connectors, travelling across water masses, were also glorified. Like the constant reference to Mau Piailug, the individual display case dedicated to Te Rangihīroa/Sir Peter Buck in PH, personifies the worship of indigenous cross-oceanic movers (McCarthy, 2016: 1-26). The various Pacific artists involved in the exhibitions researched here can also be regarded as the living extensions, interfaces and heirs of these new trans-Pacific cultural heroes (see 5.3).

The mechanisms of exhibition genealogy presented throughout this study suggest that the musealisation of these cross-Oceanic patterns may be partly inherited from the dynamic encapsulated in *Vaka Moana*, an exhibition that physically crossed the Ocean beyond the walls of the AM (see section 5.2). The example of PH's display case containing canoe models (PH1-02) will serve as a conclusive illustration to this section and lead to an exploration of exhibitions as "network zones" in the following sequence.

In 2006, *Vaka Moana* showcased a typology of Pacific canoes (see Figure 5.5), which was inspired, in part, by the research put together by A. C. Haddon and James Hornell in

1936-1938.⁵⁶ The three volumes piecing together this research were reprinted in 1975 by the Bishop Museum, where an exhibition titled *Canoes of Oceania* accompanied the launching of the book. This exhibition opened at the BPBM on November 25, 1975, in the Kāhili Room (Rose, 205: 216). It contained two full-size canoes, various navigational devices such as Marshallese stick charts, as well as multiple canoe models from the BPBM's collection (Photo archives, I 59211 by P. Gilpin). Similar to the graphic typology presented in *Vaka Moana*, these canoe models – miniature copies of full-size canoes mainly made by Pacific Islanders in the 19th century – were used in the 1975 exhibit to describe the great variety of canoe shapes. It must be noted that some of the miniature canoes showcased in this exhibit were a part of BPBM's original collection and had been notably purchased from the Auckland-based merchant Eric Craig or collected by the Hawaiian monarchs (see Chapter 2). The very first curator of the BPBM, William Brigham, had also exhibited some of these models in Polynesian Hall after its opening in 1894 (PH photo archives, post 1900).

As a reminder, during the 2009-2013 renovation of *Pacific Hall*, Seafaring was regarded as one of the original key themes (alongside Origins; see Chapter 4). The first artefacts selected in the ethnology collections by the Content Team encompassed several canoe models, some displayed in the early Polynesian Hall and others exhibited in the Haddon and Hornell show in 1975. Rather than employing these artefacts to showcase the history of Pacific collecting, the content team focused on their capacity to illustrate that of Pacific seafaring. To a certain extent, these miniatures were barely differentiated from full-size canoes in the exhibition discourse. While differing from the Taiwanese museum replicas presented in the previous section due to their longer social life (Appadurai, 1986), these canoe models were envisioned as copies that could convey the story of Oceanic navigation and connectivity.

Discussed during the content team meetings (2009-2010), the development of a display case exclusively dedicated to these canoe models materialised in RAA's first conceptual design (RAA visualised concept, 27/05/2010; see Chapter 4). The inspiration for this

⁵⁶ Both Haddon (1885-1940) and Hornell (1865-1949) had worked for and with the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge.

case can be found in two exhibitions that seem to have played a role in RAA's designs. Firstly, the combination of several models on a blue background echoed the typology displayed in *Vaka Moana* and reported in part in the exhibition catalogue (which RAA had suggested to the Content Team). Secondly, this pan-Pacific canoe display paralleled the pan-Arctic mask glass case developed concomitantly by RAA for the Arctic Studies Center (Anchorage, Alaska) (Figure 5.7). As such, the canoe case materialised multiple exhibition networks, reaching across the Pacific, from Aotearoa to Hawaii and through North America (see section 5.2).

Further demonstrating the correlation between PH's canoe case, the Oceanic space and its networks, the exhibition archives also present several draft layouts depicting a map of Oceania in the case's background (see Figure 5.3). Eventually made redundant by the wooden floor map positioned in front of this display, the project of mapping through canoes embodied the exhibition message as well as the ways in which trans-Pacific narratives were articulated in the gallery space. The case as presented today in PH [2016] acts as a reminder of these negotiations: the position of the canoe models continue to mirror their location on the discarded map (see Figure 5.4). Even when not depicted, the Oceanic space reminisces at the surface of the display case (see Chapter 6). Pursuing the exploration of the correlation between exhibition pattern, process and networks, the following section will highlight the connective nature of exhibiting practices.

5.2 – In and Through the “Network Zone”: Connective Exhibiting Practices and Networks

Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrated how exhibitions, envisioned as practices, result in constructed representations of an interconnected Pacific. This section focuses on the ways in which exhibiting practices in Auckland, Kaohsiung and Honolulu generated museum connectivity. Reflecting on the definition of the museums as “contact zones”, the following observations seek to examine how contacts are established in the sphere of exhibition making, and who/what these contacts bind prior to the exhibition opening (Pratt, 1991, 1992; Clifford, 1997; Bennett, 1998; O'Hanlon & Welsch, 2000; Davallon,

1999; Witcomb, 2003; Schorch, 2010; 2013; Boast, 2011; Silverman, 2014). Furthermore this body of work seeks to contribute to the redefinition of the “contact zone” by envisioning it, instead, as a “network zone” (see Chapter 1). The latter can be defined as a space – physical or conceptual – where contacts and connections are created through specific networks and relationships of power. These power relations – historical, social, cultural and institutional – partly precede the moment of exhibition making but are also transformed and renegotiated through exhibiting practices. As such, networks inform and impact both productions and products, which become the results of power-performances (Foucault, 1969; Latour, 2005).

While the limitation of these networks are further discussed in Chapter 6, this section examines exhibiting processes as a means to construct a liminal space between internal and external agents (Bhabha, 1994; Casey, 2008). As such they are both 1) catalysts for internal/endogenous museum relationships and 2) impulses through which museums construct trans-Pacific networks that mobilise external/exogenous actors and actants (Latour, 2005; Thomas, 2010; Tengan et al., 2010; Dürr & Schorch, 2016). While interweaving the ways in which each institution constructed connectivity within and beyond its walls, this section aims to piece together various means towards the development of a connective museological approach (referred to as “connective museology”, *muséologie du lien*) (Latour, 2005; Foucault, 1969, 1975; Gordon, 1980; Larson et al., 2007; Gosden et al., 2007; Harrison et al., 2013). Exhibitions, in this context, are envisioned as all-encompassing museum practices, and as spaces of intersections relying-on and transforming-through specific networks.

5.2. A – Connecting Within: Exhibition Temporality and Community

Museum institutions can be described and studied as communities that are constructed through both inward dynamics and outward activities. Amongst these happenings, exhibitions generate a large variety of contexts within which internal and external agents as well as museum objects and artworks meet and transform at a specific point in time and space (Thomas, 2016). Dwelling on the literature exploring museums as connective entities, this section aims to examine the correlation between specific

exhibiting practices and the construction of connective exhibition contents (Karp et al., 1991, 1998; Clifford, 1997; O'Hanlon & Welsch, 2000; Davallon, 1999; Mc Carthy, 2007, 2011; Thomas, 2010). The following observations establish a strong link between the ambition to develop trans-Pacific displays and the ways in which museum staffs perceived, performed and described their own practices (Giddens, 1987). In other words, in the context of the museums researched here, constructing cross-Oceanic narratives went hand in hand with establishing relationships amongst staff members and presenting the museum as a community. The staff was bound through the practice of exhibition making and was also driven by shared purposes for the duration of the exhibiting process (Davallon, 1999: 189-195; Sahlins, 1985). The construction of these internal museum relationships impacted on the exhibition-product – defined in Chapters 3 and 4 as the result of negotiations – but also on the museum's and the staff's endeavours.

Exhibition moment, memory and cycles

The various staff members who collaborated in the field research undertaken at the KMFA, at the BPBM and the AM in 2013 and 2014 all described exhibition making as “a moment”. The idea of the “exhibition-moment” was applied to both temporary and permanent displays, and was worded as such for past, present and future projects. This moment, as defined by the informants, mostly spanned from the preparation period up until after the exhibition opening, and again from the closing to the possible touring and until the deinstallation of the show. When past, this moment also ramified in the present. Its “presence” materialised through the space, the collections and through the relations established via exhibition making. At the KMFA, this moment was reflected upon as a past endeavour, both challenging and extremely enriching (Mei-chen Tseng, Peggy Huang and Nita Lo, interviews, 23/04/2014, 04/03/2014, 27/02/2014). Looking back with a certain nostalgia, the KMFA's staff explained that they learned a great deal and participated in unforgettable enterprises for the purpose of the first exhibition of the Contemporary Austronesian Arts Project, *Across Oceans and Time* (AOT), and the following shows. Some professionals also explained, how the making of these exhibitions changed their lives, leading them to a greater awareness of the issues faced

by indigenous Taiwanese artists and making them experience their home-island like never before (Mei-chen Tseng, interview, 23/04/2014). In this context, engaging with the broader Pacific art scene stimulated a stronger commitment to the museum endeavour and a greater curiosity towards local and regional dynamics. It also marked the memory of the professionals involved in the project, and thus constructed that of the institution itself.

In a similar way, the professionals interviewed at the AM were still marked by the 1990s renovation and by the *Vaka Moana* moment. The memory of these happenings as well the pressure generated by this time period continued to be reflected upon by the museum staff (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/08/2014). In 2014, the latter also anticipated the future museum renewal with excitement, and explained how preparing the physical renovation impacted on their daily activities and schedules. The staff of the BPBM also confirmed this last statement. Actively installing *Pacific Hall* during field research in 2013, they experienced this moment with intensity while awaiting for “things to go back to normal” (Betty Kam, interview, 13/08/2013). The informants further emphasised this perception during the second fieldtrip, in 2014, when they explained that they had moved on from *Pacific Hall*’s time due to new museum’s commitments. The ways in which the BPBM’s staff described PH’s exhibiting process *a posteriori* also suggested that exhibitions are constructed and perceived as cycles by their makers. Those who had witnessed several of these cycles could also connect them to one another, by comparing specific practices or specific spaces and by referring to past cycles as moments that informed the present and the future (Dave Kemble, interview, 10/09/2013). Here again, these cycles all together actively shaped institutional memory and constructed exhibition genealogies.

In the context of Hawai’i, such sequences also resonated with other cycles integrated to the museum practice. For instance, while the BPBM’s was moving on from *Pacific Hall*’s moment, protocols were undertaken at the museum to mark the beginning of the makahiki season/ancient Hawaiian New Year festival, and the shift from the time of the akua/god Ku to that of the akua/god Lono (Marques Marzan, interview, 23/10/2014;

Salhins, 1985; Malo, 1903).⁵⁷ These transitions from Ku to Lono and Lono to Ku, mirroring that of a Pacific focus to a Hawaiian focus and *vice versa*, brought forth a museum tendency to alternate moments of openness – oriented towards Others (the Pacific in this case)– with moments of closeness, based on the celebration of the Self (Hawai'i in this case). This phenomenon was also observed at the KMFA, where the interest in the Pacific began with a focus on local Austronesian cultures. While AOT merged these foci and moments in a single show, *The Great Journey* (TGJ) reintroduced the celebration of the local artists (see Chapter 3; Christophe, 2015). The AM also went from developing a Māori dimension to establishing a Pacific dimension. Although the Pacific and Pacific displays are currently at the core of the AM's activities, the existence of museum cycles suggests that tables will keep turning and that openness to trans-Pacific foci is never set in stone.

Exhibition community, family and crew

While the making of the exhibition case studies transformed the museums' activities and priorities for a certain time period, it also generated new modes of interactions amongst staff members and fostered a sense of belonging to a museum community. Envisioned as a form of ceremony – or as an endeavour limited in time and space mobilising a wide range of animated and unanimated agents – the exhibition-sphere bound museum actors through joined practices and shared purposes. In this context, the efficiency of the ceremony also relies on the maker's capacity to bind and exchange while creating (Coote & Shelton, 1992; Gell, 1998; Davllon, 1999; Jeudy-Ballini, 1999; Jeudy-Ballini & Juillérat, 2002; Herle et al., 2002).

⁵⁷ Every year, an image of Lono (akua loa/processioned god) from the collections of the BPBM is installed in Hawaiian Hall by the Cultural Collections' staff. In 2014 this installation took place on October 16th. The wooden carving was ornamented with feather and leaf lei as with two birds from the natural history collection. The figure of the akua Ku positioned aside the newly installed representation of Lono was then wrapped in white (museum) tissue paper, materialising the temporary removal of Ku during the time of Lono. The latter remained in place until December 8th, when he was taken back to the museum storage. Ku was then unwrapped. These dates correspond to the analysis of the makahiki season provided by David Malo in 1903, and were also adapted to the museum's working hours (Marques Marzan, email, 15/10/2014; interview, 23/10/2014).

Across the case studies, the exhibition-moment brought together professionals from various departments, indigenous and non-indigenous agents, as well as agents enrolled in conceptual activities and others engaging with physical practices (Harrison et al., 2013). During this temporality, museums' structures remained perceptible but merged-with and transformed-through the exhibiting process. Power relations established prior to the exhibition-moment kept feeding the production phase but were often softened in the discourses. In other words, although the staff's reflections regarding cultural and institutional identities continued to be embedded in the museum practice, they were also transcended by a sense of belonging to a place – the museum – and to a specific endeavour, the exhibition. To some degree, these agents all became part of a community of museum practitioners, who did not always hold equal status but all participated in the exhibition-moment. This corporate approach generated a certain inclusiveness as well as a series of discourses describing the museum as a community, a family or a crew. Finally it can be argued that the efficiency of the final product relied on the staff's capacity to collaborate during the making phase and to emphasise this connectivity.

At the Bishop Museum, the term employed was that of 'ohana/family. This term included the museum staff but was also extended to designate the actors of the exhibiting process in general, comprising those who joined the museum exclusively for the exhibition-moment (including the researcher; Blair Collis, interview, 27/10/2014). The content team was at the core of this community, which ramified to broader internal circles during specific practices such as those undertaken in the "mock-up phase" (see Chapter 4). In the context of this pre-installation exercise, the *Pacific Hall*-to-be became a space where professionals – holding various museum roles and coming from various backgrounds – would gather and connect through the physical act of placing artefacts on their designated locations. By doing so, the staff was literally "mocking-up" future display connections as well as their own interrelations. It can be argued that through such exercises – and other moments such the staging of *Te Reinga* (see below) or the making of a lei/leaf garland for the opening ceremony (see Chapter 6) – the museum staff created and performed a space for intersections and exchanges that expanded beyond the technicality of this action. During the opening of PH, Noelle Kahanu and

other keynote speakers such as Vilsoni Hereniko and the director Blair Collis, emphasised this connectivity and further opened the 'ohana to the future viewers' (PH's Grand Unveiling, programme, 21/09/2013).

In parallel, the joined practice of exhibition making also generated meaningfulness for the staff involved at the BPBM. Mountmakers and conservators, amongst others, explained how these sets of practices impacted the ways in which they were experiencing and looking at the artefacts they engaged with. These interactions with museum objects generated a greater awareness towards their significance within and beyond the museum space (Dave Kiyabu and Nicole dela Fuente, interviews, 24/09/2014 and 19/08/2013). Besides, the exhibition-moment also provided the 'ohana with the opportunity to strongly empower its cultural resources specialist, Marques Hanalei Marzan, and to aim at a better appraisal of the professionals who held expertise in specific cultural practices (Blair Collis, interview, 27/10/2014). By voicing these professionals, the museum attempted to bring forth the importance of Pacific values, and to apply these values – as consistently as possible – to the making of PH. All in all, while piecing together the “family of the Pacific” for the purpose of the new display, the BPBM also constructed a family within and for the Pacific, the museum 'ohana (RAA visualised concept, 27/05/2010: 21). This epistemological echo centred on the term “family” suggested a correlation between, on the one hand, the representation of Oceania within the gallery space and, on the other hand, internal institutional articulations.

The correlation between connective exhibition contents and practices witnessed at the BPBM was taken to another level at the Auckland Museum. There, it was institutionalised under the Waka Process and was further captured in the Pacific Dimension, *Teu le Vā* (see Chapter 4). As demonstrated in Chapter 4, the former can be regarded as an extension of the *Vaka Moana* moment, which generated a parallel between the museum endeavour and that of a canoe/waka. In this context, the museum staff, like a crew, was bound by the shared horizon of the galleries' renewal. Based on the principle of “open invitation[s] to the entire museum community” the Waka Process emphasised the need for inclusiveness and demonstrated to the crew

members their potential of action towards the future museum. Openly stating that the physical renovation would result from institutional conversations, this process sought to stimulate and channel the agencies of multiple participants, widening the scope of the exhibition-crew (Introduction, waka report, 2011: 2). It can be argued that while the BPBM made connections through the exhibiting process, the AM musealised this correlation and paved the way for its renovation through the principle of connectivity. In other words, constructing the AM's future display in a connective manner came hand in hand with the intent to re-think museum practices and to lay the ground for collaborative modes of engagements.

This highly reflective practice was not only constructed by the museum practitioners themselves but was also supported by museologists. Elaine H. Gurian was notably invited by the museum to accompany this connective process.⁵⁸ Incorporating an outsider to bind the crew within, the AM staff and Gurian organised a large meeting towards the end of the waka process. Referred to as the Grand Unifying Theory, this meeting lasted half a day and consisted in physically organising the ideas generated during each waka-mission onto the AM's spatial plan. By adding small vignettes onto this two-dimensional representation, the crews were engaging with the museum space while connecting to one another (Introduction, waka reports, 2011: 40). This inclusive climate was regarded as a first steppingstone in the exhibiting process, and merged spatialized and performed bounds. The establishment of a Pacific Dimension was partly informed by this practice (see Chapter 4). This document brought forth a strong link between Pacific values and museum connectivity. *Teu le Vā* defined the scope of this dimension in the following terms:

The Pacific Dimension articulates an operational and philosophical culture of the Museum based on Pacific perspectives as cultural values that make the Museum a respectful, relevant and engaging place for Pacific people, and reflects stories of Pacific people and cultures. (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 11)

⁵⁸ Elaine Heumann Gurian is a "Consultant/advisor to museums that are beginning, building or reinventing themselves" and notably worked at Te Papa Tongarewa (Gurian's webpage, 28/05/2016). Her publications include *Civilizing the Museum: the Collected Writings of Elaine Heumann Gurian* (2006).

These Pacific-museum values were notably listed as “meaningful engagement”, “integrity”, “authenticity”, “reciprocity”, “respect”, “diversity”, “balance”, and “symmetry”. They were envisioned as guiding principles towards the establishment of a connective culture of display, for which the AM had become a testing ground through the waka process. While mainly aiming to engage with audiences from Pacific island communities and to position the museum within the Pacific region, this dimension also applied to non-indigenous actors. Enacting inclusiveness beyond cultural separations, *Teu le Vā* bridged the development of an increased Pacific museum identity with an openness towards non-Pacific actors and audiences. The latter were for instance “supported and encouraged to understand and undertake appropriate cultural protocols” (*Teu le Vā*, 2013: 14). Similar to the interactions happening during the waka process, the AM based its new mode of engagement on the principles of sharing and connectivity, challenging institutional and cultural divides. Beyond the discourse brought forth by these documents, the development of connective museological methods tended to be reflected in the practice and to facilitate internal dialogues. It provided a space for professionals to collaborate on future exhibition projects. Notably, the institutional divide between Māori and Pacific collections, also reflected in the museum space (see Chapter 2), was challenged by the Master Plan and its affiliated activities. For instance, the good working relationship between Chanel Clarke – curator Māori – and Fulimalo Pereira – curator Pacific – was further valued and became a means through which Māori and Pacific displays were bridged in the plans for the future galleries. The same is true for the articulation between ethnological and archaeological displays, which were supported by the establishment of stronger ties between the museum professionals in charge of these collections at the AM.

The bureaucratic complexity of these happenings did, however, strongly empower the figure of the Project Manager. The original Capital project team encompassed six managers, each dedicated to a specific content area (see Chapter 4). These professionals often became intermediaries between curators and project leaders, between the researcher and content makers, and between content development and its application in the future relational space. The manager’s realm was also perceptible in the large volume of reflective guidelines, instruction booklets and plans produced by

the capital project teams. It was also reflected in the culture of confidentiality protecting the making of the future galleries. These documents and this attitude contrasted with the material found in the AM's historical archives and with the ways in which content-focused professionals described exhibitions. These contrasts suggested that exhibition making once relied *quasi* solely on the figure of the curator and its affiliated networks (see Chapter 2). While curators understood the importance of these networks to unlock the collections and their displays, project managers tended to play the role of gatekeepers. This phenomenon, also observed at the Quai Branly Museum for instance demonstrated that, on the one hand, institutional bureaucratic structures are essential to establish trans-cultural and trans-Pacific dialogues. On the other hand, their rigidity constitutes a first limit to connective models (Christophe, 2012; Latour, 2006; Desvallées, 2007; Descola, 2007; Price, 2011). In other words, in these large museums, the energy invested in the construction of intra-institutional dialogues often narrows the scope of possibilities towards cross-cultural conversations.

5.2. B – Building Exhibition-Networks: Outward Practices

Despite the complexity of constructing connective models internally, this dynamic often came hand in hand with opening the museum to a selection of exogenous institutions and figures. Strengthening the identity of the museum as a community necessitated and allowed various forms of engagements with actors positioned outside of the museum space. These forms of engagements, channelled by exhibitions, redefined the very spatiality of museums, extending their sphere beyond their walls. Rather than being organised by individual actors of these outwards practices, this section brings forth various types of intersections stimulated by exhibition making (Bennett, 2006: 46-69). While attempting to humanize exhibition dynamics, this analysis purposefully seeks a strong focus on exhibitions as connective agents. The latter are here regarded as the institutional vessels through which museum professionals, community leaders, designers, artists and artefacts interacted and circulated across Oceania. By doing so, they challenged the depiction of the museum as a physical space and, instead, established this institution as a ramifying place.

Exhibition movement and echo

Exhibitions in general – and those studied in this thesis in particular – relate to each other in different ways. The first type of filiation observed throughout this research can be described as translation or movement – “touring” in museum jargon (Christophe, 2012; Davidson, 2016: 64-85). The second phenomenon witnessed is that of inspiration or echo. The following reflections seek to demonstrate that exhibitions circulate from one institution to another and are also nurtured by former or concomitant displays. It is precisely through these progressive and connective phenomena of translation and echo that the taxonomies, the narratives, and the practices framing museum displays transform. All together, these dynamics construct exhibition genealogies.

The first type of exhibition filiation brought forth by this research – and perhaps also the most straightforward – is that triggered by touring exhibitions. Chapter 3 demonstrated how both *Vaka Moana* (VM) and *Le Folauga* (LF) were used as means to create cultural and institutional connections and channelled inter-museum relationships. Like any touring exhibition these shows “ha[d] a home, an itinerary, and their own complex biography that travel[ed] with them” (Davidson, 2016: 66). These touring shows also linked a sender – the AM – with a receiver, the KMFA in the case of LF. Each party had a particular interest in these translations (Christophe, 2012). For the AM, touring VM was envisioned as a means to promote the museum’s collections and expertise and to construct the museum’s legacy. The impact of VM’s approach onto future trans-Pacific exhibitions demonstrated that, to a certain extent, the museum reached the goals set by the director Rodney Wilson (see Chapters 3 and 4). For the KMFA, receiving *Le Folauga* was a means to engage with the South Pacific and key institutions – the AM and Tautai – and to integrate New Zealand Pacific arts in the Contemporary Austronesian Art Project (CAAP). Beyond the will to construct cultural and institutional relationships, the promotion of foreign exhibition models and arts also sought to progressively open trans-Pacific pathways for indigenous Taiwanese artists by binding them to Pacific artistic dynamics. As they come with cross-cultural and cross-institutional expectations – formalised or not by the touring contract – touring exhibitions can be regarded as diplomatic vessels. Both VM and LF brought with them specific collections, a large set of

museum material (crates, mounts, text panels, labels etc.), and were accompanied by a crew in charge of navigating these elements from Aotearoa New Zealand to Taiwan. As demonstrated in previous research, through this translation, the role of each museum was also renegotiated (Christophe, 2012). Hosted by the receiver, the producer became a guest of its own show. Touring exhibitions thus triggered a shared ownership. Finally, these connective vessels also travel with specific values and practices that were adapted to their new venues. Like the song '*Oiwi e/Ngā iwi e*' presented in Chapter 1, they transformed through their physical and conceptual translations and left behind a trace of their movements in the form of oral stories, archival documents, and longer-term cultural and institutional relationships.

While piecing together the trajectory of each exhibition researched in this thesis, several forms of echoes also appeared, both of former displays and of concomitant museum endeavours. The first kind – the references to former displays (“historical echoes”) – materialised in a particularly significant manner through the legacy of *Vaka Moana*. As demonstrated in Chapter 3 and 4, this exhibition and its content seems to have fed, directly or indirectly, the development of trans-Pacific displays after 2006. As this element reminisces throughout the thesis, the second type of echo – to concomitant museum displays (“spatial echoes”) – is the main focus of the following reflections.

The spatial exhibition-echoes witnessed in this research bound various museums of Oceania, and also constructed global exhibition-networks by reaching out to institutions in the Americas and in Europe. At the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA), the birth of the first exhibition of the Contemporary Austronesian Art Project (CAAP) – *Across Oceans and Time* (AOT) – arose from an inspirational visit to the Tjibaou Cultural Centre (TCC, Nouméa) in 2006. The professionals of the KMFA and of the TCC explained having experienced a “museum match”. They found mirroring elements in each institution prior to and during the exhibiting process, which encouraged them to set up a long-term partnership materialising through collaborative exhibition projects (Mei chen Tseng, Guillaume Soulard, Petelo Tuilalo, interviews 16/04/2014, 27/06/2014, 01/07/2015). From the KMFA, this “match” came with a fascination for the space

developed by Renzo Piano, with the impression that indigenous artists were empowered by the TCC's programming, and with the will to promote indigenous Taiwanese artists on the Pacific arts market (see Chapter 3). From the TCC, the will to develop partnership was founded on the artistic quality of the KMFA's collections, on the will to reach out to culturally connected artists across Oceania, and on the ambition to create new Pacific paths for Kanak artists (Emmanuel Tjibaou, interview, 02/07/2014). The idea of a "museum match" is key to understand the ways in which museum networks are established through exhibition projects and is also applicable to touring exhibitions. It demonstrates that networks not only rely on power relations as explained above, but are also constructed through affinities and mutual museum identifications. To a certain extent, these museum mirroring connections are partly developed beyond micro-professional relations. They are established through the capacity of each museum's mission and vision to intertwine with one another. In this context, similar goals and foci constructed individually by two or more institutions pave the way for future collaborations. Interestingly, this rule – applied to the Pacific exhibition sphere – goes further than the activities of organisations like the Pacific Island Museum Association (PIMA). Exhibitions allow museums to construct their own connective channels, rather than to attempt to fit within pre-established pathways.

This quest for inspirationally similar institutions and displays also nurtured the renovation of *the Pacific Hall* and of the Pacific Galleries. At the BPBM, although Ralph Appelbaum and Associates (RAA) seems to have paid a particular attention to *Vaka Moana*, the main exhibition mentioned by the staff was the Arctic Studies Center (ASC; Anchorage, Alaska) (Dave Kemble and Noelle Kahanu, interviews, 10/09/2013 and 26/09/2013; see Chapter 4). Designed by RAA and opened in 2010, this centre was envisioned as a model both for its visual qualities and for the modes of engagement that it triggered (see Figures 5.6 and 5.7). This display's capacity to address multiple indigenous cultural identities and to present cultural artefacts and oral stories aside several layers of information incarnated the content team's vision for *Pacific Hall*. By adopting a display structure similar to that of the ASC – referred to as the "three-pole structure" (level 1) – the BPBM not only materialised this "museum match", but also unveiled its aspirations for the future gallery. Interestingly, this echo also created

another trans-Pacific link, bridging Hawai'i to Alaska through the exhibition space (Dürr & Schorch, 2016).

Several institutions were reviewed by the AM's teams for the purpose of the renovation of the future galleries. In a section titled "International Museum Best Practice", the Content Waka listed twelve institutions that were "comparable to [the] AM being either ethnological (museum of civilisations), natural history, military history or encyclopaedic museums" (Content Waka, 2011: 16). This list included: the American Museum of Natural History (New York), the Australian War Museum (Canberra), the British Museum (London), the Canadian Museum of Civilization (Quebec), the Imperial War Museum (London), the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum (Glasgow), the Quai Branly Museum (Paris), the Natural History Museum (London), the Natural History Museum (Paris), the National Museum of Ethnology (Leiden), the National Museum of Natural History (Smithsonian, Washington), and the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Wellington). The document included a brief description of the approach followed by each museum, emphasising notably the structure of their galleries. Adding to this list during an interview, Sally Manuireva – Director Public Programmes and Capital Projects – explained that the ASC, the Museum of Anthropology (MOA, Vancouver, Canada) and the BPBM were regarded as models for the future renovation. For Sally, these museums' displays materialised an awareness towards "communities and "bi-cultural foundations" (Sally Manuireva, interview, 08/08/2014). Although the idea of bi-culturalism can be more specifically regarded as a concept grounded in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, this statement confirmed the existence of mirror relationships between museums and displays. It is also through these mirroring connections that RAA was selected by the AM. Here again, the museum match materialised in the plans for the future galleries, constructing further connections across Oceania.

Network makers and binders⁵⁹

This second point demonstrated that, even when exhibitions do not physically tour, museum institutions reach out to one another in order to construct new displays. In this context, museum professionals themselves become the agents of inter-museum connectivity. At the AM for instance, the executive team for the renovation explained encouraging the staff to find their own inspirations by visiting other exhibitions (Sally Manuireva, interview, 08/08/2014). Chanel Clarke and Fulimalo Pereira – the curators Māori and Pacific – travelled to the MOA in Vancouver for the Pacific Arts Association conference in August 2013 and visited the BPBM on their way back to Auckland. In return, a delegation from the BPBM – composed notably of Kamalu du Preez and Marques Hanalei Marzan – visited the AM in August 2014.⁶⁰ These curatorial trips – also undertaken by Mei-chen Tseng to the TCC in 2006 and by Ron Brownson and Jim Vivieaere to the KMFA in 2008-2009 (see Chapter 3) – echoed the path followed by William Brigham in 1889 when he travelled to New Zealand in preparation for the construction of *Polynesian Hall* (see Chapter 2). It can be argued that museum staff – in the past as in the present – connected one museum and one exhibition project to another through their movements. Curatorial figures can therefore be regarded as explorers of the museum world. However, their explorations – facilitated by physical or potential exhibition-vessels – remained mostly based on their own networks. Because these networks often rely on informal relations, and also because curatorial figures have a tendency to hide behind their displays rather than to include their own trajectories in their exhibitions, documenting these dynamics in great detail is complex. Yet, this study wishes to emphasise the need to take this element into account in the study of exhibitions and their making, and to construct traces of these relations in exhibition archives.⁶¹

⁵⁹ The artists involved in the exhibition case studies can also be regarded as network makers and binders. Instead of including them here, the last section of this chapter is entirely dedicated to their role as “movers” and presents a selection of artworks that demonstrate this point.

⁶⁰ The researcher was undertaking fieldwork at the BPBM in August 2013 and at the AM in August 2014, and had therefore the chance to witness these interactions. The relations between the AM’s staff and the BPBM’s staff did not however begin and finish with these trips.

⁶¹ The special issue of *Pacific Studies* “Genealogies: Articulating Indigenous Anthropology of/in Oceania” (Tengan et al., 2010), provides an example of how genealogies can be brought forth in the Pacific academic sphere. Over the last years, Mei-chen Tseng has also been using the Austronesian Column of

These inter-museum networks also empowered agents that did not directly belong to museum institutions. The hegemony of the company RAA is a powerful example. In 2002, RAA designed part of the National Museum of Prehistory in Taiwan, where *Vaka Moana* had toured in 2008. From 2006 to 2012, the company was actively involved in the renovation of Hawaiian and Pacific Halls at the BPBM. As a reminder, RAA's participation in the design of the latter was presented as "a favour" (Dave Kemble, interview, 10/09/2013). During the BPBM's restoration, the company was also taking part in the renewal of the galleries of the National Museum of Scotland (NMS) (including the Pacific and world cultures galleries), which reopened in 2011. Sally Manuireva – leading figure of the AM's renovation – was also working at the NMS at the time. In the following years RAA was selected for the restructuration of the AM's galleries and for that of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (including the Pacific galleries). It can therefore be argued that this company has been positioning itself in the field of Pacific displays in the last ten to fifteen years. RAA is therefore strongly determining the ways in which the Pacific is being represented and perceived across the world. While the designers' fame and their omnipresence in Pacific exhibition networks is fed by the aforementioned processes of echo and translation, it also increases the potential for "museum matches". To a certain extent, RAA's omnipresence on this market further binds specific museum institutions to one another through their exhibition spaces. This notably gives a material existence to trans-Pacific networks and lays the ground for stronger mirroring relationships. Thus, through agents like RAA, these institutions tend to form a community of museums, which in the specific case of trans-Pacific exhibitions can be described as "the RAA triangle" (from Taiwan to Hawai'i to Aotearoa New Zealand).

Sean Mallon and Nina Tonga, curators Pacific at Te Papa Tongarewa (Wellington), recently produced an online document reflecting on their practice as Pacific curators. Created in collaboration with the AM teams – Fulimalo Pereira and Kolokesa Māhina-Tuai – this document included a reflection on curatorial networks (Mallon, 2016): "(14) Curating involves acknowledging one's disposition and working beyond immediate

the KMFA's magazine *Art Accrediting* to describe the ways in which encounters fed the museum's various exhibition projects (see notably, Tseng, 2006, 2015).

networks and friends”. In this regard, the method employed at the BPBM and at AM to transcend direct networks differed. Although in both cases this came hand in hand with opening the museum community to external agents, the level of “external-ness” of these agents varied. At the BPBM, the scholars and practitioners consulted for PH’s restoration were already closely affiliated to the museum and were parts of the staff’s networks, which notably reached out to the University of Hawai’i at Mānoa (see Chapter 4). At the AM, the establishment of the Pacific Advisory Group (PAG) attempted to go beyond close circles. To a certain extent, the AM sought to combine its own relationships with those of well-connected external actors, a combination that would feed the gallery renewal (see Chapter 4). The advisors’ selection made by the AM – based on their connective capacities and on their cultural knowledge (terms of reference, PAG, 10/2013) – did however demonstrate the complexity of challenging existing power relations, especially when aiming to integrate this power into the museum structure. The composition of the PAG – like that of the galleries themselves – could not indeed constitute a complete representation of the Pacific and remained the product of situated politics, including institutional ones (see chapter 4 and 6).

Even though most advisors were of Polynesian heritage – matching Auckland’s demographics and the visitor-centric approach followed in the galleries – Marilyn Kohlhase, the chairperson, brought forth the importance of aiming for a certain cultural balance. During an interview she explained her intentions to serve Pacific communities in a plural sense and not only the group she was personally affiliated with (Sāmoan):

Including Melanesians in the story is part of my agenda. I am a very proud Sāmoan, yet I am a middle-class internationalist with German heritage. Sāmoans often dominate Pacific conversations in New Zealand, but I am more interested in the links across the Pacific, between the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea for instance. Some of us have been marginalised, so we should not marginalise others. (Marilyn Kohlhase, interview, 21/08/2014)

Throughout this interview, Marilyn made two strong points. Firstly, her cultural awareness towards the Pacific transcended her cultural affiliation as a New Zealand

Sāmoan. Secondly, her own interests, networks and personal background (cultural, but also economic and professional) informed the ways in which she envisioned her role and her scope of action as a PAG member. This statement not only demonstrated how each agent's trajectory and relations impacted on the conceptualisation of the future Pacific Galleries, it also highlighted the importance of un-boxing or un-charting the definition of belonging especially when dealing with connective displays and epistemologies (see chapter 6 and 7).

Conclusion

This section brought forth the existence of a correlation between the construction of connective exhibition narratives and the development of mirroring practices in the museum space. Exhibitions did not only generate trans-Pacific narratives but were also used by their makers to construct cultural and institutional networks. In return, these networks – developed within and beyond the museum space – fed the process of exhibition making and impacted exhibition-products. Rather than defining museums as “contact zones” – generating encounters and frictions – this analysis designated such institutions and their exhibitions as “network zones”. This understanding positioned museums as active and situated agents of complex power relations. It also emphasised the channels through which “contacts” were established, and identified the actors that were empowered through these channels. The concept of network applied to the field of museum and exhibition studies also presented the gallery space as a ramifying place, challenging the concepts of internality/endogeneity and externality/exogeneity (see Chapter 6). Physically contained, museum displays relationally expanded beyond the museum's walls through various pathways and practices. Although the efficiency of exhibitions is often associated with the imperceptibility of these channels – or with the invisibility of their makers – such networks did materialise in the gallery space (through specific designs for instance). Hence, by constructing trans-Pacific display models, exhibition makers also established new cross-Oceanic links, rooted in museum practices. In this context, exhibitions themselves became trans-Pacific vessels. Like any vessels, their journey remained shaped and transformed by those who navigated them

and by the elements encountered during their translations. The following section focuses on the role of artists as movers and navigators of trans-Pacific conversations.

5.3 – Trans-Pacific Residencies: The Artists as Movers

Pacific artists played a major role in the establishment of the trans-Pacific conversations witnessed throughout the case studies. This section seeks to explore yet another type of translation and connection centred on the figure of the artist: the process of “residency”. The commonly used term of “residency” in itself triggers reflections on movement and belonging. Designating a point in time when an artist is temporarily invited to the museum to create, a “residency” establishes a relationship between a home and a relocation as well as between a host and a guest. This process implies the displacement of the artist from one context to another, and supposes that the museum becomes a home for the duration of the creation process. Pacific artists – also referred to as moana artists (Māhina, 2010: 168-202) or as Austronesian artists in the context of the KMFA (see Chapter 6) – play and create around these ideas of home and abroad, reinventing the very meaning of belonging (Brownson et al., 2012). The Pasifika movement in Aotearoa New Zealand, instigated by urban artists of Pacific heritage, crystallised these visual conversations around the tension and the continuity between a homeland, a home and a connected-abroad (Teaiwa, 2005; Cochrane in Lee, 2007; Mallon et al., 2012; Brownson et al., 2012; Stevenson, 2015). From the 1990s onwards, this movement was paralleled by other artistic happenings across Oceania, such as the spontaneous gathering of indigenous Taiwanese artists on Jinzun beach (Taitung County) in 2002 (Tseng in Hsieh, 2010: 24). These movements and moments took part in the construction of Pacific artistic languages, which were both specific to their various contexts of development but also bound through shared themes, materials and aspirations. As such, Pacific arts also included and were nurtured by the visual conversations established in diasporic settings, which positioned artists as links in-between places and as route openers. As these artists looked towards the Ocean to explore their heritage – and also the heritage they shared with others – this ocean itself as well as the canoe as an embodiment of a common journey became essential elements in these visual conversations (see Chapter 3).

The development of trans-Pacific exhibitions, supported by trans-Oceanic epistemologies and networks, placed contemporary makers at the core of the process of reconnection. Artists were envisioned as the living interface of an interconnected past. In this context, the residencies (or museum artistic translations) undertaken by various makers across the case studies, encapsulated and channelled the process of creating about/on the link. To a certain extent, these residencies can be regarded as temporary diasporic settings. As such, they led some artists living in their homeland to experience the phenomenon of translation by creating abroad. Simultaneously, residencies further activated the feeling of displacement for those who already identified as diasporic makers. This section presents a selection of four artworks and performances which resulted from various residency programmes. Rather than structuring these artworks by museum, by island-location or by medium, this body of work proposes to reflect on trans-Pacific artistic translations. To do so, it is organised by type of links and displacements, all triggering a specific relationship between here and there, between home and abroad, and between local and regional Pacific. As these makers pulled together the various strings of a potential shared heritage, they also created pathways and networks across Oceania. Incorporating these pathways in their pieces, they demonstrated the fluidity of belonging in/to/through the Pacific today.

5.3. A – Connecting the Pacific from Home

The first type of artistic engagement encountered in trans-Pacific exhibitions is that of groups of artists of Pacific heritage (local and diasporic) collaborating on a joint creation. Binding Oceania from their home in Hawai'i, the collective gathered by Hālau Pāheona to construct a mural for *Pacific Hall* is a fitting example of this type of trans-Pacific residency undertaken at "home" (see Figure 5.10).

***Anu'u Nu'u Ka'ike (The Many Levels and Planes of Wisdom and Insight)* by Hālau Pāheona, mixed media mural, 2013, Pacific Hall, BPBM**

This piece is currently displayed in the BPBM's *Pacific Hall* [2016], on the mezzanine level (see Chapter 4). The mural, composed of mixed media (birch plywood, acrylic and hair) was created in six days by the hālau/school Pāheona a few months before the

reopening of *Pacific Hall* in September 2013 (Meleanna Meyer, interview, 15/10/2014). Its making, its design as well as its positioning in the Hall embodied the main exhibition message and brought forth the ties that bind the peoples of Moananuiākea/the Pacific Ocean in Hawai‘i.

As the museum staff was preparing for the reopening of *Pacific Hall* in May 2013, the Bishop Museum and Noelle M. K. Y. Kahanu – a member of PH’s content team (see Chapter 4) – commissioned the Hawaiian artistic collective and school hālau Pāheona to produce a large contemporary piece for the exhibit. This hālau was already a part of the museum network, and had been commissioned during the renovation of *Hawaiian Hall* for which it created a series of painted works. For *Pacific Hall*, nearly thirty “people of Pacific descent” gathered on the museum campus to create the mural (Ka’elele, fall 2013: 10). This group was composed of five kumu/main instructors – Meleanna Meyer, Al Lagunero, Solomon Enos, Kahi Ching – eight alaka’i/aspiring artists, and fifteen haumana/students (Meleanna Meyer, interviewed on 15/10/2014). Meleanna Meyer – one of the kumu and project leader – was in charge of choosing the haumana/students who would take part in the realisation of Pacific Hall’s mural. The notion of mentorship was key to the kuleana/responsibility of hālau Pāheona. Thus, the selection of the haumana in the various schools previously visited by the hālau was regarded as an important step in the creation process. Meleanna “hand-picked students of Hawaiian, Polynesian and Micronesian heritage”, with the purpose of “calling the Ocean together, invoking and bringing our mana’o [intention] and ike [perception] and mahalo [respect] together” (Meleanna Meyer, interviewed on 15/10/2014; mural making video, PH, 09/2013). In the making video realised for a multimedia displayed in PH, Kupono Duncan – one of the alaka’i/aspiring artists for the project – emphasised the importance of this reunion of islanders and described it in the following terms: “we are not all Hawaiians, we gather as Polynesians, or *nesians* to do this painting” (mural making video, PH, 09/2013). Echoing *Pacific Hall*’s display selection itself, the construction of this “collection of artists” suggested a will to construct an inter-island conversation, based on the Ocean as metaphor and as a source of common heritage (Artists conference, 21/09/2013). The epistemologies and the values employed to describe the mural and its making were rooted in the Hawaiian context but were applied to the

broader Pacific. While being grounded in a local approach, the mural created a space for students of the Pacific diaspora to bond through a shared experience. As such the piece materialised trans-Pacific connections in the present and entangled these connections with the museum space.

The mural's narrative was fed by that of the new display. For several weeks prior to the gathering of the collective on the BPBM's campus, the kumu, Noelle Kahanu and the rest of the curatorial team discussed the inspiration for the mural. The latter was envisioned as "a visual conversation about Pasifika [...] inspired by spirits, by prayers, by deep ike [perception] for our kupuna [ancestors], ike about the Ocean within us, the Ocean around us" (Meleanna Meyer, mural making video, PH, 09/2013). For the first time in the history of their practice, the collective committed to create a three-dimensional mural, composed of three layers of wood and several layers of paint. Each layer sought to address a level of ike/perception and to portray the interconnectedness of Oceania and its inhabitants. It was also decided that the piece, once created, would be displayed above the landing of the central wooden staircase. Positioned as such, it would play the role of nexus in the exhibition's storyline, by marking the passage from level 1 to 2 and from Western to Eastern Polynesia on the mezzanine level. Most importantly, the mural would face and mirror the canoe case displayed on level 1, as well as the settlement map presented on the other side of the mezzanine floor (see Chapter 4). The kumu sought to construct the mural as both an echo and a response to these museographical elements:

To respond to the [map] installation that shows the movement of people we are building a piece that talks about the ancestral perspective. The information is not immediate, we don't have diagrams, we are not using arrows, we are not using coordinates. It is a cerebral perspective; it is like interpreting a dream. [...] [We are] putting ourselves into the va'a, a canoe, and getting a window into the dreams of the navigator. (Solomon Enos, Kumu, hālau Pāheona, mural making video, PH, 09/2013)

After a few weeks of reflection, the collective gathered on the museum's campus for six days, using the museum hale wa'a/canoe hall as a studio, and the neighbouring

Atherton hālau as a location for collective sleepovers. Each session started with a pule/prayer to “leave our baggage behind and create a collective space” (Meleanna Meyer, interviewed on 15/10/2014). The space used for the making of the piece – a canoe hall – as well as the circumvolution of the artists in this space – described as “navigating bodies” – was metaphorically associated with the process and the themes of navigation and Ocean connections (mural making video, BPBM archives, PH, 09/2013). Increasingly, the mural project and its fabrication was absorbing the epistemologies employed in *Pacific Hall*, epistemologies that it would further nurture once on display. Through the presence of the artist collective, the Pacific family presented in the gallery was being embodied and its interconnectedness re-enacted on campus. Interestingly, while the Hall did not address the Pacific diaspora of Hawai‘i, young islanders were here becoming the representatives of diasporic dynamics through the mural.

During the creation process, the collective focused their attention on three pieces of plywood cut in sections and used to form the three main layers of the artwork. Each layer was meant to materialise and honour one “level of wisdom” (see title). The first layer – a large structure with irregular and curvy contours – served as a basis and sought to represent the Blue Continent. The second layer – cut in the shape of a he‘e/octopus – honoured the akua/deities that engendered and bound the peoples of Oceania. The third layer – resembling a moving alga – evoked the navigator’s environment “the coral and the sounds of the Ocean, the land and the sky” (Meleanna Meyer, interviewed on 15/10/2014).

Like the piece itself, the creation process was described as layered. The haumana/students were in charge of laying the first strata of paint on each of the three wooden elements. The alaka‘i and the kumu would then paint over the students’ work, which was said to be “embodied in the piece even when invisible” (Meleanna Meyer, interviewed on 15/10/2014). The piece of wood used as a base, for instance, was first painted in red to incorporate the energy of Pele – the volcanic Hawaiian deity – and was then covered by the alaka‘i and the kumu in a blue colour palette visually evoking the Blue Continent (see Figures 5.8 and 5.9). Layer after layer, the agencies of the students

nurtured that of their elders, creating poetical and material depth into the genealogy of the navigator's dream, and intertwining the participants' brushwork. In the final stage of the creation process, each artist donated a hair, which was integrated in the paint used to draw the maka/eye of the octopus. This final touch achieved to connect the artists to one another and bond them to their piece and to the Blue Continent. Echoing the museographical storyline, the existence of common DNA patterns amongst Austronesians played an important role in this artistic conversation: "our Ocean binds us, our DNA binds us – we added our DNA in the piece so that we remember that we are all connected" (Harinani Orme, interview, 15/10/2014). As on the mezzanine floor, the omnipresence of the archaeological narrative as well as the reflections on DNA analyses resulted in a visual interpretation of a Blue Continent that merges Hawaiian with Polynesian and Austronesian worlds (see Chapter 6). Once hung in *Pacific Hall*, the mural *Anu'u Nu'u Ka'ike* became an artistic mirror and an embodiment of the narratives brought forth in the exhibition (see Figure 5.10). Like PH, it connected the Pacific (and Pacific artists) at home in Hawai'i, and generated a unified depiction of Oceania by dwelling on the poetic of the Blue Continent. This model of residence – at home and with local and young diasporic artists – emphasised Pacific connections rather than differences. By doing so it also constructed and materialised the participants' shared heritage and identity.

5.3. B – Honouring Home Abroad: Artist Ambassadors

The second type of artistic residency organised in the context of the exhibition case studies was based on the physical displacement of one or a group of artists from their island of origin to a foreign-yet-connected territory. In this case, the artists were envisioned as ambassadors. Taking this role to the letter, Joseph Kenal Poukiou and Jean Michel Boene travelled to the KMFA in 2006, where they built a monument dedicated to their home-island (see Figure 5.11).

***Kanaky* by Joseph Kenal Poukiou and Jean Michel Boene, marble and teak, 2006,
Across Oceans and Time, KMFA, Taiwan⁶²**

Joseph Kenal Poukiou and Jean Michel Boene were the first artists to travel from New Caledonia to Taiwan in order to undertake a residency at the KMFA. Born from a collaboration between these two artists, their piece *Kanaky* functions both as a tribute to their island of origin and as a means to honour cross-Ocean relationships. Implanted in the KMFA's Austronesian Park prior to the opening the exhibition of *Across Oceans and Time*, this piece responded and embodied the connective narratives developed by the museum in the context of the Contemporary Austronesian Art Project. As a trace of the artists' journey from their home (New Caledonia) to their hypothetical homeland (Taiwan) *Kanaky* also epitomises the process of artistic travels and translations.

Poukiou and Boene were selected in 2006 through a conversation between the directors and curators of the KMFA and the Tjibaou Cultural Centre/ADCK (TCC). For this first residency in collaboration with the TCC, the KMFA was explicitly looking for talented carvers, sculptural art being defined as one of the museum's collection priorities since 1994. The TCC recommended and facilitated the travels of Poukiou and Boene, who were chosen for their artistic excellence in the field of contemporary kanak sculpture. Both were renowned artists of New Caledonia, coming from families of carvers of La Foa and already represented in the TCC's collection (FACKO). When Joseph Poukiou and Jean Michel Boene travelled to Taiwan in 2006, they envisioned themselves as ambassadors of Kanaky in Kaohsiung and treated their future piece as a means to mark their passage (Joseph Poukiou, interview, 27/06/2014). Upon their departure for Taiwan, they decided on the material they were going to use – wood for Boene and stone for Poukiou – but did not have a precise idea of the artwork they were going to create. Once in Kaohsiung, the museum staff introduced them to the Contemporary Austronesian Art Project and fed them with stories regarding the Taiwan-Pacific link. In response to these narratives, the carvers decided to join forces and to create a collaborative piece evocating both a canoe and their island of origin:

⁶² Joseph Kenal Poukiou and Jean-Michel Boene (New Caledonia) were in residence at the KMFA from 30/10/2006 to 29/11/2006. The piece created by both artists was presented in the Austronesian park uninterruptedly since 2006, and is still currently on display [2016].

When Jean-Michel and I got [to the KMFA], the museum staff was telling us about the relationships between us as Melanesians and Taiwan. We have the same roots you know. So the canoe is the first idea that came to our mind. Perhaps our ancestors travelled through Taiwan. We are the peoples of Oceania so the idea of carving a canoe made sense. Also, the “Cailloux” [the “Rock”/New Caledonia] has the shape of a canoe, did you notice? The Grande Terre [the main island] is the hull, and the three outer islands are like outriggers. So since we were the first to go to Taiwan, we used the canoe to represent our country, Kanaky (Joseph Poukiou, interview, 27/06/2014 – Translated from French by the author)

Creating a sculpture shaped as a canoe prow in the Austronesian Park of the KMFA was a way of honouring Kanaky and to represent the ancestral and contemporary links binding their island to Taiwan. The artists regarded their piece as an embodiment of the “islandness” of the places they journeyed from and to, New Caledonia and Taiwan being both “surrounded by water, and relying on their harbours that connects them to neighbouring islands” (J. Poukiou, interview, 27/06/2014).

Upon their arrival, the artists were hosted on the museum’s ground, at the neighbouring Children Museum. The first week of residency was dedicated to gathering the material necessary for the future sculpture. From the second week onwards, the carving of the monument to Kanaky began. During this process, they met several indigenous Taiwanese artists – Sakuliu Pavavalung, Ruby Swana (Doudou) and Le’en – who were also undertaking a residency at the KMFA at the time. The language barrier between these French and Chinese speakers did not allow them to verbally communicate, but both Taiwanese and Kanak artists explained having learned from each other’s presence, and having felt connected to each other beyond the language barrier (Ruby Swana, interview, 29/03/2014). For instance, Lei-en taught Poukiou how to engrave copper, an exchange that resulted in the making of a bracelet bearing Poukiou’s initials and totem animal (the lizard) accompanied by a mention “Kanakya-Taiwan” in the lower part (Joseph Poukiou, interview, 27/06/2014).

The hull was carved by Joseph Poukiou in Italian white marble provided by the KMFA. The hull was topped by a vertical wooden structure made by Jean-Michel Boene (Lee, 2007: 271). Both parts of this composite piece meant to feature distinctive Kanak artistic and cultural elements. The marble hull incorporated Poukiou's totems on each of the four corners of the stone: the setting and the rising sun, the moon and the lizard (Joseph Poukiou, interview, 27/06/2014). The signature of both artists, their origin "N-C", as well as the title of the piece "Kanak" were engraved onto the base. The top wooden sculpture created by Boene presented a phallic shape and symbolised fertility (Lee, 2007: 274). Further, the very top section of the wooden piece (carved by Poukiou) represented a frontal anthropomorphic figure, which directly echoes the rooftop finial of the Kanak chief's great house. While each element incorporated specific shapes and patterns, the pieces as a whole evoked a canoe with a marble hull and a wooden mast (Joseph Poukiou, interview, 27/06/2014).

After the making phase, the inauguration of the sculptors' piece was celebrated with a pilou/dance, executed by the artists themselves. The latter explained the importance of concluding their time at the KMFA with this dance. For them, their sculpture – resembling a canoe and taking the shape of their island of origin – as well as this performance were means to represent their country. By doing so they left a trace of their passage in Kaohsiung and transformed ancient ties into a contemporary link. This trace of this trans-Pacific connection is still visible in the KMFA's Austronesian Park today [2016]. This artistic monument also materialised and opened new horizons for the development of cross-Oceanic relationships.

5.3. C – Creating about/through the Link

The third type of artistic production triggered by the construction of trans-Pacific exhibition narratives in Oceanic museums generated pieces that attempted to establish a connective visual language. By associating elements of their own diasporic trajectories with patterns directly inspired by the Taiwanese context, the Pasifika artists Jim Vivieaere and Michel Tuffery created a piece that encapsulated the Taiwan-Pacific link. This piece was presented at the KMFA during the exhibition AOT (see Figure 5.14).

***Landscape (One Forest, Two Dogs, Three Boats)* by Michel Tuffery and Jim Vivieaere, mixed media installation, 2007, *Across Ocean and Times*, outdoor display, KMFA, Taiwan**

Like the mural created for *Pacific Hall*, the installation put together by Michel Tuffery and Jim Vivieaere for the outdoor display of the exhibition *Across Oceans and Time* was regarded as a visual conversation about trans-Pacific relationships. The two artists travelled from New Zealand to Taiwan one month after the opening of the exhibit to take part in the residency programme.⁶³ Their piece triggered reflections on the artists' cultural heritage, on the diasporic settings within which they developed their practice, as well as on their journey from Aotearoa New Zealand to Taiwan for the purpose of AOT. All in all, it evoked past, present and future trans-Oceanic ties, partly build through and within the museum space.

When the artists arrived at the KMFA in November 2007, they started their residency by picking a space for their piece in the south of the Austronesian Park. The park already encompassed several sculptures and installations at the time, including two pieces – *Tie* and *Direction of the Moon* – recently created by the Taiwanese indigenous artists Tafong Kati and Sapud Kacaw (see Chapter 3). Jim Vivieaere and Michel Tuffery, together with the museum staff, measured the space between these two installations and decided on the location of their piece according to their coordinates. Their piece was positioned so that the three installations formed a triangle: two apexes of this triangle were marked by Kati and Kacaw's installations, and the remaining apex was manifested by Tuffery's and Vivieaere's piece titled *Landscape (One Forest, Two Dogs, Three Boats)*. Although this triangle directly referred to the Polynesian triangle, the artists simultaneously defined it as a greater Pacific – including Taiwan in the conversation – and described it as “the Pacific Ocean” (Artists' statement, Chih-Kang 2008: 84). Occupying and activating this portion of the terrain, the artists and the staff weeded and mowed the triangular space between the artworks representing the expanse of the ocean (see Figure 5.12).

⁶³ Michel Tuffery and Jim Vivieaere were in residence at the KMFA from 19/11/2007 to 30/12/2007.

Once the location picked and the space occupied, Vivieaere and Tuffery began to construct their mixed media structure. A portion of the ground was ploughed and its topsoil lifted to plant a forest of painted bamboos. Here again, the artists collaborated with the museum staff to erect the multitude of bamboo sticks composing the forest. Through the construction of this piece responding to the idea of trans-Pacific connectivity, the artists were thus not only binding Taiwan to the broader Pacific, they were also reinforcing local bonds by triggering interactions amongst staff members, connecting artists with museum professionals and linking indoor with outdoor activities. Yet, Tuffery and Vivieaere remained aware of the historical and cultural gap between Taiwan and the rest of the Pacific region, a gap that they materialised in the bamboo forest. All bamboos were coloured in red apart from two that the artists painted blue. The red bamboos referred to Kaohsiung, its history and its ancient name of “Takao” derived from the Austronesian term of “makatao”, “bamboo forest” in English (Artists’ statement, Chih-Kang 2008: 84). The two blue bamboo sticks sought to represent the artists themselves, “two Pacific people amongst millions of Taiwan people” (Jim Vivieaere, KMFA’s documentation DVD, 2007). The colour code can be interpreted both as a way of drawing a border between the inner Pacific and the Pacific Rim, and as a means of playing with the process of inclusion and exclusion. The inclusion of two blue bamboos first referred to the Pasifika artists as both insiders in Taiwan – through their Austronesian roots – yet also foreigners/outsideers, coming from another island. Simultaneously, the blue bamboos materialised the idea of “minority” and thus acknowledged the status of the indigenous Taiwanese.

At the bottom of the bamboos, shards of charcoal were laid onto the soil to evoke the degradation of the plants throughout time. In the bamboo forest, Tuffery also installed two indigenous dogs (“tougou”) in painted polystyrene and several golden coconuts (see Figure 5.13). The latter represented the possibility of growing coconut tree shelters for the dogs – once the bamboo forest would have disappeared – further emphasising the transformative nature of Kaohsiung area and of the broader Pacific region. The dark patch of charcoal marking the progressive degradation of the forest was circled with white shingles, forming a black and white pattern onto the ground. Aside the forest patch, the artists realised a grass mound out of the remaining topsoil (see Figures 5.14

and 5.15). The black and white patterns on the ground as well as the grass mound were described by the Tuffery as three vaka/canoes (Michel Tuffery, KMFA's documentation DVD, 2007). The inclusion of vaka directly addressed the connective narrative developed for the Contemporary Austronesian Arts Project and the exhibition AOT. It also echoed the themes of *Vaka Moana* and its artistic twin *Le Folauga*, which had been presented in Aotearoa New Zealand a few months before the artists' residency at the KMFA. Both Vivieaere and Tuffery had their work displayed in *Le Folauga* Auckland, and later in *Le Folauga* Kaohsiung (see Chapter 3). Like in Poukiou and Boene's piece, materialising the vaka in their *Landscape* positioned Tuffery and Vivieaere as both witness and actors of trans-Pacific links.

5.3. D – Merging Pacific Cultural and Museum Families

The last type of residency presented in this research can be regarded both as a means to construct connections across the Pacific beyond the museum's walls and as a way to bind the museum family within. The performance *Te Reinga* – commissioned by Michelle Kamalu du Preez (Assistant Collections Manager) and choreographed by Jack Gray – established a strong correlation between the museum and the Pacific 'ohana. The museum staff involved in the performance became the characters of a connective play, using the museum's new renovated Pacific and Hawaiian Halls as a stage.

***Te Reinga*, performance by Jack Gray (Māori, Ngāti Porou, Ngāpuhi, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahungunu) in collaboration with Michelle Kamalu du Preez, Marcus Quiniones, Anne Lokomaka'i Limpscomb, Kealoha Kelekolio, Lissa Gendreau, Nicole dela Fuente, Michael Cahill, Moses Goods, Moanililia Miller, Anna Maria Scott-Ocampo, Marques Hanalei Marzan, Daniel Kapalikūokalani. July-September 2013, Pacific Hall, BPBM**

The choreographer Jack Gray (Atamira Dance Company) arrived at the Bishop Museum in July 2013. Upon Kamalu du Preez's request, Jack Gray had been commissioned to create a piece for the opening of *Pacific Hall*. The BPBM's teams wanted to include living cultures and practices in the future gallery (Marques Marzan, interview, 21/08/2013). Further, the museum was then envisioned as "a collection of artefacts but also as a collection of people", which should all be acknowledged publically (Kamalu du Preez

and Jack Gray, interviews, 11/09/2013 and 18/09/2014). Through a collaboration with a renowned choreographer, the teams wished to promote the museum staff's talents, with a specific focus on its educators with artistic backgrounds. The selection of a choreographer from Aotearoa New Zealand and of Māori heritage was based on Kamalu du Preez's networks. Bridging Hawai'i with Aotearoa, she had a good knowledge of the projects developed in New Zealand, and selected Jack Gray for his collaborative skills (Kamalu du Preez, interview, 11/09/2013). All in all, the goal was to create a performance that would effectively bind the staff and would promote both in-house talents and living Pacific practices.

The creation of the opening performance came hand in hand with the establishment of a new daily routine. During the last weeks preceding the Grand Unveiling, a selection of professionals gathered every morning for waiata/singing sessions as well as dance rehearsals. These new activities transformed the teams' schedule and contributed to the establishment of the exhibition cycle (see 5.2). Due to the popularity of these morning sessions, the number of attendees rapidly increased. A decision was made to open the singing part to the entire staff and to keep the dancing part for the talents. Progressively, both types of sessions became a space for sharing cultural stories – those of kumu/teachers, heroes, gods, lands and waters – and for connecting Hawaiian and Māori worldviews, knowledge, and movements (see Figure 5.16). Most morning practice started with a karakia/prayer and carried on with the learning of songs in both Māori (predominantly) and Hawaiian, sometimes also accompanied by dance moves. The bilingual song presented at the beginning of Chapter 1 – '*Ōiwi e/Ngā iwi e* – was one of the many waiata/songs taught and discussed during these rehearsals.

As *Pacific Hall* (PH) was being reinstalled at the time, the dance collective could not directly use this space for its rehearsals. A few sessions took place in the hall at the very beginning of the process, but installing and dancing bodies soon clashed in the narrow gallery. The dancers relocated outside and in Atherton Hālau (see Figures 5.17, 5.18, 5.19), while keeping PH as a focal point and occasionally visiting it at night during additional sessions (Jack Gray, interview, 10/09/2013). The participants also organised gatherings off campus and notably met at a lo'i/taro field in Kaneohe to connect to the

land of the kānaka maoli/Hawaiians, weeding and dancing in the mud and around the kalo/taro (see Figure 5.20). Outside, as inside the museum, these moments of contacts and conversations between the choreographer and the staff began to echo the dynamics faced by the content team during PH's renovation. While putting together the future performance, the participants wondered how they could create a story that would bind them, as people of and in the Pacific, and would ground them in the museum space. The process of translating, articulating and reinventing cultural concepts, moves and meanings, triggered crucial reflections on the hegemony of certain cultural models, the role played by each participants, or the complexity of finding common pathways to acknowledge the ancestors.

References to the material displayed in the galleries were also made, with a strong focus on Māori and Hawaiian material culture. For instance, Gray described the collective as a "va'a ready to encounter various elements" (Jack Gray, interview, 10/09/2013). The staff from the education department also brought artefacts to the sessions such as musical instruments (ukulele, ipu, etc.). Finally, Marques Hanalei Marzan – cultural resources specialist and fibre artist – contributed a part of his personal collection of hand-made clothing to be worn by the dancers on the opening day. Textiles and patterns – like va'a – became ties in these trans-Pacific conversations, a phenomenon that mirrored PH's highlights in the transversal cases (see Chapter 4).

The moves and the narrative of the final performance were constructed throughout the rehearsals, on the basis of improvisations and experience sharing. As the eclectic collective was not exclusively composed of professional dancers, Gray did not want to impose a predefined choreography onto the group. Rather, he aimed to acknowledge these bodies as the vessels of their own trajectories, and to develop meaning through what was shared during the sessions (Jack Gray, interview, 18/09/2014). The participants were given objects, such as ropes, stones etc. and were asked to occupy the museum campus with their mana and to tell stories through their bodies and with these artefacts. After this exploration phase, the format of the performance – a planned event in a museum space – forced the collective to progressively put words onto their motions and emotions. The title and the storyline of the future piece was discussed, fed

by interpretations provided by Kamalu du Preez and Hanalei Marzan, who were conducting research on various topics in parallel, and by elements brought forth by Jack G.

Te Reinga (“the leaping place of spirits”) became the official title of the performance in September 2013. This Māori title embodied the group’s reflection on genealogy and genealogies, which the performance sought to articulate. “Te Reinga” was described as the place through which humans, turned into spirits, begin their journey to Hawaiki (the mythical Polynesian homeland), a place that sought to bind the participant’s genealogies (Chapter 4; Jack Gray, interview, 18/09/2014). The other epistemologies and characters named throughout those conversations were also based on Māori and Hawaiian terminologies and stories. Fed by the dancers’ improvisations, Jack Gray constructed a story and affiliated each participant with an archetype. Marcus Quiniones (Educator) became the demigod Māui, the island fisher. Lokomaika’i Limpscomb (Educator) became the personification of Hine-nui-te-po, the goddess of death whom Māui tried to prevent from killing. Kealoha Kelekolio (Educator), was the embodiment of a kupuna/ancestor. Moses Goods (Educator) was Kāne/Tāne, son of Ranginui/the sky and Papatūānuku/the earth. Lissa Gendreau (Collection Technician) was turned into Hineahuone, the first woman made by Tāne and mother of Hine-nui-te-po. Michael Cahill (Science Educator) played the role of the Hawaiian ghost Uhane. Moani Miller (Administrative Assistant) was a frayed rope, a state of mind rather than a character. Anna Scott (Director of Human Resources) embodied the woman who finds the blooming flower. Hanalei Marzan (Cultural Specialist) was a kahuna/priest, the character that read signs. Kamalu du Preez (Assistant Collections Manager) was the pounder that provides the rhythm and allows the group to move forward. Jack Gray (Choreographer) described himself as the floor of *Pacific Hall* and as the map of Oceania represented on level 1 (see Chapter 6; Jack Gray, interview, 18/09/2014).

Piecing together the roles that had emerged from small group improvisations, Gray was interested in provocations of imagery where people could be multiple things: elements, deity, human beings, states of minds and enactments of stories and genealogies (Jack Gray, interview, 18/09/2014). The choreographer first tried to isolate sequences

developed during the rehearsals and to put them in “logical order”. He quickly realised that the piece would not function as such and that connections amongst segments were energetic and self-driven. Thus, *Te Reinga* and its choreographer moved away from a linear story, and established instead an experience that “created a ceremonial space, and brought in shades of understanding of cosmology, archetypes, and emotions that are felt in flitting moments” (Jack Gray, interview, 18/09/2014). The piece performed several times on PH’s Grand Unveiling – and in various smaller versions prior to this (see Chapter 6) – told the story of bodies turning into spirits and returning to Hawaiki (see Figure 5.21). These bodies interacted in small groups, duos and solos on a small stage installed for static performances. Getting off stage, dancing and playing musical instruments at the front and at the back, the movers performed a moment and a set of relations that resembled a protocol. Wearing the contemporary costumes designed by Hanalei Marzan, the collective articulated and resolved this chain of museum and cosmogonic relationships. For Gray, *Te Reinga* was not a performance, but an “informance”:

Instead of performing ourselves we are informing ourselves with everything around us and in us. There is a reciprocity of inside and outside. We are not entertaining, but we may be entertaining. But we may also be engaging, absorbing, articulating and resolving. (Jack Gray, interview, 18/09/2014)

To a certain extent *Te Reinga* absorbed, healed and catalysed the dynamics observed during the renovation of *Pacific Hall*. It brought together and bound the museum ‘ohana which, for the time of the informance, embodied the Pacific family and enacted the ties that bind Aotearoa to Hawai‘i.

Conclusion

By interweaving the various threads presented in Chapters 3 and 4, Chapter 5 highlighted the articulations and the articulators binding one case study to another. Demonstrating a correlation between exhibition contents and exhibition networks, this body of work brought forth the impact of historical and contemporary relations on the

construction and the representation of connectivity. Bringing together indigenous and non-indigenous agents as well as entangled objects and trajectories, exhibitions placed their makers at the core of various genealogies that intertwined and reminisced to the surface of the display at a specific point in time and space. Redefining the exhibition space as “a network zone”, Chapter 5 also emphasised the importance of reflecting upon the channels that shape exhibition practices and products. This reflection led to envisioning trans-Pacific exhibitions as the relational widows through which multiple networks converge, leaving traces of their encounters into the gallery space. As the latter embodies these relationships, it transforms from “space” to “place”, ramifying beyond its physical locality while remaining grounded in it. As such, the exhibitions studied in this thesis can be regarded as multiple “sites of trans-localism” (Matsuda 2012: 5 in Dürr & Schorch, 2016: xviii).

In this context, an analytical metaphor brought forth by exhibition makers themselves arose. Trans-Pacific exhibitions were envisioned as both the containers and the embodiment of Oceanic canoes. Navigating between geographical, institutional and cultural localities, they constituted and were used by their makers as a means to construct connectivity. To a certain extent, exhibitions became a method to bind genealogies, to (re)establish relationships across the Ocean, and to construct sovereign Oceanic museological models. Like any vessels, these exhibition-canoes were not drifting but led, actively engaging with the navigated space through the figure of the navigator-leader. By exploring the parallel between the process of mapping and that of curating, Chapter 6 will shade light on the impact of situated power relations onto exhibition and cartographic media.

Chapter 6:
**Curating versus Mapping: Limitations and Impacts of
Connective Narratives**

“In a fundamental sense, there is no Pacific region that is an ‘objective’ given, but only a competing set of ideational constructs that project upon a certain location on the globe the imperatives of interest, power, or vision of these historically produced relationships.”

Arif Dirlik, 1992: 56.

Introduction

Chapter 5 analysed the ways in which, in Oceania, connections are created through trans-Pacific exhibiting processes and exhibitions. By focusing on the methods and the means employed to construct and promote a renewed understanding of Oceania, the chapter investigated the development, within the museums of the region, of a connective culture of display. The latter engenders cross-cultural/cross-Ocean narratives and networks, generates connective scenographies and material, and strengthens trans-Pacific artistic trends. By dwelling on the processes of echo and translation, Chapter 5 demonstrated that the museums studied in this thesis are not only connecting cultures and artists in their new displays but are also reaching out to one another, through the means of specific agents.

Envisioning museums as key actors of the construction of trans-Pacific identities and epistemologies, Chapter 5 also suggested a correlation between the exhibition space and the Pacific region itself: the former seeking to represent the latter, transforming one impacts on the redefinition of the scope and the structure of the other. Chapter 6 pursues the analysis of this correlation between exhibition and Oceanic spaces by delving into the very core of the act of constructing and performing representations. This chapter focuses on the characteristics shared by trans-Pacific exhibitions and the Pacific maps that are constructed for and displayed within these exhibitions. Simultaneously, it aims to demonstrate how both curatorial and cartographic media perform as partial and located projections of Oceania.

In other words, Chapter 6 explores the parallels between *museo-*, *expo-* and *geo-* *scenographies*, and establishes a *mise en abyme* associating the case studies with their Pacific

maps.⁶⁴ The process of *mise en abyme* is defined in literary studies as a transposition, a figuration or a reduplication within a picture or a play of a scale model of this same picture or play (Gide, 1951; Valéry, 1960; Goulet 2006). Informed by studies focusing on the process of wrapping and containing images in Oceania, this chapter investigates the existence of a recursive/telescoping relationship between exhibitions and their maps (Gell, 1993; Hooper, 2007).

By doing so, Chapter 6 aims to bring forth the limitations of trans-Pacific discourses and the challenges encountered when staging them. Following Foucault's theory of power-knowledge as well as Barthes and Derrida's reflections on textual interpretations (Foucault, 1969, 1975; Gordon, 1980; Derrida, 1972; 1978), this chapter attempts to deconstruct the maps of the Pacific displayed in trans-Pacific exhibitions. This visual, conceptual and material deconstruction serves as a means to highlight and locate the power relations that shape curatorial and cartographic media (Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Harley 1989; Wood, 2010). By and large, Chapter 6 envisions the map as an "arbiter of power" (Harley, 1989: 12), and offers to extend cartographic analytical methods to the study of other forms of representations, such as that of museum displays.

Pacific exhibition maps: a working definition

The visual material analysed in Chapter 6 was extracted from a database put together throughout the PhD research [2012-2016] and inventorying what will be referred to as 'Pacific exhibition maps'. Though the concept of 'exhibition maps' – as well as 'Pacific' – will be outlined throughout this chapter, a first empirical definition should be provided here in order to highlight the specificity of the material explored as well as that of museum cartography as a field of studies. 'Exhibition maps' are envisioned here as two-dimensional cartographic representations adapted or produced by designers in collaboration with museum staff (often reduced to their curatorial teams) with the

⁶⁴ The term *expography* comes from the French "expographie", "a neologism created by André Desvallées in 1993 as a complementary term to "museography". It designates the act of putting on display and the spatial expression of the exhibition message (Desvallées & Mairesse, 2011: 599).

purpose of being put on display. Though these artefacts may be partly outsourced, or may themselves inspire cartographic representations compiled beyond the museum's walls, such maps, at the very least, transition through the gallery space. Furthermore, whether they are constructed for an exhibition or have been transformed for exhibiting purposes, these maps perform as reflective display components. Matched with the whole or a part of an exhibit, they offer a geographical overview of the space targeted by the display. As such, they are correlated yet should be distinguished from exhibition floor plans, which map the space within rather than the space beyond. Both exhibition maps and floor plans can however be regarded as forms of museum cartographies, which are technical and visual materialisations of the geographic taxinomies constructed through and within the museum environment.

The exhibition maps presented in the museums visited for the purpose of this research adopted various forms and materials, conveyed a wide range of messages, and were positioned in a great variety of locations. Their message, their purpose and their positioning strongly impacted the ways in which these maps were performed and received by their audience. In this regard, the general maps, mostly found at the beginning of exhibition storylines, must be distinguished from detailed charts displayed in relation to specific items. The first kind (general maps), often treated as an autonomous display element (rather than as a complementary image) both by makers and viewers, is the main focus of this research. The museum professionals interviewed envisioned and conceived these general maps in two ways: a) as content oriented maps (in the Pacific Galleries of the AM for instance/ Tanya Wilkinson, interview, 15/08/2014), or b) as experience focused cartographic representations (in *Across the Oceans and Time* and *The Great Journey* at the KMFA, and in *Pacific Hall* at the BPBM/ Mei-chen Tseng and Dave Kemble, interviews, 16/04/2014 and 07/10/2014). Finally, these maps were based on various interpretations of the Pacific, and presented narratives that corresponded alternatively to depictions of the 'Pacific region', 'Oceania', or 'Austronesia' etc. As this chapter will demonstrate, the terminology employed often matched the broader exhibition discourse, and was directly correlated with the position of the museum within the region as well as to the expanse of this museum's network.

Despite their diversity, these exhibition maps were all based on western cartographic models, rather than on indigenous mapping systems. No matter which *Pacific* they depicted, they were systematically constructed as didactic documents that provided the visitors with a contained geographical visualisation of the area explored in the broader exhibit. While constituting an extra layer in the mechanism of representation, they paradoxically helped the audience to connect the material displayed within the exhibition with the reality existing beyond its walls. Furthermore, despite the distinctions brought forth by their makers, this chapter argues that the map as a museum artefact became a central element of the curatorial narratives developed across the exhibition case studies. Extending over a wider portion of the gallery, both physically and conceptually, the general maps studied here functioned as thoughtful and powerful mirrors of the broader stage.

Maps versus exhibitions

Proceeding to a *mis en abyme* pairing exhibitions and their maps, triggers a reflection on the mechanisms through which these representations are created. The processes of selection, omission, classification, prioritisation and symbolisation, are at the core of the act of conceptualising cartographic and curatorial media. Each of these processes can be envisioned as an arena where multiple agencies are combined through relationships of power, shaping the materiality of these media as well as the ways in which they perform in the museum environment (Dirlik, 1992; Harley, 1989: 10; Latour, 2005; Gell, 1998). Altogether, both exhibitions and maps define, and therefore include as much as they exclude. As products of power relations, they also serve and legitimise certain perspectives over others. Thus, when exploring an exhibition or a map one should not only accept partiality as an ontological condition, but should also wonder by whom, where, when and for whom such media were constructed as well as how this partiality is being performed (Jolly, 2007: 508; Tcherkézoff, 2008; Casey, 2008; Wood, 1992; Monmonier, 1991; Harley, 1989).

Foreign, indigenous and entangled cartographic representations

These questions have been investigated in studies focusing on Western historical maps of the Pacific, which brought forth an explicit distance or a rupture between the subject(s) of the representation and the actor(s) of this representation (Thomas 1997; Denning, 2004; Jolly, 2007; Tcherkézoff, 2008; Douglas, 1999; Douglas & Ballard, 2008). The analysis of these charts constructed from *outside* Oceania demonstrated the necessity of deconstructing the discourses supporting these representations, as well as the importance of locating their authors and their motivations. The literature approaching these media also revealed that, in both colonial and postcolonial contexts, the phenomena of differentiation, ethnocentrism, discrimination, exoticism, fascination etc. cannot be separated from the act of representation. In parallel, the scholarship focusing on indigenous mapping systems (such as the Marshallese stick charts), as well as the studies of cartographies produced by Pacific Islanders during the period of contacts (such as Tupaia's map collected/copied during Cook's first voyage), showed how perceptions of the Oceanic space vary according to their cultural contexts of production, and are also shaped by specific practices (Finney, 1992, 1994, 1998a; Davenport, 1964; Gell, 1985; Di Piazza & Pearthree, 2007; Jolly, 2007).

Chapter 6 seeks to address this scholarship while focusing exclusively on maps of the Pacific constructed, performed and transformed within the museums of the region. It examines cartographic representations that are neither foreign nor indigenous, but can instead be described as entangled and relational objects (Thomas, 1991; Harrison et al., 2013). Further, although these maps are often inspired by charts produced for non-museum purposes, they are shaped by the museum environment and by the connective culture of display through and within which they are created. As such, these artefacts challenge both spatial and taxonomic divides by triggering a reflection on belonging and positioning.

The thread: Pacific Hall's wooden floor map

This chapter uses Pacific Hall's wooden floor map as a reflective thread and follows the trajectory of this unique artefacts (Kopytoff, 1986; see Chapter 4). Of all the maps collected during the field research, this map quickly became the centre of the attention as it was constantly discussed by its makers and its audience. The researcher not only witnessed the conversations of the professionals freshly involved in the construction of this map, but was also present during its very first activations by PH's opening delegation, by the artists and by the public. As PH's floor map was still in the making, this context provided an ideal setting to further document and research the genealogy of this artefact and its conception.

The first section of this chapter takes the reader back to *Pacific Hall* and introduces a visual deconstruction of its wooden floor map, hinting at its role as a compass of the exhibition. After further exploring the general process of mapmaking and the specificity of exhibition maps, the following section pieces together the negotiations that resulted in the making of PH's floor map. In section 6.3, PH's floor map and the challenges faced by the teams while constructing it are put into perspective through a comparison with exhibition maps constructed across the case studies from 1894 to 2016. This chronology reveals that charting the Pacific within and for exhibitions has long been a conundrum. After this connective chronology, the chapter returns to PH to witness the activation of the wooden floor map upon the opening of the gallery and its reconstruction a few months later.

6.1 – The Exhibition Compass: A Visual Deconstruction of Pacific Hall's Floor Map

The Pacific Hall of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum presents some of the finest examples of Pacific exhibition maps collected and documented through this study (see Figure 6.1). The new hall [2016] encompasses several maps representing the region, shown at different scales (general or detailed) and through various media (fixed digital, interactive digital, printed, inlaid). Amongst this wide range of charts offering partial

representations of Oceania to the visitors, the map referred to as ‘the wooden floor-map’ plays the role of a physical and conceptual nexus in the gallery. It is positioned at the centre of PH’s first level, and spreads across a large portion of the floor.

When standing on this floor map, one can visually explore *Pacific Hall* in its totality, get a glimpse of the first floor’s cases, peek at the mezzanine display and its large migration map, glance at the Fijian canoe and the large screen floating above, and look at several artworks presented throughout the gallery, including the large mural realised by Hālau Pāheona (see Chapters 4 and 5). Expanding from the landing of the majestic wooden staircase on the west side of the gallery to the canoe case on the east side, and readable from both of PH’s levels, this map creates a remarkable visual thread throughout the exhibit (see Chapters 4 and 5). Further, this chart described as “a gathering space for orientation” (PH Design Meeting, n°8, 29/07/10) is constructed and performed as a compass of the broader Pacific Hall, a compass that is also represented on the map itself. The narratives and the ambiguities of this map are here deconstructed through a visual analysis, which first examines the positioning of the edge, to then dwell on the representation of the space between the margins of the chart.

6.1.A – On the Edges: Narrative and Ambiguities

The map in question is made of several panels of marquetry wood, composed of cherry (islands and landmasses), walnut (ocean), maple (text and illustrations) and wenge (frame of the map) (Star adviser, 15/09/2013; see Figure 6.2). Each inlaid panel represents a section of “The Pacific Ocean”, as titled in the lower part of the chart. Assembled according to wooden flooring techniques (parquetting), these panels, all together form a region that expands from 60° East to 45° West longitude (approximately from the middle of the Indian Ocean and half way through South America) and from 30° North to 55° South in latitude (approximately from above the Tropic of Cancer to the northern edge of the Tierra del Fuego). The limits of the chart are marked by a dark brown frame showing coordinates, as well as by a blue carpet covering PH’s floor and evocating the Ocean. The scope of the map corresponds to that

of the exhibition itself (see Chapter 4). It more specifically echoes the geo-chronological narrative deployed on the mezzanine level, where the storyline starts in the Taiwan Strait (after a brief stop in New Guinea) and ends with the question of possible contacts between Pacific navigators and South America. In other words the edges of the floor map match the physical and conceptual limits of the display itself.

Discussing the limitations, or what is on the edge of a map, triggers a reflection on the very process of definition and conceptualisation (Casey, 2008; Jolly 2001, 2007). In order to piece together a cartographic narrative, one must highlight what is included and what is excluded, as well as the ways in which this selection is made readable. Absence or silence in cartography is as meaningful as presence (Harley, 1989). By and large, in the cartographic realm, and also in the curatorial sphere, representing is as much about revealing than it is about concealing (Fry, 1997).

The limits of PH's floor map are not strictly constructed by physical demarcations or cuts, but are also signified through labelling. On the west side, the chart spans under the landing of the staircase, suggesting that the world expands beyond the scope of the representation (PH Design Meeting, n°16, 23/09/10). As a result, the staircase is enclosed by the map and covers most of the Indian Ocean, which is not labelled. Moving east from this unnamed Ocean, outlines of landmasses start appearing in a lighter colour wood. Partly cut by the last steps of the staircase, the Indian peninsula is depicted but remains unlabelled. The same is true for South East Asia, where the countries currently referred to as Myanmar, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, are not labelled nor identified as nation states [2016]. Since political borders are not drawn, South East Asia appears as un-dotted, uncharted, landmass showing one single label, inlaid in maple: "China". Along the western margin of the map, this label is paired with a unique other, "Taiwan", which is floating on the east side of the island. This pairing suggests that limiting the labelling over South East Asia does not come with the intention of emphasising the dominating position of the People's Republic of China over the rest of the region. Rather, it seeks to orient the chart's narrative towards the Taiwan Strait, described in the hall as the homeland of Austronesian peoples. Like in the gallery itself, this visual association also

hints at a representation of a Pacific region that is more inclusive and that encompasses island-cultures of the so-called “Pacific Rim” (Dirlik, 1992).

The labelling as depicted on the margins of the chart reveals, however, what cartographers define as the ambiguity of this cartographic representation (Marin, 1993; Casey, 2002). The decision to include Taiwan and China contrasts with the choice not to tag the islands of South East Asia, often included in the Austronesian realm.⁶⁵ This cartographic silence is even more paradoxical when put in the context of Hawai‘i’s demographics. Indeed, the Filipino population represents approximately 14% of the total population, and is therefore the second largest community of migrants currently living in Hawai‘i. This disconnection between Hawaii’s demographics and PH’s floor map is made even more evident by the non-inclusion of the islands of Japan along the north-western edge of the chart.⁶⁶ Despite the studies suggesting the existence of Austronesian settlements in Japan, as well as the statistics establishing the part of the total population originating from Japan at 17%, the Japanese islands are excluded from this cartographic representation.⁶⁷ The reasons for this selection cannot therefore be found beyond the museum’s walls, but precisely, within. The ways in which the margins of the floor map were delimited in *Pacific Hall* demonstrates a strong correlation between the map and the exhibition itself, the latter leaving aside the arts and cultures of the islands of Asia and South-East-Asia, with the exception of Taiwan. Such a selection also indicates that the narrative constructed through the floor-map and its affiliated display does not bring forth contemporary trans-Pacific connections and diasporic movements.

⁶⁵ On this topic see notably: Bellwood & al., 1995 ; Kirch, 2000 ; Howe 2006 ; Bellwood in Lee, 2007.

⁶⁶ These demographical features were pointed out by several informants during the field research conducted at the BPBM in 2013 and 2014. Though statistics must be handled with extreme care they are consultable online at <http://www.infoplease.com/us/census/data/hawaii/demographic.html>

⁶⁷ This is not to say that all Japanese immigrants living in Hawai‘i have Austronesian roots, but rather that the history of Hawai‘i is closely connected to that of the current territory of Japan, which encompasses peoples of Austronesian heritage. On August 15 2013, this cross-Austronesian heritage was celebrated at the BPBM during the visit of a group of students from the Okinawa International University (Ginowan, Okinawa). The students performed an eesia “to honour Princess Pauahi, and other Hawaiian ancestors represented at the museum” (Betty Kam, Email, 14/08/2013).

The selection operated along the north-eastern edge supports this analysis. North America, and more specifically Canada and the USA are not represented on the floor-chart. One could argue that this cartographic decision is particularly meaningful when made from Hawai'i, the 50th and most recent state of the United States of America. By excluding North America from the map, the islands of Hawai'i become visually tied to the Pacific Realm. Echoing the original conceptual framework of the broader display, which stated "Hawaiians are Pacific Islanders" (Appelbaum Interpretative Content, 2010), Hawai'i is represented as a nation of the Blue Continent (see Chapter 4). It can be argued that, on the one hand, this cartographic demarcation oversees the history of colonisation, which is addressed in the neighbouring *Hawaiian Hall* but not in *Pacific Hall*. On the other hand, subtracting North America from the equation also leaves aside the links developed between indigenous Hawaiians and North American first nations, which hints at a representation of a region framed by DNA analysis and archaeological records, rather than by contemporary indigenous networks.

In contrast with North America, South America is partly included in the map, and is also made present by the existence of a label. The South American landmass remains, however, cut half way through by the chart's frame, which suggests a desire to emphasise the importance of the coastline, used here as a geographical margin. This demarcation goes hand in hand with that employed on PH's mezzanine level, where the storyline ends with an arrow connecting the "inner-Pacific" with the coast of Chile. Interestingly also, the tip of South America is just about included in the frame, keeping out the Tierra del Fuego as well one of the passages through which 18th century European explorers entered Oceania. This denied access to the Atlantic finds an echo in the broader Pacific Hall, where the story of the re-discovery of Oceania by western navigators is untold (DeSoto Brown, interview, 16/09/2013). Paradoxically, although this route is excluded, the island names given by European explorers at the time figure on the map. This tension constitutes another of the map's ambiguities.

6.2.B – In-between: Fluidity beyond Rigidity

In western cartography, similar to other forms of representation, the edges delimit a space that is in-between these physical limits. The edges and the space-between are visually and conceptually entangled:

The edges supply *bounds* to the in-between, where by “bounds” I mean a species of *boundaries*, that is, porous edges that take in as well as give out – in contrast with *borders*, which act to delimit institutions and concrete practices in the life-world. The in-between offers a *matrix* for edges, a concrete nexus in which they are located. (Casey, 2008: 9)

The narrative of a chart is therefore constructed through this correlation, the choices made along the edges being accentuated or loosened by the representation of what is deployed within, and vice versa. In the context of Pacific maps in the 21st century, the space-between holds a particularly significant status. The in-between is the place where the concept of a *Blue Continent*, as brought forth in the broader exhibition, is represented.⁶⁸ This continent of water and islands is depicted here between the four edges of the map, in a space that can be described as relational and liminal (Wendt, 1999; Bhabha, 1994).

The wooden floor-map displayed in Pacific Hall is centred on a space that contains the islands of the Pacific as well as Australia. The latter is labelled, despite the absence of Australian artefacts on display. As observed along the edges, the space-between is not delimited by any political borders, creating a sense of fluidity that contrasts with the rigidity of the material employed (wood). The demarcation between territories – continents, islands, bodies of water – is created through the variation of the wooden colour palette as well as through the use of labels. In this regard, the linear tags figuring over larger landmasses can be distinguished from the curvy labels floating aside islands. These labels reinforce the illusion of fluidity over the Blue Continent. This illusion is further accentuated by the use of small icons representing canoes seen from the side

⁶⁸ In relation to the Ocean and the coastline as a relational space see also Mack, 2011 and Denning, 2004.

rather than from above, with their sails out, suggesting that the space depicted between the margins of the map is being navigated. Each icon is different, matching a type of canoe found in the affiliated island group and highlighting the diversity of Pacific material cultures. However the multiplicity of canoes visually mushrooming across the region creates a sense of unity and brings forth a shared heritage. Altogether, PH's floor map mirrors the narrative constructed in the broader exhibit and emphasises its key message by depicting the Ocean as a catalyst for unity and fluidity across the Sea of Islands (see Chapter 4). The chart also actively engages with the discourse of the neighbouring canoe case, which, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, was envisioned as a form of mapping. By and large, it is precisely between the edges of the map that the "Sea of Islands" as defined by Hau'ofa is constructed (1994; 1998).

But what does this fluid and unified *Sea of Islands* include? Although the chart gives the impression of covering and representing the entire Pacific, a selection was also operated in-between the margins. As along the edges, this selecting process is made visible through both the act of representing and labelling. While the biggest islands are represented, smaller atolls do not appear. Further, on this inlaid chart, the space dedicated to these islands is in competition with that devoted to the labels, echoing the dilemma faced by curators when balancing the inclusion of artworks versus that of texts in a display case. As a consequence, the floor-chart only depicts a handful of archipelagos, which are identified as such rather than as separated islands. For example, the tag floating under Hawai'i reads "Hawaiian Islands", rather than "Nihau", "Kauai", "Oahu" etc.

A sense of hierarchy between these archipelagos is also created through the terminology employed in these labels. In 2012, while New Zealand or Easter Island benefited from bilingual names, "Aotearoa New Zealand" and "Rapa Nui Easter Island" respectively, places like Kiribati or Vanuatu were titled "Ellice Islands" and "New Hebrides".⁶⁹ This ambiguity in the terminology used in PH's floor-map drew an epistemological and temporal border between two kinds of territories: those conceived

⁶⁹ This terminology was revised and transformed in 2014, a matter discussed in the final section of this chapter.

in the present-day and those frozen in history. Interestingly, the archipelagos that then benefited from an updated label are also well represented in PH, where they are connected to Hawai'i as the two other apexes of the so-called "Polynesian triangle" (case PH2-19, see Chapter 4). Finally, this tension between past and present is also perceptible in the lower part of the map, where a decorative compass – resembling those figuring on historical western charts – is depicted alongside the date of the map's creation, 2012.

All in all, PH's wooden floor map presents a series of ambiguities and tensions that articulate this cartographic representation. It combines the rigidity of the wood and the frame with the search for fluidity over the Ocean. References to the past also contrast with the attempts to actualise appellations and spatial representations, while cartographic silences enhance exhaustive windows over certain islands. The following section brings in the makers of this representation of the Pacific. It explores the negotiations that led to these cartographic and curatorial decisions.

6.2 - Producing and Authoring Exhibition Maps

Deconstructing a map not only calls for a visual analysis but also requires an understanding of the techniques and the operational sequences supporting its construction (Lemonnier, 2004; Coupaye, 2009). Like curating, mapping is indeed a highly technical process; and like curators, mapmakers engage with a set of parameters and contingencies that accompany and frame their decisional power. Across the case studies, the making of Pacific maps for Pacific exhibits was described as a complex exercise, a conundrum that the design team of the *Pacific Hall* synthesised in these terms: "maps of the Pacific have inherent challenges, so we will need to make judgment calls that will not have universal support" (PH Design Meeting n°30, 10/02/2010). This section aims to explore these "inherent challenges" and the process of putting together PH's floor map in order to bring into perspective some of the ambiguities and tensions highlighted through the visual analysis. Here, the making of the map is envisioned as a conceptual and technical negotiation that engenders decisions, but also compromises.

By and large, the chart is no longer approached as a final and unbound product, but instead, as the result of negotiations that impact on its materiality.

6.2.A – Mapmaking versus Mapmakers

The making of maps and its implications has been the focus of a wide range of studies (Monmonier, 1991; Krygier & Wood, 2011; Wood, 2010; Cosgrove, 2012). All in all, these studies define cartography as a science and mapmaking as a process that encompasses several technical steps. Ultimately and paradoxically, this process leads to the distortion of the reality that maps seek to capture. Beyond the phase of conceptualisation, which already frames the understanding of a certain reality through the selection of data, the phase of realisation itself reinforces this distortion by balancing essential attributes: material, scale, projection, and symbolisation. These parameters are inherent to the process of constructing maps, and impose limitations on the scope and structure of cartographic representations. For Monmonier, distortion should not be regarded as a consequence of the act of mapping, but rather only as a technical condition of all cartographic representations:

To portray meaningful relationships for a complex three-dimensional world on a flat sheet of paper or a video screen, a map must distort reality. As a scale model, the map must use symbols that almost always are proportionally much bigger or thicker than the features they represent. To avoid hiding critical information in a fog of detail, the map must offer a selective, incomplete view of reality. [...] There is no escape from this cartographic paradox. (Monmonier, 1991: 1)

Yet, historians of cartography have argued that scientific and technical practices should not be disconnected from their social, political and cultural contexts (Gell, 1985; Cosgrove & Daniels, 1988; Harley 1989; Jolly, 2007; Tcherkézoff, 2008; Wood, 2010; Cosgrove, 2012). By looking at the variation and the transformation of cartographic objects through time and space, these scholars have not only demonstrated the power of maps but have also underlined the forces invested and embodied in these cartographic projections. Furthermore, by displacing the focus of the technical analysis

from the making to the makers, these scholars have discussed how mapmakers tend to hide behind their maps, legitimising the discourses that they generate:

Much of the power of the map, as a representation of social geography, is that it operates behind a seemingly neutral science. It hides and denies its social dimensions at the same time as it legitimates. (Harley, 1989: 7)

Altogether, this reasoning highlights two essential elements that should be taken into consideration when analysing the making of a chart. First of all, the scientific and technical nature of maps should not be discarded but rather highlighted, as the power of maps derives precisely from scientific and technical channels that are historically, socially and culturally constructed. In other words, claiming that cartography is a science that answers specific rules can only constitute a first step towards the understanding of where, how and by whom this science was established, as well as of what impact this legacy has on the materiality of a chart. Secondly, even though the efficiency of cartographic discourses partly relies on the invisibility of their makers, maps – like exhibitions – are undeniably authored representations. Rather than being excluded from the analysis, makers as well as the means through which they perform should therefore be recognised, and even perhaps, placed on their maps.

6.2.B – Making Maps for Exhibitions: Diversity and Trends

While there is plethora of literature on maps and mapmaking there has not yet been any major publication on exhibition maps and their production.⁷⁰ Furthermore, it seems that exhibition maps have seldom been differentiated from other types of cartographic representations. This matter is rooted in various determining factors, which the short analysis below attempts to investigate and to enlighten through considerations on the production of exhibition maps in the 21st century.

The main reason for not distinguishing, in the literature, museum from non-museum maps is precisely related to the making of these cartographic representations as well as

⁷⁰ In addition to the references previously listed, see, on the history of western mapmaking Wilford, 2002; on current mapping technics see notably Krygier & Wood, 2011.

to their makers. Although maps have appeared in museum displays from the birth of these institutions, and have persisted and transformed since, their making seems to have been neither a priority for museums nor a systematised activity. This point raises a question that is essential in order to explore the process of exhibition mapmaking: to what extent do museums produce and author the cartographic representations that they display? And if these institutions do not own such charts, who does? As the second part of this chapter will demonstrate, museums have engaged with mapmaking in various ways. Historically, some institutions have positioned themselves as map producers, while others have made the choice to outsource and adapt external representations of the world for their displays (see 6.2). Furthermore, while geography is embedded in museum taxonomies and practices, cartography, and more specifically mapping, is a field of expertise for which museums tend to rely heavily on their support networks (geographical societies, scholarly institutions, design companies etc.). This is not to say that museums are not in control of the cartographic representations that they display, but instead that exhibition mapmaking mobilises a greater scope of actors, who share authorship. As a result, this not only generates a wide and diverse range of cartographic objects, but also further blurs the line between the maps created within and those constructed outside the museum's walls. This diversity, increased by the plurality of purposes and audiences affiliated to these maps, makes the topic of exhibition maps as well as this of their making, particularly hard to grasp. It also highlights the need to fill the gap in the studies of these artefacts and, perhaps to develop a field dedicated to the ways in which museums construct and materialise, within, the space beyond (museum cartography).

The research conducted in Hawai'i, in Aoteroa New Zealand and in Taiwan revealed that, in the 21st century, producing maps for exhibitions is a hybrid exercise. The latter could be described as a practice that is at the crossroads between constructing exhibition texts and developing display designs.⁷¹ Though positioning exhibition maps somewhere between text and design does not fully capture the complexity of these artefacts, it certainly allows for a better understanding of their making and helps shed

⁷¹ A parallel can be made between the study of exhibition maps and that of exhibition texts and labels. On these topics see, notably, Hall, 1987 and Serrell, 2015.

light on their authors. In the museums investigated in this research, mapmaking was mostly envisioned as a conversation between several actors involved in the exhibiting process. Though conceptualising and materialising a map for a gallery space is not a systematic exercise, as each museum follows distinct procedures, several common practices can be highlighted.

Exhibition mapmaking generally brings together internal and/or external designers, graphic designers, curatorial staff, consultants and researchers, collection managers, technicians and gallery preparers. During the making phase, this chain of actors engages in a dialogue that seeks to delineate the conceptual and physical space for the chart as well as its structure. The map thus becomes, literally, a space for negotiations, a connective museum object that absorbs, displays and catalyses the agencies of its makers. Entangled in the exhibiting process – which it also mirrors – the making of exhibition maps is a matter discussed during both content and design-related meetings. This is mainly true for general maps, physically and conceptually placed in an introductory position, but can also be the case for detailed charts displayed in relation to specific artworks or display sections.

The operational chain as studied at the BPBM, at the KMFA and at the AM functions in the following terms. Exhibition designers provide a specific location for a map and make proposals regarding the technology employed (printed, digital, inlaid etc.). Once these first parameters are established, graphic designers select a software and suggest a format, a style, a set of fonts, a colour code, a series of cartographic symbols etc. At this stage, designers also tended to add, in their first layouts, elements regarding the content of the map. This moment is key to the construction of the final product. Although this first interpretation is usually meant as a visual suggestion, it often ends up framing the in-depth conversations regarding the content. Even more than the structure within a map, it was observed that the final positioning of the edges is frequently inherited from these first layouts (see 6.2.C). This phenomenon can be explained both by the division of tasks in the mapping process and by the lack of awareness regarding the ways in which the science and the technology used to construct maps impact on their materiality and their message.

Drafted as such, the style, the information and the message brought forth by the map is then, sometimes but not systematically, discussed by the curatorial teams and their support networks. When this debate does happen, these networks may include external and internal consultants such as community representatives, collection affiliated professionals etc. The exercise consists of making the content as accurate as possible, and most importantly, in matching this content with the scope and the structure of the exhibition (or a part of it). Because the rules of exhibition mapmaking are not set in stone, in some cases the content of the map is also constructed in correlation with the current state of the museum collections, one field/area comprised behind the scene being signified by a cartographic symbol (label, icon, hatching etc.) on the displayed map. This mirror relationship between the map and the exhibition (and/or the collection) is established by the makers and is a determining factor as to the form and content of the final product. Furthermore, the selection of the content is also one of the most complex steps in exhibition mapmaking, as it lays out the limitations of the exhibition itself by projecting them onto the surface of the chart. As this phase maps what will be included and excluded in the broader display, it also becomes an occasion to compensate or assert this selection in the cartographic representation.

After having discussed the content of the chart, the map makers explore the ways through which they can conciliate this content with its representation. As highlighted above by Monmonier (1991), tensions systematically arise in the quest for a balance between content and design. This negotiation often creates divides between the makers who wish to prioritise information over form (curators for instance), and those who emphasise the importance of the map's design to deliver its message. While power relations are inherent to the aforementioned selecting processes, they often crystallise in this phase of the negotiations. At this stage, the audience of the chart becomes an anchor point. The type of public, as anticipated but also as targeted by the exhibition team, legitimises decisions and compromises. A divide often arises between the maps that become content-oriented, and those that are said to be envisioned as experienced-focused. Both types address content and design but deal with their balance in an opposite manner. Travelling back and forth between makers, the exhibition map

increasingly becomes the product of these informed agencies. Each intentionality (or lack of it) marks the chart's materiality (Kopytoff, 1986; Gell, 1985; 1998).

6.2.C – Parquetting the Pacific: making Pacific Hall's floor map.

For the most part, the making of the wooden-floor map described in the first part of this chapter followed this method. Yet, it also presents some particularities regarding the inspiration and the intent of this cartographic representation. All in all, PH's floor map can be described both as a way of capturing the Pacific and its display in the new hall, and as a means of recalling historical charts.

The original idea of this chart was born from a conversation between the designers Ralph Appelbaum & Associates, represented by Melanie Ide and Miranda Smith, and PH's content team (RAA Site Visit Minutes, 03-05/02/2010). After the debate of April 2010, during which the content team decided to devote PH's first level to ethnologic and artistic collections, the centre of the gallery was freed from the possible display of archaeological material, which was moved upstairs (see Chapter 4). In conversation with the museum staff, the design company suggested that this space could therefore be occupied by a general map of the Pacific.⁷² The latter would be positioned in the centre of the main floor, and would be displayed on the floor rather than along a wall.

The content team of the Bishop Museum welcomed this idea with enthusiasm. They regarded this floor map as a great complement to a wall chart, which would be presented on the second level and would show the settlement of Pacific (see Chapter 4). Contrasting with this migration chart, described as "more conventional" and accurate, the floor map was regarded as "more atmospheric, architectural, broad rather than literal" (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 8, 29/07/10). In particular, the education department and its representative in the exhibition team, Anne Lokomaika'i Lipscomb, envisioned this floor map as a useful and didactic tool to

⁷² The very first rendering put together by the Bishop Museum for PH – in October 2009 – already showed a map positioned in the centre of the main floor. This map was however depicted on an interactive rounded table. It was described at the time as "an interactive map of the Pacific [which could] include political changes and contemporary self-identity" (Content meeting notes, 03/09/2009).

introduce the story unfolding in the broader display (A. L. Lipscomb, interview, 27/09/2013). In general, the museum staff members involved in the exhibiting process saw in this empty yet charted space, the potential for gatherings (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 8, 29/07/10). This proposition also matched the will to reconstruct PH in the manner of a Polynesian meeting house, where “the centre of the hall [would] become a literal and figurative gathering place” (RAA, Visualised Concept, 27/05/2010).

The centre of *Pacific Hall* was not only regarded as key to showcase the metaphor of a Polynesian meeting house. As discussed in Chapter 4, it also sought to convey the feeling of a return to PH’s former display style. While the idea of a digital floor map was mentioned during early meetings (RAA Site Visit Minutes, 03-05/02/2010), the technology eventually chosen – marquetry wood – built on this intent to restore the spirit of the pre-50s hall. The use of wood, in the map and in the broader display, was a direct reference to 19th century colonial architecture, which had inspired the construction of the original Polynesian Hall. Visually, an inlaid wooden floor map was also seen as a perfect addition to the majestic wooden staircase, for which it would become a landing. This map, on the floor and inlaid, first appeared in RAA’s visualised concept design for Pacific Hall in May 2010 (see Figure 6.3).

As Dave Kemble, the BPBM In-house Designer, accurately commented: “it is remarkable how much RAA’s conceptual renderings look like the finished product” (Email, Dave Kemble, 08/10/2014). The general style of this first rendering is indeed quasi identical to that employed for the final map. The wooden colour palette, the fonts of the labels and the positioning of the edges match the description given in the first part of this chapter. A few elements also differ from the finished map. Firstly, a larger number of localities are identified by a label, and the labels floating next to islands are not curved. In order to highlight the Pacific Region in this fog of details, the islands targeted by the designers are coloured in white. Secondly, RAA’s rendering does not show canoe icons or other graphic details such as the compass. Finally and most importantly, although the islands are labelled with their contemporary names (“Vanuatu” rather than “New Hebrides”), the historical distinction between “Melanesia”, “Polynesia” and

“Micronesia” figures on this first layout. The three zones are not delineated but are depicted through the use of three large tags.

During the following months, the exhibition team discussed the presence, the form and the content of this wooden floor map. Dave Kemble, the In-house Designer took advice from various museums in the USA (notably the Science Museum in Minnesota) and researched how floor maps were experienced by their audience. The feedback he received was positive: these artefacts were mostly described as “highly effective and popular” (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 5, 08/07/2010). This research validated the general idea of a floor chart, opening conversations regarding its cost and its technical realisation.

RAA was tasked with finding a company specialising in inlaid floors. They first targeted Czar Floors, an award winning company based in Pennsylvania, but eventually they commissioned Yarema Marquetry from Michigan (now called Shayn Allen Marquetry), for practical and financial reasons (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 5, 08/07/2010)/ Dave Kemble, interview, 07/10/2014). Both companies suggested constructing the map in several panels, which would be inlaid separately in their USA factories. In conversation with the contractors it was also decided that, in order to facilitate the manufacture of these panels and to lower the general cost of the map, the various kinds of woods employed would be outsourced directly from mainland USA. Thus, no native Hawaiian and Pacific woods were used to make the wooden floor map, the final composition including non-tropical wood species: cherry, walnut, maple and wenge (Dave Kemble, interview, 07/10/2014).

The content of the floor map was discussed simultaneously with its technicalities. As early as July 2010, the exhibition team started facing the limitations imposed by the chosen material. Two main issues arose. Firstly, the technique of marquetry would limit the depiction of smaller islands, a major issue when representing Oceania. This technique would also constitute an obstacle as to the superposition of content, and would thus create a strong tension between the representation of territories and the inclusion of their labels. Secondly, the rigidity of the material would prevent the

museum from updating the map, which led to the following question: “should island names all be engraved into the wood? Island names can change, due to political or other reasons, [so] how will names be replaced?” (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 8, 29/07/10). Despite these concerns, the aesthetic quality of an inlaid floor map prevailed over suggestions of flexible materials such as vinyl.

By pointing out such limitations, the exhibition team was diving into the core of the cartographic paradox as defined by Monmonier (1991). They also faced what curators of Pacific exhibitions have most likely been challenged by for as long as Pacific maps have been put on display (see section 6.3). However, rather than searching for answers in the limited history of exhibition maps the team and the museum historian, DeSoto Brown, turned toward historical paper charts. This game-changing idea was described as follows:

[We are] considering using a historical map as the model for the floor map. [The latter] would not be updated because it would be identified as being historical. Name changes and up-to-date geographical information would be available in the interactive AV stations on the mezzanine. (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 8, 29/07/10)

Taking inspiration from archival paper charts provided by DeSoto, the exhibition team and RAA’s Graphic Designer, Aki Carpenter, started constructing an artefact that was a map of the Pacific but also, at the same time, an image of historical Pacific maps. Playing with the fine line between style and content, a rather paradoxical limit to the historicity of the map was however later added: it could look historical but should present contemporary information (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 17, 30/09/2010).

Simultaneously, PH’s chart was envisioned as an extended version of the Pacific map put together by RAA for Hawaiian Hall (see Figure 6.5). Aiming at a representation of a Greater Pacific, the team decided to include China and South America. The inclusion of the southern tip of Africa was also discussed (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 8, 29/07/10). Though this part of the world was finally excluded from the chart, this

reflection hinted at a representation of the Pacific focusing on an Austronesian heritage, Austronesian speakers having travelled as far as Madagascar. This interpretation of Oceania was reinforced when suggestions were made to include migration arrows, eventually replaced by “canoe silhouettes positioned on migration routes” (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 8, 28/10/2010).

As a result of these negotiations, RAA’s Graphic Designer submitted the detailed layout for the wooden floor map in October 2010 (see Figure 6.4). At the request of the exhibition team, he included icons of fanciful sea creatures. However, the design company did not support the inclusion of these icons, which they regarded as evocative of a certain “nostalgia for colonialism and the Victorian era” (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 17, 30/09/2010). RAA did validate the idea of the wind compass displayed alongside the map’s title, for which “The Pacific Ocean” was chosen over “Oceania” (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 21, 28/10/2010). As on the first renderings, the layouts provided by Aki Carpenter at the time showed very detailed labelling. The islands of Asia and South East Asia were then labelled, with the exception of Taiwan. The three zones of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia were also represented, but the island names remained contemporary (“Vanuatu”, “Kiribati”, “Tuvalu” etc.).

Though the format and the technology of PH’s floor map was clearly defined at this stage, the labelling remained a topic of conversation for several months after the delivery of this layout. In February 2011, the exhibition team again faced the tension between historical aesthetic and contemporary content. Indeed, it seems that the historicity of the chart was increasingly impacting the terms used to name certain islands: “we are currently juggling two categories of names – the older island chain names and the modern political names” (Schematic Design Meeting Notes, meeting no 30, 10/02/2011). At this point, it was felt that names from both categories could be included simultaneously. As a result, the next layout produced by RAA showed several layers of appellations combining historical outdated names (such as “New Hebrides”) with contemporary labels (“Vanuatu”), as well as bilingual tags (“Aotearoa New Zealand”) (Floor map V8, 01/03/2011). Taiwan was finally titled, while South East Asia’s

labels disappeared. Finally, the division of the Pacific into three zones was declared outdated and not aligned with PH's broader message, and was therefore removed (DeSoto Brown, interview, 24/10/2014).

In the final meetings prior to realisation of the map, the exhibition team was advised by its contractors to reduce the labelling, which was regarded as too dense. In the last spur of finishing the map, it was decided that recent island names were too heavily political and therefore too subject to change (DeSoto Brown and Dave Kemble, interviews, 24/10/2014 and 07/10/14). In this context, the historical model used as an anchor point took over again: the islands of Vanuatu were ultimately called "New Hebrides", Kiribati was named "Gilbert Islands" and Tuvalu was retro-baptised "Ellice Islands". Constructed as such, the map was manufactured and installed by Yarema Marquetry in February 2012 (Dave Kemble, email, 25/09/2013). The outdated names mostly displayed "where Polynesia meets Melanesia and Micronesia" (Dave Kemble, Interview, 07/10/2014) contrasted strongly with the appellations figuring on the apexes of the undrawn Polynesian triangle. The labels depicting the Hawaiian Islands (rather than "Sandwich Islands"), Rapanui Easter Island, and Aotearoa New Zealand, reminded the viewer that borders are not only constructed with lines, but also with terminologies and temporalities (Casey, 2007). It also epitomised the condition of maps as ideological and political constructs.

The analysis of the conceptual and physical construction of the inlaid floor map displayed on PH's first level revealed the complexity of producing Pacific exhibition maps. The positioning of the edges, like the selection as well as the naming of the islands, are the result of multiple negotiations that encompass technicalities as well as agencies. Similar to the making of exhibitions themselves, that of displayed maps is highly impacted by the networks of actors involved in the construction of these artefacts, as well as by the motivations of these actors. Indeed, it is through the channel of specific networks that the map is increasingly shaped and charged with a narrative that, at the BPBM like elsewhere, always presents certain tensions and ambiguities. In the context of this exercise, former cartographic representations also nurture the development of new ones, the past often reminiscing on the surface of the chart.

The following section will bring PH's floor map into perspective by providing the reader with an overview of the history of Pacific exhibition maps presented across the museum case studies. Seeking to demonstrate the insolvability of the cartographic exercise, it will also examine the differences and the transformation of these maps in time and space.

6.3 – Tracing Pacific Constructs: A Connective Chronology of Pacific Exhibition Maps (1894-2016)⁷³

**But these apparently objective forces integrating the area bear the mark of historical relationships that produced them, and they are also open to manipulation and interpretation in accordance with configurations of interest and power that have informed those relationships.
Arif Dirlik, 1992: 55**

Detailing PH's floor map and its making, the previous sections also attempted to define the concept of exhibition map as well as that of museum cartography. Bringing this unique map into perspective, this section seeks to investigate the history of the cartographic representations displayed in the museum case studies, from the 19th century to the present [2016]. Dwelling on a selection of Pacific exhibition maps analysed in chronological order, this history shows the ways in which these maps have transformed and generated various interpretations of the Pacific space, from "Oceanica" to "Oceania" and "Austronesia". In particular, this section examines the following questions: were the maps of the Pacific presented in 19th century exhibitions different from those displayed in the 21st century, and what did the latter inherit from the former? If their design as well as their content did transform, to what extent are these changes informed by the map makers and their networks, and most importantly

⁷³ This body of work is an attempt to explore the making of Pacific exhibition maps in time and space. However, the reader should be made aware of the limitations imposed by the material researched for the purpose of this chronology. Together with testimonies and rare published references, this analysis relies on archival sources, which were not available in a consistent manner across all the case studies. Furthermore, these archival sources include photographs, which are themselves a window on the studied exhibitions and their maps. As such they frame the exploration of museum cartography. Thus, by no means should this section be envisioned as an exhaustive description of all Pacific charts ever put on display at the BPBM, at the AM and at the KMFA. Instead it seeks to provide the reader with a sense of the trends in mapping the Pacific in related displays, and to bring together key elements for future research.

who are/were those makers? Finally, does a Pacific exhibition map displayed in Taiwan differ from another made in Hawai'i or in Aoteroa New Zealand?

6.3. A – Setting the Boundaries, Charting “Oceanica”

1894 (circa), Polynesian Hall, BPBM (see Figures 6.7 and 6.8): A large chart was presented on the west wall of Polynesian Hall's mezzanine level. The chart measuring 11*20 ft. extended “from 130° East to 110° West longitude, and from the Tropic of Cancer to 45° South in latitude” (Brigham, 1900). It depicted “The Islands of the Pacific Ocean”, also referred to as “The Great Ocean” or “Oceanica”, and was authored by the Director of the museum himself, William Tuft Brigham (Brigham, 1900). In 1900, Brigham wrote an Index in which he explained his approach for this chart and compiled historical, ethnological, botanical, geological and geographical information regarding the “Pacific Ocean”. The existence of this Index demonstrates that mapping the Pacific was, firstly, a scientific priority and, secondly, a museum necessity “for those who had the arrangement of the Museum in charge [so] that there should be no confusion or variation in the nomenclature of localities” (Brigham, 1900: 87). Thus, rather than outsourcing other views of the Pacific and reproducing them in the gallery space, Brigham actively positioned himself and his museum as actors of the cartographic process (Brigham, 1900: 113). Nevertheless, he stressed the complexity of mapping the Pacific – an ocean where “islands were discovered, lost, rediscovered” (Brigham, 1900: 87) – and refused to consider his map as a finished one (Brigham, 1900: 113). Although the map put up in Polynesian Hall might not have strictly matched the Index published in 1900, a short analysis of this document allows for a better comprehension of Brigham's reasoning.

Like his successors in 2010-2012, Brigham reflected on the positioning of the edges for his chart, as well as on the content of the space-between. He began by narrowing down the scope of the Pacific Ocean:

For the purpose of this Index the Pacific Ocean will no longer extend from Bering's Strait to the Antarctic circle and from Kamchatka, Japan, China, the Philippines,

Moluccas and Australia to the American coast: the Aleutian and continental islands, the Galapagos and Juan Fernandez on the East with Kurile, Philippine and the archipelago north-west of Australia belong ethnologically if not geographically to another region. (Brigham, 1900: 89)

After having excluded the poles as well as South East Asia and the Americas, he then asserted the position of the chart's edges. He depicted a space that he described as "Oceanica". Like in the former Polynesian Hall itself (1894/see Chapter 2), this region excluded Malaysia but contained part of Australia:

[...] hence the bounds of the Pacific which shall include all Oceanica (except Malaysia) will be on the North [of] the Hawaiian and Bonin Islands, 30°N.; on the East of Rapanui or Easter Island, 105° W.; on the South [of] New Zealand and its islets, 55° S.; and on the West [of] New Guinea and the larger portion of Australia, 130° E. Thus defined all minor divisions of this vast expanse of water are eliminated, except the Coral Sea. (Brigham, 1900: 89)

It is impossible to determine from 1900s photographs of Brigham's exhibition map, whether Brigham showcased the three zones of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia on his chart. His index as well as his great vision for the museum show, however, that the Director was familiar with this partition of the Pacific, which was already widely used at the time (see Chapter 2).⁷⁴ In the section "Inhabitants and Their Origin", Brigham described three categories of islanders - Papuans, Micronesians and Polynesians – and speculated on their origins without taking a position.⁷⁵ By contrast with the map displayed in Pacific Hall [2013], this reflexion did not include Taiwan and the Chinese Sea (Brigham, 1900: 107).⁷⁶

⁷⁴ The term "Polynesia" was first invented by Charles de Brosses in 1756. At the time this term encompassed all islands of the Pacific Ocean. In 1832, this greater Polynesia was subdivided, for linguistic and racial reasons, and two new categories appeared: Melanesia and Micronesia. The French explorer Dumont d'Urville accelerated the institutionalisation of these terms by presenting them to the Société de Géographie of Paris in January 1832. Acted by the Société, these categories immediately entered schools and museums a few decades later (Tcherkézoff, 2008: 20-23).

⁷⁵ In this section, Brigham uses the term "Papuan" rather than "Melanesian". "Melanesia" as a category however appears in the section dedicated to languages. (Brigham, 1900: 109).

⁷⁶ In Brigham's Index, Taiwan then called Formosa is only mentioned in the section dedicated to the "Currents of the Pacific" (Brigham, 1900: 95).

While Brigham seemed to have a clear understanding of these categories he, like his successors, encountered difficulty as to the labelling and the naming of the islands comprised between the margins of the map:

The names given to the islands there represented were in all cases the native names where such were known to exist. [...] As it was impracticable to cover the chart with synonyms the best way seemed to be to print a list of all names generally applied in charts or voyages in the form of an index [...] It has not been possible to obtain the true native name in all cases, [...] and doubtless in a few cases the name of a portion has been applied to the whole. (Brigham, 1900: 87)

This short analysis of Brigham's reflections towards the making of PH's first wall chart demonstrates that producing maps for Pacific exhibitions has long been a conundrum, and that this conundrum was first dealt with by curators. The following sections will show how the model adopted by Brigham in the late 19th century informed the making of exhibition charts, but also how the actors of exhibition mapmaking changed throughout the 20th century.

6.3. B – Reflecting on Ancient Pacific Dispersals and Links

1954-1955, Hawaiian Vestibule and Hawaiian Hall, BPBM (see Figures 6.9 and 6.10): Under the directorship of Alexander Spoehr (1953-1961), priority was given to the field of visual education and an Exhibit Department was created in 1954 (Rose, 2005: 180, 183). Simultaneously, the BPBM museum took part in the Hawaiian Archaeology Programme directed by Kenneth Emory, an initiative that can be regarded as a stepping stone in the development of Pacific and Hawai'i archaeology (Rose, 2005: 179). This period directly followed the directorship of Sir Peter Buck/Te Rangihīroa (1936-1951), who had a strong interest for the broader Pacific region, being himself a connective agent across Oceania (Buck, 1945, 1953; Rose, 2005; McCarthy, 2016: 1-26). The map as a museum object became, in this context, a great means through which the BPBM could showcase both its new policies towards education and its progress in the field of archaeology. In 1954-1955, Paul Rockwood, the new exhibit designer, was in charge of developing an exhibition of Polynesian navigation, displayed in the Pacific Room (the

former Hawaiian Vestibule) (Rose, 2005: 188). In line with this exhibition and with the will of exploring the Pacific “prehistory” (The Conch Shell, March 7, 1955), three maps were put on display. The first, made in 1954, was a large painted mural reflecting on the peopling of the Pacific and displayed in the Pacific Room. It was paired with a second small printed map titled “Know the Pacific”, which was positioned on the left of the mural and showed the division of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia (Photo Neg. 23559). A year later, in 1955, a third map titled “The Arrival of Man” and centred on the Society Islands and Hawai’i was added to a new case developed for the permanent exhibit *The Story of Ancient Hawaii* in Hawaiian Hall (The Conch Shell, March 7, 1955/Rose, 2005: 186; see Figure 6.11).

The largest of these three maps, the painted mural, was designed by Rockwood himself “with the assistance of staff members and volunteers” (The Conch Shell, March 7, 1955; see Figure 6.9). It measured 38ft. long was made of several panels directly apposed onto the western wall of the Pacific Room.⁷⁷ Titled “Migration of Pacific Peoples”, this large mural represented the peopling of the region prior to European exploration. It was described as “ha[ving] served a real need in injecting a more factual and balanced view of the Pacific prehistory into the public mind” in light of the Kon-Tiki expedition in 1947 (The Conch Shell, March 7, 1955).

This map was framed from the current northern tip of Japan to the southern tip of Chile, and from the current Bay of Bengal to the Brazilian coast. Much wider than Brigham’s chart, this mural presented multiple migration arrows. It also included miniature-people standing on their affiliated territory and wearing traditional adornments, as well as canoe icons, which, like on PH’s floor map [2012], matched the type found in the neighbouring island. These symbols seemed to replace, for the most part, the use of labels, the territories prioritized in the map being highlighted through these icons. On top of highlighting various islands of the Pacific Basin, the map also emphasised, according to this reading, the islands of Asia and South East Asia as well as the South American coast. Yet, the migration arrows drawn across the region neither

⁷⁷ The mural was taken down during the recent renovation of the Hawaiian Hall Complex. The BPBM still holds the various panels composing this map in the back of house.

linked Taiwan (and Japan) with the rest of the Pacific, nor showed routes connecting the peoples of the region with those of South America (Photo neg. 23766a, by Stewart Fern, BPBM archives).

1957, 1958 and 1961, Polynesian Hall, BPBM: In 1957, a permanent exhibit opened in the remodelled PH under the name the *Hall of Pacific Life* (see Figures 6.12, 6.13 and 6.14). The general map of the Pacific presented at the entrance of the hall showcased the “Pacific Ocean Currents”. This chart was displayed on a self-standing panel approximately 2m long, and its depicted currents were lit with light bulbs positioned at the back of the chart. The map echoed the exhibit’s focus on the physical geography and natural history of the Pacific (Rose, 2005: 186). It presented a wide framing of the Pacific, which was divided into two parts the “North Pacific Ocean” and the “South Pacific Ocean” shown by the two only labels of the chart. Embodying this shift of focus in PH’s display, from ethnographic to scientific material, a second map designed by Rockwood, and presenting bird migrations through the Pacific, was put up in 1958. Although the peoples and cultures of the Pacific were not the focus of these charts, they contributed to constructing a representation of this part of the globe that was unified and interconnected by its natural history. This vision was taken to its most advanced stage in 1961, when a map in the shape of a three-dimensional globe was added in the *Hall of Pacific Life* (Rose, 2005: 187; see Figure 6.15). This globe was also visible from the mezzanine level where, in 1967, Pacific cultural artefacts were reintroduced through the exhibit “Arts of the South Seas”.

1960 and 1982, Canoe Hall, AM: The 1960s, was also a period of renovation at the Auckland Museum, which was accompanied by a reflection on dispersals and Pacific navigation. In 1960, a *Hall of Oceanic Navigation* was created as a complement to the general Pacific display in the *Hall of South Pacific Ethnology* (Wolfe, 2004: 54-56). Similar to the map painted on the walls of the Pacific Room at the BPBM, a mural map was developed for this new canoe display. In 1960, a first version of this mural was painted on the south wall of the gallery by the art assistant Betty Brookes (see Figure 6.16). It presented a Pacific reduced to its inner part, excluding the Rim but including the Philippines and Indonesia. The partition of the region into three zones was made

very prominent through the use of large tags painted across Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia. Hinting at the diversity of Pacific cultural forms as well as at possible correlations between peoples' material culture, several icons representing miniature anthropomorphic woodcarvings were added onto this first mural chart (AM, Annual Report, 1961-1962). In 1980, the Hall was renovated and re-baptised *Canoe Hall*. The mural was redone in 1982-1983 by three young artists: Lance Black, Julian Hansen and Deborah Savage (Richard Wolfe, correspondence, 08/08/2016; see Figures 6.17 and 6.18). Also directly painted onto the wall (and covering the first mural), this second map kept the partition of Oceania into three zones. Contrasting with the previous mural, this map included the Pacific Rim and notably South America. A large canoe with its sails out, and with three Pacific sailors on board, all wearing colourful aloha shirts, was drawn across the map suggesting that the Pacific depicted was being navigated.

1980s, Maori Hall, AM: During the 1980s renovation of the Maori Hall, a new case was developed on Pacific and Māori archaeology at the entrance to the gallery. This display included a painted map of the Pacific in the background. Including the Rim along the western and eastern edges, and almost extending from the North to the South Pole, this map presented the dispersal of Pacific peoples across the region. Movement was then depicted through colour zones, turning from light green to orange around Fiji, and transforming from orange to red in New Zealand (Photo CT. 1594; Richard Wolfe, correspondence, 08/08/2016).

The analysis of these few maps put on display at the BPBM and at the AM between the 1950s and the 1980s, shows a growing interest for peoples' dispersal and navigation related objects such as canoes. The latter are often depicted, paving the way for their omnipresence in mappings and exhibitions realised in the 2000s. While still using the geographical categories of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia, the maps produced at the time show first attempts to pair this understanding of the region with the depiction of Pacific movements and Pacific styles in their diversity. Besides, this focus on ancient cross-regional links (and their impact on the material culture) was rooted in a will to explain local origins. In this context, the archaeology of the Pacific was, for instance, described as the prehistory of Hawai'i. In other words, mapping the Pacific region came

hand in hand with reflecting on individual island histories. Finally, this analysis also demonstrates that general maps as museum objects progressively got off the hands of the curatorial figure. They increasingly became large and colourful design elements made by designers and artists.⁷⁸

6.3. C – Static Region

1980, Polynesian Hall, BPBM (Figures 6.19 and 6.20): When the new permanent exhibition *Peoples of the Pacific: Chiefs, Bigmen, and Mariners* opened in the Polynesian Hall in 1980, a new map of the Pacific was put on display (Rose, 2005: 235). Like the title and the floor plan of the exhibition indicated, this exhibition epitomised the division between Polynesia (*Chiefs*), Melanesia (*Bigmen*) and Micronesia (*Mariners*). The general map displayed at the entrance of the gallery embodied and gave credit to this approach. Much more discrete than a painted mural, this map measured approximately 1m square. Amidst a widely framed Pacific Ocean (including the Rim, South East Asia and the Bering Strait), three colour patches depicted these geographical categories (orange for Polynesia, green for Melanesia, and blue for Micronesia), which were also labelled. On the map, no symbol or icon was depicted to suggest movement or connections across these firmly drawn zones. Beside the map, a text panel defining these categories further reinforced their presence, and also suggested a certain hierarchy amongst them (Polynesia, including Hawaii, coming first). This map stayed on display for thirty years during which footnotes were regularly added to correct island names (Chair Blair-Stahn, assessment essay, Pacific Studies programme, UH, 10/2009). This attention given to names demonstrated an increased need for a certain accuracy, which suggested the involvement of curatorial figures in the mapping process.

1990s, Canoe Hall, AM (see Figures 6.21 & 6.22): In the 1990s, the mural presented in the Canoe Hall of the Auckland Museum was once again repainted. Like the map presented at the Bishop Museum at the time, the symbols and icons suggesting fluidity and links disappeared from this new version. The three geographical zones of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia were also made prominent. Simultaneously, the labelling

⁷⁸ This research suggests that the scientific content was generally presented in the detailed charts displayed in relation to individual objects or cases.

became more detailed than that of the previous murals, showing a will to reinject scientific content into the chart. Although the islands of Asia and South East Asia were depicted, none benefited from a label apart from Japan. The label added next to New Zealand did not yet show the appellation “Aotearoa”.

In the 1980s-1990s, the Bishop Museum and the Auckland Museum returned to a more static representation of the Pacific region in their Pacific displays. By contrast, the reflection on dispersals was maintained in the local Māori and Hawaiian displays. This distinction of the focus of the maps presented in local versus regional Pacific displays increased the separation between the ancient Pacific, depicted as an interconnected space, and the ‘current’ Pacific which was, for educational purposes, permanently frozen in history by the use of the terms Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. This period also showed a return to more scientific based content, reducing the presence of artistic patterns into exhibition maps.

6.3. D – Reconnecting Oceania, Constructing Austronesia

1999, Pacific Masterpieces and Pacific Lifeways, AM (Figures 6.23, 6.24 and 6.25): The renovation of the Auckland Museum in the 1990s came with the redevelopment of not one, but two Pacific Galleries. In 1999, *Pacific Masterpieces* and *Pacific Lifeways* respectively replaced the former *Pacific Hall* and *Asian Hall* (Wolfe, 2004: 76). Accompanying these new galleries, two Pacific maps were created. The first map displayed by the entrance of *Pacific Masterpieces* on a self-standing panel was meant to be scientifically accurate, but only included the names of the islands represented in both galleries. It was put together by Roger Neich and Fulimalo Pereira, the two curators in charge of redeveloping the Pacific Galleries (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 19/08/2014). Following the design chart created by Noel Lane, the contracted architect for the 1990s AM renovation, this map was printed in light grey onto a black background (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/08/2014). It was centred on the inner part of the Pacific and, unlike the painted murals in the Canoe Hall, showed no geographical distinction. Interestingly enough, the coordinates of this map matched that of Brigham’s chart in 1894: it excluded the Pacific Rim as well the islands of Asia and South East Asia

and also cut Australia half-way through. Unlike Brigham's map however, only the North island of New Zealand was represented.⁷⁹ This exclusion suggested that the Pacific Galleries did not cover New Zealand, an island that, in Auckland, benefited from a specific status. In the neighbouring *Maori Hall*, a detailed map of the island was presented, as well as three maps on Pacific dispersals and linguistics centred on New Zealand.

A second map matching the scope and structure of that made for *Pacific Masterpieces* was created for *Pacific Lifeways* (see Figures 6.23 and 6.24). The map was positioned between the emblematic Nukuoro figure of Kave and a Fijian canoe. It was made in blue and transparent glass by the designer Nicholas Stevens, in charge of the renovation of this gallery (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/08/2014). This glass map was meant to be less accurate. It focused on the Ocean, made prominent by the use of a blue sheet of textured glass (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 19/08/2014). Even though the map presented a narrow scope and excluded the Rim, it marked the beginning of an inversion in the representation of the Pacific: the focus of the map started shifting from the islands themselves to the space between them. Further, this map was also juxtaposed with a series of Marshallese stick charts, which revealed a growing interest for navigation techniques and indigenous mapping.

2006, Vaka Moana AM (see Figures 6.26, 6.27 and 6.28): As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the exhibition *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors*, presented at the AM in 2006 and in Taiwan in 2008, epitomised this interest for Pacific navigation. A general map of the Pacific was displayed in the central section of the exhibit "Navigation" (floor plan VM, AM archives, 18/09/2006). This map, also presented alongside Marshallese stick charts, was in the shape of the two-dimensional globe centred on the Pacific, and was displayed on a vertical wooden rack. First designed by Pearson and Associates in July 2006, it included Japan and Taiwan along the western edge and the coastline of North America on the eastern side. The poles constituted the northern and southern limits of the chart. In other words, the latter showcased the inter-continental space within which

⁷⁹ This map also matched that presented on the first page of the catalogue of *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors*, where New Zealand was reintegrated (Howe: 2006).

Pacific navigators had and were still travelling. Matching the exhibition message, no boundaries but those of the continents themselves were drawn within this space. The entirety of the space represented was also coloured in blue (water and land). The content of the map was meant to be highly accurate, *Vaka Moana* aiming to sum up the scholarship on Pacific navigation and to construct documents that clarified these movements. Multiple charts were consequently added in the exhibition catalogue, which Ting Ting Chen, Graphic Designer at the KMFA, used to create the logo for the Contemporary Austronesian Art Project (CAAP) in 2006 (see Figures 6.29 and 6.30). Basing her logo on two of the catalogue's maps, she replicated migration as well as textile patterns as presented in the AM exhibition (Ting Ting Chen, interview, 11/03/2014; Howe, 2006: 107, 234).

2007, Across Oceans and Time, KMFA. On top of designing the CAAP logo, Ting Ting Chen was also responsible for the catalogue for AOC, the first exhibition of the AAP series. To do so, she used a chart produced by the Australian National University (ANU) and published in Bellwood's *First Migrant: Ancient Migration in Global Perspective* (2013; see Figure 6.31). This document focused on the distribution of Austronesian languages throughout Asia, South East Asia, and the Pacific. It depicted a region understood through the scope of Austronesian migratory patterns, which therefore left aside all the peoples/speakers of the Sahul (New Guinea and Australia). Paradoxically, this map included the geographical categories of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia, which the designer kept when she edited and reproduced the map.

In contrast with the catalogue, the chart presented at the entrance of AOC did not present these racial divisions (see Figure 6.32). The displayed chart was a combination of two cartographic representations. A small three-dimensional globe – centred on South East Asia - was positioned on the top right corner of the introduction wall. Several lines drawn from this globe, spread across a two-dimensional representation of the region, which covered the wall. This distortion created the illusion that the Pacific (Australia excluded/Madagascar included) was radiating around the islands of South East Asia. Taiwan, depicted above these islands, constituted the most northern extremity of the chart (China and Japan were also excluded). This physical positioning

visually identified Taiwan as the homeland of all Austronesian speakers. In other words, the representation of Oceania as an interconnected space was being increasingly transformed to focus on Austronesian speaking territories. Progressively, Oceania was distorted to become “Austronesia”.⁸⁰

2009, The Great Journey, KMFA (see Figures 3.36 and 3.37):⁸¹ The map created for the exhibition *The Great Journey* epitomised this shift from the depiction of Oceania to that of Austronesia (Christophe, 2015b). Similar to *Pacific Hall's* wooden chart created three years later, the general map displayed in TGI was put on the floor rather than on the wall. This map was designed by Ya-pei Chang, Exhibition Designer at the KMFA. It occupied a large portion of the museum sculpture hall, which directly preceded the TGI's first room (see Chapter 3). Bilingual - English and Chinese – it sought to represent a linguistic, cultural and artistic family said to be “Austronesian”, from the Chinese “Nán-dao” (南島), literally “[from the] South-islands”.⁸²

TGI's floor map extended from the tip of South Africa along the western edge, to the tip of Mexico on the east side. South America was excluded. The Bering Strait served as a northern margin for the map, and the tip of New Zealand was used as a southern limit. Amidst this widely framed chart, the islands regarded as Austronesian were coloured in light green. Like in AOT's map in 2007, Taiwan was depicted as a homeland. It was positioned at the most north-western point of this Austronesian Realm, which expanded towards Madagascar in the south-west and to New Zealand and Easter Island in the south-east. All four extremities were labelled in red.

⁸⁰ The literature accompanying the development of the Austronesian Arts Project first employed the term “Austronesia” as a synonym of the term “Pacific”. During and after the development AOT, it was progressively redefined as a greater equivalent of the term Oceania (Tseng, 2006). Although it directly refers to a linguistic terminology used to describe ancient migrations, it is now commonly used in Taiwan as a contemporary geographical nomenclature. Several informants in New Caledonia and Hawai'i also referred orally to the term “Austronesia”.

⁸¹ For an analysis of this map in the Taiwanese context, refer to the article *What's in the Map: Remapping Oceania in Taiwan Museums through Exhibitions* (Christophe, 2015).

⁸² In Chinese, the term “Nán-dao” (南島) designates the islands positioned in the South of China and Taiwan. Therefore it covers, and goes beyond, the Western term of “South Seas” or “South Pacific” (“Mers du Sud”).

The unity of the Austronesian Realm was also reinforced by the lack of emphasis on the landmasses framing the oceans. Although political borders were drawn, no continental country was labelled. Similar to PH's floor map, where Mainland USA was not labelled, eliminating certain territories' names such as that of China and Japan, brought forth the connections between islands. Thus, depicting an inter-islands stage, the chart displayed at the KMFA clearly bridged Taiwan with the Austronesian realm. Simultaneously, it constructed a border between this island and mainland China, which currently still claims sovereignty over Taiwan [2016]. Finally, it can be argued that the inclusion of Madagascar in both the 2007 and in the 2009 exhibition maps, constituted an essential step in the transformation of Pacific constructs. By integrating a non-Pacific Austronesian island and by avoiding the depiction of migration arrows, TGJ's floor map went beyond the representation of ancient Austronesian movements across Oceania. This map represented a new cross-Oceanic continent described as 'Austronesia' (Tseng, 2006). This map was performed by the artists invited for the opening ceremony of the exhibition (see Chapter 3; Figure 6.37; Christophe, 2015b)

2010-2013, Pacific Hall, BPBM. The cartographic artefacts created for Pacific Hall in 2010-2013 are, to a certain extent, aligned with several of the representations witnessed in Aotearoa New Zealand and in Taiwan. The map produced by ANU and used at the KMFA in 2007 inspired the migration map displayed on PH's mezzanine level (Pacific Hall archival folder, BPBM; see Figure 6.31). However, PH's migration map transcended the geographical categories of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia and instead suggested a geographical separation between Near and Remote Oceania (see Chapter 4; see Figure 6.6). PH's canoe case, which originally came with a Pacific map in the background (see Chapter 5), directly echoed comparative canoe plates published in the catalogue of *Vaka Moana* and displayed on a large panel in the exhibition in Auckland and in Taiwan (Pacific Hall archival folder, BPBM; Howe, 2006: 110-117). Finally, PH's wooden floor map echoed the floor chart presented in TGJ in 2009. Although its material differed, the reflection towards its scope and the presence of Taiwan suggested a broader understanding of the Pacific. Finally, its positioning also revealed the drive to bring people in, to transform the map into a stage, and to stimulate a sense of physical belonging in/to the gallery space.

2014-2016, Pacific Galleries and Māori Hall, AM. Although the Pacific Galleries have not been designed and installed yet [2016], the curatorial teams have already given a great deal of thought to the process of mapping the Pacific. As demonstrated through the analysis of the Waka Process, the narrative for the future museum was envisioned as a Marshallese stick chart (see Chapter 4). Furthermore, when photographs of the *Pacific Hall* were taken to the Auckland Museum in 2014, Fulimalo Pereira was surprised to discover the existence of a case composed of canoe models organised geographically, a display that she had envisioned for the future Pacific Galleries (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 03/09/2014; see Chapter 5). Simultaneously, from 2014 onwards, Tanya Wilkinson, the Project Manager, was responsible for redesigning the maps of the current Pacific and Māori Galleries, in preparation for their physical renovation. Like the professionals interviewed at the Bishop Museum, Tanya described this exercise as a very complex one. The challenge of producing new maps for the galleries was increased by the lack of material selection for the new displays at this early stage. In this context, the inclusion and the exclusion of certain territories, as well as that of their labels, became a conundrum. Constructing a clear narrative in the maps without envisioning that of the exhibitions forced Tanya to partly anticipate the future content areas, and to base the map on the geography of the AM's collections. Despite these challenges, Tanya constructed three new maps put on display in 2015-2016, one replacing the chart displayed by the entrance of *Pacific Masterpieces*, and two positioned in the Māori Hall.

The first map depicts "The Islands of the Pacific" and presents a much wider scope than its predecessor (Figure 6.33). Taiwan is depicted and labelled, so is the entirety of Australia and Aotearoa/New Zealand, the latter benefiting from a bilingual name. Hatching is used around the coastlines in order to make the selected islands noticeable despite their plurality. Individual island names neighbour those of their archipelagos. Political borders are not shown, neither are historical island names. In the bottom left corner of the chart, a compass resembling that used in PH's floor map is represented, reminding the viewer that this map remains a western chart.

The second set of maps displayed in the Māori Hall focuses on the “Origins of Māori Language” and “The Origin of Polynesians” (see Figure 6.34 and 6.35). The latter was long debated by the project manager, the AM’s archaeologists and the Pacific curatorial team. Despite the complexity of depicting migrations accurately, the team’s main concern was related to the representation of non-Austronesian settlements. Since this map constituted the only migration map of the museum, the curators sought to include the peopling of New Guinea and Australia in the chart’s narrative, two regions that were also well represented in the AM collections (Fulimalo Pereira, interview, 18/08/2014). However, since the map was envisioned as a part of the Māori gallery, it was decided that the story of Austronesian dispersals from “Near Oceania” to “Remote Oceania” should be the priority. As a compromise, Papuan migrations are pointed out through the use of a small text box positioned on Australia. Thus, once again, the location of the museum within the Pacific as well as that of the map within the museum impacted the materiality of the exhibition chart.

This body of work demonstrated the complexity of mapping the Pacific in exhibitions and their charts. Transforming from a representation of Oceanica in 1894 to that of a region connected by archaeological records and research on migration in the 1950s, the maps analysed in this research mirrored exhibition narratives. Their construction not only demonstrated the transformation of perspectives regarding the Pacific but also revealed several shifts as to who was in charge of their fabrication. The archives available in the various museums researched brought forth the return to more static representations of the Pacific in Pacific display in the 1980s. Following the structure of the exhibitions, these maps highlighted a three-zoned Oceania divided between Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia with a higher level of accuracy. In the late 1990s, this classical ethnographic approach began to mingle with archaeological mappings, more dynamic and fluid. This combination of disciplinary viewpoints strongly materialised in the exhibition *Vaka Moana* and its affiliated maps, which also reintroduced and promoted the terms of Remote and Near Oceania. Copied and inspired by simultaneous trends, these representations of an interconnected Pacific mushroomed across the region in the early 2000s. Progressively taking up a wider portion of the display to finally deploy onto the floor, these maps focused on

connections across the represented region rather than on its divides. They were also nurtured by cross-Oceanic networks, which were invested in these representations. Due to this connective focus and process, these maps also began to reshape Oceania as envisioned by western cartographers. Increasingly, entire parts of the Pacific drifted towards the margins, while other localities formed a solid and undividable core highlighted by the cartographic representation. Slowly but surely, a new continent was being birthed in trans-Pacific exhibition. Heir of the *Blue Continent* of Hau'ofa and incorporating new players in the Pacific scene such as Taiwan, Austronesia progressively replaced Oceania.

6.4. Opening the Space: Performing and Reconstructing the Pacific

The previous sections of this chapter aimed to deconstruct PH's floor map visually, conceptually and technically, and also brought this chart into perspective by showing how Pacific constructs have transformed in various times and spaces. This section returns to *Pacific Hall* during and after its unveiling in September 2013. It explores the activation and the reception of the floor map in this newly reopened space.

To do so, this section focuses firstly on the role played by the floor map during the opening festivities (unveiling ceremonies and artistic performances) and on how it was then activated. Secondly, it investigates the ways in which the public interacted with the map after the opening, both through the mediation of the Bishop Museum's docents and during unguided visits. Dwelling on the key role of this map in the experience of Oceania imparted by *Pacific Hall*, the last part of this chapter will then examine how the modalities of its reception led to the physical reconstruction of PH's floor map in 2015. By and large, this section brings forth the impact of connective narratives and artefacts, and positions the museum as an active and changing stakeholder of the construction of trans-Pacific relationships.

6.4. A – Chart in Motion: the Map as a Stage

Unveiling Pacific Hall: the museum 'ohana on the map

As described in Chapter 4, Pacific Hall's unveiling was a three-day process, each day corresponding to a distinct event: the staff opening took place on September 19, 2013, the VIP ceremony was organised on September 20, 2013, and the public Grand Unveiling happened on September 21, 2013. During the first event dedicated to the museum staff, the Pacific wooden floor map became an anchor point of the opening protocols. These protocols sought to mark the end of the exhibition making phase, and to actively involve the kānaka Maoli/Hawaiian indigenous people – represented by Hālau Mele – in cleansing the gallery and making it accessible to the general public.

The preparation for the staff opening ceremony started on Wednesday 18, 2013, with the making of a lei/garland. On this day, a group composed of various staff members and cultural practitioners from Hālau Mele gathered with Marques Hanalei Marzan on the Bishop Museum campus. Together, they created a lei made of woven kukui leaves collected in the museum park and measuring approximately 6m long (20 feet). While this lei was envisioned as an offering seeking to honour *Pacific Hall* and to pay a tribute to Oceania, the process of making this artefact was regarded as a means of capturing and entangling in one continuous thread, the agencies of the makers and their networks. Further, this lei was retrospectively described as evocative of the unity of the 'ohana/family of the museum and of an interconnected Pacific (Marques Hanalei Marzan, interview, 27/09/2013).

On the morning of September 19, 2013, the museum staff, Hālau Mele and a few guests of honour involved in the exhibiting process gathered in front of the historical entrance to the Hawaiian Hall Complex.⁸³ This space became the starting point of a procession linking outdoor and indoor spaces, subsequently ending on PH's floor map. During the

⁸³ In addition to the museum staff and Hālau Mele, the ceremony was attended by Alison Gendreau (Chair of the Board), Martin O'Watters (Board Member), and Vilsoni Hereniko (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa).

first part of the protocol, the museum 'ohana (the staff and its guests) was positioned on the front line holding the lei, which physically bound the participants. The group shared a first oli/chant before withdrawing to the side of the walkway to form a guard of honour for Hālau Mele.⁸⁴ With Sam Gong III and Hanelei Marzan at its head, the hālau sang in return and started processioning towards the entrance of the building. The group was directly followed by the lei carriers and the rest of the museum 'ohana.

Slowly penetrating into Pacific Hall via its front door, the museum staff spontaneously took up positions around PH's floor map (see Figure 6.38). The lei carriers gathered between the chart and the canoe case on level 1. In the meantime, the members of the hālau were walking across the mezzanine on level 2, sparkling salty water contained in rounded wooden bowls across the space. Going down via the new central staircase while singing, the practitioners ended their journey on the floor map. As this group joined the staff positioned around the map, four members of the hālau, one after the other, stepped forward onto the wooden chart. In Hawaiian, these practitioners acknowledged the islands represented onto the surface of the map, pointing at them and walking across and towards them. After a last water blessing of the group gathered around the Pacific, the garland holders carefully placed the lei of aloha along the eastern edge of the map. This moment marked the end of the protocol and the beginning of the speeches made by the director, advisors and board members in English. These speeches emphasised the importance of cherishing the museum ohana/family, and honouring the family of the Pacific.

Following these speeches, the 'ohana remained in the hall for a while, hugging, chatting and admiring the work accomplished. The group taking part in *Te Reinga* performance project was called by Kamalu du Preez and Jack Gray to come sing and dance in the central part of level 1 (see Chapter 5; see Figure 6.39). The collective (including the researcher) gathered where the lei holders had just stood, between the canoe case and the map, forming a chain along the eastern edge. While the performers were singing

⁸⁴ The oli aloha/oli Ho'okipa, sang on the opening day was the Bishop Museum's oli, composed by a former staff member of Cultural Collections, Na Miki'ala Ayau. It is titled *Ka Hale Hō'ike'ike* and welcomes the visitors to the home of Pauahi.

the waiata and mele/songs learned during the morning sessions (including the bilingual song '*Ōiwi e/Ngā iwi e*'), the choreographer began to dance onto the wooden floor map. Moving slowly between islands, from Hawai'i to Aotearoa, Jack navigated the map and danced in the space between. By travelling across the Ocean towards his home (Aotearoa), Gray embodied the exhibition message and that of the map itself. Using the rigid frame of the chart as the edge of an improvised stage, he accentuated and performed the fluidity of the space within described as a Blue Continent. The choreographer repeated and refined these movements during the following performances on the other opening days (see Chapter 4).⁸⁵ In this context, the poetic of Gray's movements – supported in this momentum by the energy of the collective chanting behind him – echoed the curatorial discourse developed in the exhibitions presented in this research.

During this opening ceremony, PH's wooden floor map played the role of a magnet, attracting the 'ohana in its great diversity and transforming into a relational space used to exchange, perform and activate (Bhabha, 1994; Denning, 2004; Henare et al., 2007; Hau'ofa, 2008; Tengan et al., 2010; Mack, 2011; McCarthy, 2016). Though neither the gathering around and on the chart nor laying the lei onto its frame had been anticipated by the organisers of the ceremony, doing so was felt to be "the right thing at that very moment" according to Marques Hanalei Marzan (interview, 16/10/2014). Through these spontaneous movements, PH's wooden floor map was activated as a connective stage for the first time in its history. Depositing the lei onto the chart and navigating the space represented within not only bound the islands of the Pacific mapped on the floor, but also affirmed the unity of the makers of this representation. Thus, once again, the message conveyed by the map and its activation intertwined with that of the exhibition itself, both media showcasing Oceania as an interconnected space. This spontaneous

⁸⁵ On the PH's first anniversary (19/09/2014), Jack Gray who had return from Aotearoa and was on his way to California, visited the Hall and organised an improvised celebration with the staff. Once again, the dancer used the map as a stage, asking the remaining of the former Te Reinga collective to stand around it, and himself dancing across the Ocean represented on its surface. This time, Jack also added karakia/prayers and korero/speeches in Te Reo Māori about the connections between the islands, which he named. The dancer moved in the direction of the migration patterns from Asia/Taiwan to Polynesia, and pursued with the Aotearoa-Hawai'i link that he and the collective had activated a year before. During this re-enactment of Pacific migrations, emphasising the interconnectedness of Oceania, Gray honoured Te Moana-nui-a-kiwa (The Great Sea of Kiwa) which he named as such.

activation using the map as a central stage also created a continuous thread between the family/'ohana of the Pacific represented on the map and this of the museum gathered around the chart, thus precipitating the *mise en abyme* between cartographic, curatorial and oceanic spaces. All in all, this activation can be regarded as a stepping stone towards the construction of protocol dedicated to trans-Pacific displays.

Visitors and islanders on the stage

After the official opening of PH, the Pacific wooden floor map became one of the focal points of the gallery. During the Grand Unveiling on September 21st, 2013, groups of dancers from across Oceania were invited to perform on the museum campus (see Chapter 4). A delegation of young “Micronesian” dancers took part in the morning festivities. Amongst them were several young women of Tokelauan heritage living in Hawai'i. Entering *Pacific Hall* after their performance, Tava and her friends joined other visitors onto the floor map. While kids were playing on the map, jumping from one island to another and learning the names of these islands with their parents, Tava posed next to her island of origin (see Figure 6.40). Proudly pointing at Tokelau, she asked her friends to take photographs that would later be uploaded onto social media. Performing the chart in a manner that echoed the moves (and later, the photographs) staged by Jack Gray, Tava identified strongly with an island that she regarded as a home, a distant home rendered present in her new home, Hawai'i. This moment was an extremely powerful one. To a certain extent, it materialised the concept of the museum and the exhibition as contact zones (Schorch, 2013). It also demonstrated the importance of labelling, naming, acknowledging and re-presenting foreign islands locally. Finally, it brought forth the significance of such exhibitions for local diasporic communities, and emphasised the museum's responsibility to further engage with these communities in the future. When the photograph presented in Volume II was shared with the museum staff, the content team reacted very emotionally, witnessing the result of a journey that had been a conundrum but that had effectively brought people together. This moment also encouraged the content team to reflect upon the cartographic choices made during the creation process (see below).

In the months following the opening, the navigational ballet over PH's wooden floor map continued. During their tour "Moananuiākea, Oceania", every single docent trained for PH systematically used the map as the first or second stop, walking across it to teach about Pacific geography in a fluid manner (docent tours, followed in October 2014). Groups of visitors coming into the hall also gathered onto the map to spontaneously perform various types of meanings and to stage various types of spaces. Amongst those groups, a family from Rapa Nui came to visit the BPBM's archaeologist (and Rapa Nui specialist) Dr. Mara Mulrooney in July 2014. Visiting PH with Mara M., Salvador, Ernestina and their daughter Nina stood onto the floor map to reform the Polynesian triangle (see Figure 6.41). As inhabitants of Rapa Nui, they "had always dreamed of traveling throughout Polynesia, and especially to the other apexes of the Polynesian Triangle" (Mara Mulrooney, correspondence, 02/08/2015). The family had travelled to Aotearoa in 2013 and was completing their triangular journey by coming to Hawai'i in 2014. Performing this reunification onto PH's floor map, the group paradoxically recreated a space challenged by the concept of Blue Continent throughout PH. To a certain extent, this moment demonstrated that former western cartographic categories still hold meaning for Pacific Islanders today, and that Oceania can become an imagined and exotic space for islanders themselves (Jolly, 2007; Boulay, 2001). Simultaneously, the presence of Mara Mulrooney's guests in PH and on the map, acted as a reminder of the role of exhibitions as network zones, and showed how these networks intertwine indigenous and non-indigenous agents performing within and through entangled spaces.

6.4. B – Epilogue: From Movement to Reconstruction

As demonstrated above, PH's floor map became a focal point upon the opening of the newly renovated gallery. Attracting practitioners, performers, docents and visitors like a magnet, the map epitomised the concept of relational space. Its connective capacity, underestimated by the curatorial team, triggered reflections on its content and on the cartographic decisions made by the team. Vilsoni Hereniko – who was consultant on PH's renovation and keynote speaker during the opening ceremonies – explained having discovered the historical names chosen for certain island groups on the opening day

(Vilsoni Hereniko, interview, 28/10/2014). Strongly disagreeing with this decision – which he described as offensive for the islanders of these localities – he talked to the director about the possibility of “correcting” the map. Envisioning the potentiality to cover the Pacific with a carpet for the opening festivities, Blair Collis finally decided that the map would be presented as such but promised that it would be reconstructed (Blair Collis, interview, 27/10/2014).

Following the visitor engagements witnessed during the opening festivities, the need to transform PH’s floor map increased. The in-house designer explained that “there [was] a problem where Polynesia meets Melanesia and Micronesia”, a problem that was symptomatic of the curatorial decisions made in the broader hall (Dave Kemble, interview, 07/10/2014; see Chapter 4). Willing to create a better balance in the representation of each regions – which remained transcended by PH’s discourse – the teams contacted Yarema Marquetry to have them redo the floor map as soon as possible. However, when this request was made following PH’s opening, the company had closed permanently. This bad news forced the teams to realise that the choice of a complex and very niche technology had made the actualisation of this map quasi impossible. Luckily for the teams, the company was bought by one of its employees and reopened a few months later under the name of Shayn Allen Marquetry. Contracted for a costly reconstruction, the company was asked to change one of the map’s panels, “where Polynesia [met] Melanesia and Micronesia” (see Figures 6.42 and 6.43).⁸⁶ The marquetry technician Shayn Smith flew from Michigan mid-January 2015, two years after the first installation. After convoying the new panel to Hawai’i, he undertook to install it in PH, removing the faulty section like one would dismantle a parquet-floor. The hall was closed for an entire week for the purpose of this reconstruction, which also necessitated to varnish the map once again (see Figure 6.44). The four coats of oil-based varnish allowed for a perfect integration of the new panel into the floor map (Dave Kemble, correspondence, 13/03/2015). On this new section, the “New Hebrides” were renamed “Vanuatu”, “Ellice Islands” were upgraded to “Tuvalu” and “Gilbert Islands” were changed into Kiribati (6.45). The name of the “Phoenix Islands” was also

⁸⁶ On the lack of representation of Micronesia in regionalist discourses, see Hanlon, 2009.

permanently removed. Updated, the map continues to play the role of a connective stage. Yet, as the history of Pacific cartographic constructs presented in this chapter demonstrates, one could foresee that this map will soon again be challenged by the relational and fluid nature of border and identity making. Notably, this research encourages future studies on Pacific exhibition maps to further engage with the articulations developed along the western and eastern edges.

Conclusion

Despite the diversity in the ways in which museums construct, include and perform charts in their exhibitions, this chapter argued that creating a space for their study is necessary. Constructed at the crossroad between museums and the disciplines that nurture their existence, they are – like exhibitions – relational spaces that also have the particularity to show/to map the relationships through which they are created. As such they trigger reflections on the history of museums, on the trajectories of their exhibitions as constructed representations, and on their entanglement with broader networks. The story of the PH's wooden floor map, its construction, its activation and its reconstruction embodied the complexity of developing and staging trans-Pacific exhibitions. It demonstrated that all Pacific constructs, mapped and curated from outside or from within Oceania, are the products of situated politics and are nurtured by interrelated circles of interests. In the case of the displays researched in this thesis, these networks of agencies resulted in the construction of a new (museum) continent, sometimes referred to as "Austronesia". This continent, which emphasises the relationships amongst the peoples of Moananuiākea/Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, excludes as much as it includes and connects.

In other words, representations of Oceania produced within the region are not exempted of power relations. While trans-Pacific exhibition narratives aim for the depiction of fluidity and connectivity, these power relations – historical, cultural, intuitional – strongly shape the ways in which links are represented. By taking down borders, the map and exhibition makers presented in this thesis drew new epistemological and geographical limitations. These limitations – materialised in PH's

problematic wood panel – left aside or misrepresented parts of the Pacific where the epistemologies employed in the broader show could not be applied. However, exploring the activation of the map by the public demonstrated that connective narratives had a strong impact on the visitors, notably on those from the Pacific diaspora who made a new home in the exhibition's locality. This observation leads to the question of the audience and the responsibility of these exhibitions and their makers: who are trans-Pacific exhibitions for and how do they serve their audience? Finally, the example of the group visiting the Bishop Museum from Rapa Nui showed that Pacific islanders also identify and imagine a space that goes beyond the borders of their own islands. While this group in particular identified with "Polynesia", it can be argued that framing trans-Pacific displays through the scope of archaeological records, DNA patterns and pre-existing/pre-conceived channels constitutes yet another limitation to the ways in which visitors might wish to engage and imagine curated and Oceanic spaces. Thus, the responsibility of exhibition makers is, perhaps, to acknowledge the networks that inform their actions and to find pathways that prevent fluidity from being rigidified.

Chapter 7:
Networks of Belonging

Reassembling the thesis

This thesis investigated the ways in which exhibitions and exhibiting processes – taking place at and through the Auckland War Memorial Museum (AM), the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (BPBM) and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts (KMFA) – all constructed and represented trans-Pacific relationships. From 2006 to 2016, the exhibitions *Vaka Moana* (VM), *Le Folauga* (LF), *Across Oceans and Time* (AOT), *The Great Journey* (TGJ), *Pacific Hall* (PH) and the future Pacific Galleries (PG), played the role of both channels and stages through which connectivity was displayed and performed. Acting as powerful vessels linking institutions, cultures and individuals, these displays further blurred cartographic and curatorial borders and engaged with the Oceanic space as a relational web. By doing so, exhibitions and their makers redefined the very meaning of “Oceania” and transformed its scope and its structure.

As demonstrated in this thesis, such a transformation, impacting both Oceanic and gallery spaces, was rooted in the practices supporting exhibition making. As the result of historical, institutional and cultural negotiations, these practices entangled the agencies of various actors (people, things, places, epistemologies), themselves connected to others through ramifying networks. These networks and their agents – within and beyond the museum’s walls – interacted through establishing and shifting power relations. The latter shaped exhibitions at every stage of their making. Exhibitions, in return, nurtured and transformed these power plays. By placing these dynamics at the core of the study of museum displays and relationships, this research emphasised the importance of envisioning exhibitions as performed and relational entities, as network zones.

7.1 – Constructing Connective Museology: The Exhibition as Method

This study contributes to a field of research in which museum exhibitions are regarded as processes and products (Davallon, 1999; Karp & Lavine, 1991; Baxandall, 1991; Shelton, 2006; McCarthy, 2007; Yang Lin, 2010; Davidson, 2016). It also pursues the exploration of these combined qualities by employing exhibitions as a means to reassemble the translations that they triggered. By applying the Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) to the field of exhibition studies, this thesis intertwined constructivist readings of knowledge and power-making with the exploration of constructed and displayed assemblages (Latour, 2005; Foucault, 1969, 1975; Gordon, 1980; Larson et al., 2007; Gosden et al., 2007; Harrison et al., 2013). In this context, exhibitions were not only an object of study but also a method of investigation. Following the paths of various displays, their making and their makers, the agencies that shaped the gallery space were traced and their agents brought to the front of the stage. In the midst of tracing and reassembling these endeavours, the researcher was also able to unearth specific exhibition relationships across Oceania. These relationships encompassed parallels and echoes, touring and translations, as well as genealogies and ruptures. On the one hand, this thesis stresses the need to explore these various dynamics in order to unlock exhibitions and their study, as well as to nurture both the understanding of museum displays and the making of future shows. On the other hand, exhibition-tracing, as a connective method, brought forth the existence of articulations from one display, museum and island to another.

In this context, researching exhibition-relationships allowed for the development of a connective museological approach, referred to as connective museology. In this study, this approach was used to transcend institutional borders. It highlighted the ways in which, in the past and in the present, museums and their makers interacted, traded and shared, notably about/through exhibitions (Larson et al., 2007; Gosden et al., 2007; Harrison et al., 2013). As these interactions directly impacted exhibition products by fashioning the elaboration of their narratives – later communicated publically (Davallon, 1999) – they became powerful tools for the various parties involved.

Precisely, this thesis also demonstrates that museums themselves employed and performed the exhibition as a method to construct connectivity. Binding various agents at a specific time and place, exhibitions were envisioned by their makers as an endeavour to accomplish collectively. Investing in the development of such endeavours became a means to nurture relationships both within and beyond the gallery space, and to redefine the role of the museum as an institution in the making. In the context of Pacific museums, this role was notably affiliated with that of a vessel. While canoes were contained and brought to the front of the stage in the gallery, the exhibition itself was shaped by the aspirations and agencies of its crew. Museums, like harbours, became sites from which vessels were crafted and launched, ready to navigate both museum and Oceanic spaces and to challenge curatorial and cartographic taxonomies. Connecting geographical, institutional and cultural localities, such vessels were at the core of negotiations of power/knowledge as defined by Foucault (Gordon, 1980). Described as vessels, they also acted as a reminder of the ways in which indigenous and non-indigenous epistemologies entangled through the practice of exhibition making. This observation led this study to suggest the establishment of a multifaceted and connective culture of display in Oceania, a culture grounded in various Pacific localities but talking to the interconnectedness of the region.

7.2 – Articulations and Aspirations

Through this method, employed by both the researcher and by the exhibition makers, various articulations were reassembled. As each chapter presented in the thesis pieced together such articulations in greater detail, this conclusion emphasises those that shed light on the significance of connective trans-Pacific dynamics and on their affiliated aspirations.

As demonstrated in Chapter 5, the practices supporting the making of the exhibition case studies were and sought to be binding. Institutional and cultural connections were created in and through the gallery space. Entangling “internal” actors, these exhibiting processes were also ramifying beyond the museum’s wall by reaching out to “external” agents. The latter became a part of the exhibition defined as a relational place,

transcending spatiality (Gosden et al., 2007; Dürr & Schorch, 2016). In this context, exhibitions and their makers travelled and translated across Oceania, paving the way for the display of fluidity in the gallery. As shown in Chapter 3, temporary exhibitions were key actors in this cross-Oceanic binding process (Christophe, 2012; Davidson, 2016). This quality was notably understood and actively explored by the Taiwanese case study for this research, the KMFA. As its affiliation with the Pacific did not transpire in early curatorial and cartographic taxonomies, this museum and its programming epitomised the significance of opening museum routes: short-term displays were employed to establish new channels and to redefine the border of the Pacific region as well as the very meaning of this regionalism (Kuo-ning, 2008).

While constructing narratives and discourses that emphasised both the interconnectedness of the Oceanic space and the newness of such models, the exhibition case studies remained grounded in “localities”. In this regard too, the KMFA is a powerful example. The transformation of discourses and meanings throughout the development of the Contemporary Austronesian Art Project (CAAP) – from highly connective (AOT) to comparative (TGJ) approaches – showed how displaying connectivity was often rooted in the promotion of local dynamics (local artists in this case). The same phenomenon was observed in the process of restoring PH at the BPBM. As suggested by the first conceptual documents put together by the Content Team and the designers, the new hall was no longer envisioned as an independent unit but as an introduction to the neighbouring gallery dedicated to Hawai’i. In Auckland, things were negotiated differently. The AM notably engaged with the Pacific diaspora in order to construct a renewed understanding of Oceania. Following a visitor centric approach, this museum partly focused on establishing a representation of the region that matched Auckland’s demographics, simultaneously attempting to become relevant for diasporic communities. Firstly, these various models of trans-Pacific engagement revealed a strong correlation between, on the one hand, the room deployed for regional Pacific cultures and artists and, on the other hand, the space already available for local ones. To a certain extent, making and sharing a stage with regional protagonists in new exhibitions came hand in hand with ensuring political and museum presence for local

actors. Secondly, these variations demonstrated the complexity of challenging spatial, cultural and institutional divisions, and of reimagining Oceania through exhibitions.

The objects, epistemologies and stories highlighted in the case studies' narratives equally emphasised this tension between the will to construct connective models and the role of situated politics in this process. This research finding was notably explored in Chapter 6 through the means of PH's wooden floor map and its "problematic" panel. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, the exhibition case studies and their makers developed a visual and conceptual poetic of connectivity through/within trans-Pacific exhibitions. In this context, the Ocean, its vessels and those who led them became prominent figures of these displays. Being both personified and musealised, their status transformed from contextualising information to framing epistemologies. One result and means for this transformation was the use of archaeology and archaeological discourses in the studied exhibitions, a phenomenon that originated in the 1950s (see Chapter 6). While archaeological artefacts were put on display, the stories affiliated with their presence took up a wider and more central space. However, it can be argued that the true focus of these archaeological displays was not archaeology itself but, rather, its capacity to contribute to the poetic of movement, migration and translation. Used as a tool to break down the categories established by the affiliated discipline of ethnology, archaeology was envisioned and showcased as a genealogy of connectivity.

In this context, this research unearthed the appearance of a new display-continent, sometimes described as "Austronesia" (Tseng, 2006). Directly affiliated with linguistic, DNA and archaeological studies focusing on the dispersal of "Austronesian" speaking peoples, this continent was reactivated to become a cultural and artistic one. Understood through the scope of scientific methods and nurtured by contemporary relationships, Austronesia embodied diverse aspirations and was invested with multiple agencies. The meaning and the form of an inclusive continent also varied according to the context of its representation. In Taiwan, Austronesia was invested with the power to open new pathways for Taiwanese indigenous artists and to allow "Taiwan to be Taiwan" rather than an extension of mainland China (Ta-chuan Sun, 2005: 32). From Hawai'i, Austronesian roots (the term "Austronesia" was used orally but not written in

exhibition texts) were employed as a means to expand the realm of so-called Polynesia, and to connect Hawai'i with "its ancestral cultures throughout the Pacific" (Mission statement, BPBM, 2011). To a certain extent, this definition of the Pacific – heavily relying on PH's archaeological storyline – transposed the principle of the *Sea of Islands* (Hau'ofa, 1994) onto a wider geographical area, while also centring the *Blue Continent* on the islanders living within rather than on those living abroad. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the focus on the Austronesian speaking Pacific was initiated and prepared by *Vaka Moana*. While this exhibit still relied on the curatorial and cartographic categories of Melanesia, Micronesia and Melanesia, its narratives placed long-distance Ocean voyaging at the core of the display. In this context, the space progressively brought into the spotlight in 2006 was "Remote Oceania", a part of the Pacific explored through long-distance seafaring. Envisioned from the AM, this taxonomy had two decisive advantages: it recalled the dynamic of movement while focusing on the inner Pacific. Although Austronesian cultures were at the core of the taxonomy, "Remote Oceania" did not include the "Rim" by contrast with "Austronesia" (while not strictly excluding Taiwan). This taxonomy was further expanded during the renovation of the Pacific Galleries, which brought forth the term of Moana-nui-a-Kiwa (The Great Sea of Kiwa) as a means to define "the Pacific", a space interconnected through the Vā ("the space between" Wendt, 1999: 402). These renewed taxonomies, spread notably by indigenous scholars grounded in Aotearoa's Pacific diaspora, addressed and bound most of the Pacific populations living in Auckland (Wendt, 1999; Māhina, 2010).

By reassembling the variations in redefining the scope and the structure of the "Pacific" through the exhibition cases studies, this thesis also demonstrated the limitation of connective display models. Though binding in the discourses and generating inclusive values, these models equally established epistemological and cartographic borders. In other words, at the BPBM, at the KMFA and at the AM, trans-Pacific connectivity was a situated phenomenon. While attempting to avoid colonial models, this approach both transposed power/knowledge structures and epistemologies onto cultures and artists that did not imagine and construct their identities on this basis or, simply, excluded these agents from the storyline (such as Australia). In this context, trans-Pacific exhibitions also triggered processes of transculturation, imposing specific patterns and

generating a new sense of belonging. As such, trans-Pacific display models faced the limitations of the idea of contact zone, an asymmetrical space relying structurally on the existence of a centre (Pratt, 1991: 34, 1992; Boast, 2011: 67; Clifford, 1997; Bennett, 1998; Shelton, 2006;). Whether this centre was placed outside the Pacific (western models) or within, it continued to ground cross-cultural relationships in an inevitable manner (Jolly, 2007; Hanlon, 2009). By deconstructing the *utopia* of islands as isolated landmasses (Cameron, 2012; Hau'ofa, 2008), the makers of the exhibition case studies engaged with a process of (re)conceptualisation. The latter inescapably triggered the birth of ramifying yet channelled *tropes*. Confirming these dynamics in the light of the exploration of trans-Pacific exhibitions, this thesis suggests that a key to unlock such limitations is to move away from the paradigm of isolation – that of islands but also that of display-continent – and to further invest in the exploration of fluid modalities of belonging. Serving as a conclusion and an horizon to this study, the following section suggests two possible pathways for this process.

7.3 – “Where are we going?” Reimagining Belonging through Exhibitions

Despite the aforementioned limitations, trans-Pacific narratives and exhibitions brought forth a set of values amongst which connecting and sharing ranked high. The emerging models presented in this study searched for ways to showcase this connectivity, unearthing and reinventing disciplines such as archaeology or re-actualising/activating the *Sea of Islands* and the *Vā* of Hau'ofa and Wendt (Hau'ofa, 1994; Wendt, 1999). These philosophies, the values that they conveyed and their capacity to bind despite a plurality of institutional and cultural contexts, are highly inspiring. Yet, the essentialist nature of such philosophies tends to oversee the diversity of relational possibilities, or, precisely, to group these possibilities under the banner of unity. Politically and poetically powerful, the efficiency of these models encounters limitations when applied to the field of museum exhibitions, a field that is currently undeniably shaped by its genealogy, structured by fragmented taxonomies. Unexpectedly, these binding philosophies, when matched with disciplinary epistemologies such as those affiliated to archaeology, generated two side effects, which may be endangering their very meaningfulness. Firstly, the *Sea of Islands* paired, for instance, with the

conceptualisation of Austronesia through museum displays triggered the establishment of a set of discourses based on DNA patterns. Paradoxically, while this reasoning rightfully challenged the categories of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia staged in former exhibitions, it reconstructed forms of cultural and artistic eugenics, epitomised by the term “Austronesian Arts” employed at the KMFA. Secondly, these connective models struggled in moving away from omniscient and englobing knowledge making, bringing forth the difficulty of situating and grounding “unity”.

Following this observation, one wonders how trans-Pacific connective models can be constructed, negotiated and performed in the 21st century Pacific and beyond. Simultaneously, the current state of political relations as well as the intensification of migratory movements due to the impact of global warming on the islands of Oceania stresses the importance of developing such models. To unlock the aforementioned paradox, this research suggests that, firstly, exhibitions and their makers may explore means to acknowledge their own positioning in the gallery space. Reflective museum models – which challenge omniscient approaches of knowledge making by putting this very process and its actors on display – are very instructive endeavours (Schorch, 2009; Hainard et al., 2002). In this context, reimagining modalities of institutional and cultural belonging in exhibitions comes hand in hand with 1) a greater awareness of the impact of entangled networks onto the display space and with 2) the elaborations of display components that allow for these networks to be exhibited. Secondly, this thesis argues that the development of such models cannot be accomplished without the involvement of those who both experience fluidity through their movements and produce visual and performative means to redefine this fluidity: the artists. These makers and movers not only activate trans-Pacific connectivity but also perpetually re-invent and re-imagine both modalities of learning and belonging in/through/to Oceania. Their pathways and their stories designate these artists as the museum’s best ally in the process of deconstructing and reassembling exhibition taxonomies. Above all, makers inspire new means of sharing and performing fluidity in/through exhibition stages.

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List of Interviews

AUBAIL, Anne-Laure — collection manager FACKO, Visual Arts and Exhibition Department (DAPEX), TCC. Interviewed at the TCC, Noumea, New Caledonia on 30/06/2014.

BOUTIN, Sophie — Former head of the DAPEX. Interviewed at the TCC on 04/07/2014.

BROWN, De Soto — historian and collections manager, Library and Archives, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 16/09/2013 and 24/10/2014.

BROWNSON, Ron — curator for Pacific and Maori arts, Auckland Art Gallery. Interviewed on 03/09/14.

CHANG, Anderson — head of the Education Department. Interviewed at the KMFA on 14/03/2014.

CHANG, Ya-Pei — exhibition designer for *The Great Journey*, Exhibition Department. Interviewed at the KMFA on 03/04/2014. Interpreter: Sammi Y. Mok.

CHEN, Laha — freelance film director. Documented the residency at the TCC in 2012 and the installation of the exhibition *Beyond the Boundary* (TCC, 2012). Interviewed in Taipei on 26/03/2014.

CHEN, Lica Ting-Ting — graphic designer, Exhibition Department. Interviewed at the KMFA on 12/03/2014. Interpreter: Sammi Y. Mok.

CHEN, Lousia — Research Department. Interviewed at the KMFA on 10/04/14.

CHEN, Sandy Chan-chuan — Education Department, Children's Museum. Interviewed at the Children's Museum, KMFA on 15/04/2014. Interpreter: Sammi Y. Mok.

CLARE, Roy — director, AM. Interviewed on 09/09/14.

CLARKE, Chanel — Maori curator, Human History, AM. Interviewed on 11/09/14.

COCHRANE, Susan — guest curator for the exhibition *Across Oceans and Time* (KMFA,

2007). Interviewed via Skype on 24/07/2014.

COLLIS, Blair — director, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 26/09/2013 and on 27/10/2014.

COTTON, Elizabeth — head of Human History, AM. Interviewed on 05/09/14.

DAVIES, Rachael — head of the content team, Museum Redevelopment Project, AM. Interviewed on 13/08/2014.

DELA FUENTE, Nicole – training conservator. Interviewed at the BPBM on 27/09/2013.

DOWSON, Tim — head of building and infrastructure, Museum Redevelopment Project. Interviewed on 20/08/14.

DU PREEZ, Kamalu M. — Collections assistant, Cultural Collections Department, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 11/09/2013 and 13/10/2014.

FU, Chun Fu — Research Department, National Museum of Prehistory, Taitung. In-house curator for *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors*. Interviewed at the NMP, Taitung on 28/03/2014.

GLAUNEC, Muriel — Re-development Project, Maison de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, MNC. Interviewed at the MNC, Noumea, New Caledonia on 03/06/2014.

GRAY, Jack — Choreographer in residence during the Pacific Hall renovation, Atamira Dance Company, New Zealand. Interviewed at the BPBM on 10/09/2013 and on 18/09/2014.

HARDS, Richard — mount maker, external, Dave KIYABU, Robert OWENS and Susan SMOLINSKI — exhibit preparators and mount makers, Exhibition Department. Interviewed at the BPBM on 29/08/2013.

HERENIKO, Vilsoni — Professor, Academy for Creative Media, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Interviewed at UH, 28/10/2014.

HOSKINS, Rau — director of Design Tribe, AM Redevelopment Project. Interviewed on 05/09/14.

HSIEH, Beatrice — director (2009–2015). Interviewed at the KMFA on 17/03/2014.

HSIEH, Iris — head of the Exhibition Department. Interviewed at the KMFA on 13/03/2014.

HSIU WEI, Sofia — head of the Collection Department. Interviewed at the KMFA on 11/03/2014 and 19/03/2014. Interpreter: Sammi Y. Mok.

HUANG, Peggy — exhibition manager, Exhibition Department. In-house curator for *Across the Oceans and Time*, KMFA. Interviewed at the KMFA on 05/03/2014 and 03/04/2014.

JEFFERY, Christina — head of the Tautai Pacific Art Trust. Interviewed on 19/08/14.

JIAO, Tianlong — Vice President for Anthropology, BPBM. Correspondence 29/07/2014

KAHANU, Noelle M. K. Y. — assistant specialist, Department of American Studies, University of Hawaii at Mānoa. Former director of community affairs, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 26/09/2013 and 10/2014.

KAHN, Jennifer G. — anthropologist, assistant professor at William & Mary University, Williamsburg. Formerly at the Anthropology Department, BPBM. Interviewed via Skype on 29/09/2013.

KAM, Betty — Vice President, Cultural Collections, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 13/08/2013.

KEMBLE, David — senior graphic designer, Exhibition Department, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 10/09/2013 and on 07/10/2014. Correspondence, 25/09/2013.

KOHLHASE, Marilyn — head of the Pacific Advisory Group, AM. Interviewed on 21/08/14.

KUO, Fengju — exhibition designer for *Across Oceans and Time* and *Le Folauga*,

Exhibition Department. Interviewed at the KMFA on 19/03/2014. Interpreter: Sammi Y. Mok.

LEE, Jiunshyan — former director (2004–2008). Interviewed in the Austronesian Park, KMFA on 10/04/2014.

LIPSCOMB, Lokomaika'i A. — cultural education specialist, Education Department, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 27/09/2013.

LO, Nita — head of the Research Department. In-house Curator for *The Great Journey*. Interviewed at the KMFA on 27/02/2014 and on 21/04/2014.

LULUAN, Eleng — artist, involved in the Contemporary Austronesian Art project, KMFA. Residency at the KMFA in 2008 and at the TCC in 2012. Work on display in the exhibition *Beyond the Boundary* (2012, TCC). Interviewed in her house/workshop, Dulan, Taitung County on 07/03/2014. Interpreter: Sammi Y. Mok.

MANUIREVA, Sally — head of public programming, Auckland Museum. Interviewed on 08/08/14.

MARSTON, Bill — head docent, Education Department, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 10/10/2014.

MARZAN, Marques Hanalei — cultural resources specialist, Cultural Collections Department, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 13/09/2013, 27/09/2013 and 16/10/2014.

MASON, Glenn — Architect Glenn Mason Architects Inc., PH restoration. Interview at MAI, 25/09/2013.

MOLÉ, Nicolas — artist, involved in the residence programme at the KMFA from 12/09/2013 to 10/10/2013. Interviewed at the TCC, Noumea, New Caledonia on 25/06/2014.

PANTALONI, Sarah — head of the Communication Service since 2012, TCC. Interviewed at the TCC, Noumea, New Caledonia on 30/06/2014.

PAVAVALUNG, Sakuliu — artist, involved in the Contemporary Austronesian Art project, KMFA. Residency at the KMFA in 2009 and at the TCC in 2012. Work on display in the exhibitions *Across the Oceans* (KMFA, 2007), *The Great Journey* (KMFA, 2009) and *Beyond the Boundary* (TCC, 2012). Interviewed in Taitung County on 29/03/2014. Interpreters: Mei-chen Tseng and Joanne Lai.

PEREIRA, Fulimalo — Pacific curator, Human History Department, AM. Interviewed on 25/07/2014, 18/08/14 and 03/09/14.

POUKIOU, Joseph Kenal — artist involved in the residence programme at the KMFA, in collaboration with Jean-Michel Boene, from 30/10/2006 to 29/11/2006. Interviewed at the TCC, Noumea, New Caledonia on 27/06/2014.

RIKSEN, Max — exhibition designer and coordinator, AM. Interviewed on 04/09/14.

ROSE, Roger — consultant, Pacific Hall Content Development Group, formerly at the Cultural Collections Department, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPPM on 17/09/13.

SINOTO, Yosihiko — senior anthropologist, Anthropology Department, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 25/09/2013.

SOULARD, Guillame — artistic director of the TCC/ADCK since 2012. Interviewed at the TCC, Noumea, New Caledonia on 27/06/2014.

SWANA, Ruby — artist, involved in the Contemporary Austronesian Art project, KMFA. Residency at the KMFA in 2007 and at the TCC in 2012. Work on display in the exhibitions *The Great Journey* (2009, KMFA) and *Beyond the Boundary* (2012, TCC). Interviewed in Taitung County on 29/03/2014. Interpreters: Mei-chen Tseng and Joanne Lai.

TARU, Yuma — Artist (weaver), involved in the Contemporary Austronesian Art project, KMFA. Residency at the KMFA in 2009 and at the TCC in 2012. Work on display in the exhibitions *The Great Journey* (2009, KMFA) and *Beyond the Boundary* (2012, TCC). Interviewed at the KMFA on 24/03/2014. Interpreter: Sammi Y. Mok.

TATAR, Betty — project director, Pacific Hall, BPBM. Interviewed at the BPBM on 27/09/2013.

TJIBAOU, Emmanuel — director of the TCC. Interviewed at the TCC, Noumea, New Caledonia on 2/07/2014.

TSENG Fangling — Exhibition Department. Interviewed at the KMFA on 7/04/2014.

TSENG, Mei-chen — associate researcher, Research Department. In-house Curator for *Across the Oceans and Time*, *Le Folauga* and *The Great Journey*, KMFA. Interviewed at the KMFA on 25/02/2014 and 16/04/2014.

TUILALO, Pétélo — head of the Visual Arts and Exhibition Department (DAPEX) since 2007, TCC. Interviewed at the TCC, Noumea, New Caledonia on 1/07/2014 and 04/07/2014.

UPIGIT, Bob — exhibition technician and artist, TCC. Interviewed at the TCC, Noumea, New Caledonia.

VINDIN, Ashley — general secretary of the TCC since 2009. Interviewed at the TCC, Noumea, New Caledonia on 30/06/2014.

WAMYTAN, Stéphanie — artist, involved in the residence programme at the KMFA from 12/09/2013 to 23/10/2013. Interviewed at the Mont Dore Cultural Centre, New Caledonia on 25/06/2014.

WILKINSON, Tanya — Project Manager Pacific Content, AM. Interviewed at the AM on 10/07/2014 and on 15/08/2014.

WILLIAMS, Paul — Content developer, RAA New York. Interviewed at the AM on 01/08/2014.

YANG, Lin — assistant curator, Exhibition department, National Museum of Natural Science, Taichung. In-house curator for *Vaka Moana: Voyages of the Ancestors*, and curator of the Oceania permanent gallery. Interviewed at the NMNS on 11/04/2014.