

- ▶ hého teplého interstadiálu, v době kdy definitivně vymírají populace neandrtálců. V každém případě mohutný rozvoj gravettienu spolu s významným rozvojem technologií i kultu-

ry, který podle nově datovaných lokalit svrchně paleolitického člověka trval téměř 20 tisíc let, představoval klíčové období v evoluci člověka ve svrchním pleistocénu Evropy. •

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# “There and back again”. Māori Toi Moko and Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme

Significance of Toi moko (tattooed, preserved heads) in Māori culture is indisputable

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**ABSTRACT:**

*The international trade in native art has raised a number of ethical questions. Many cultural artefacts are not owned by the peoples within whose culture they were created anymore, on the contrary, they are exhibited in museums and held in private collections all over the world. This article deals with repatriation of Toi moko from overseas institutions back to the country of their origin, New Zealand. Toi moko (tattooed, preserved heads of Māori or Moriori origins) were traded and sold abroad during the period of the late 18th and early 19th century. Toi moko are considered to be not only human remains but also cultural artefacts that are important for cultural reproduction and whose significance in Māori culture is indisputable. The aim of this article is to reflect the recent efforts of Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme that is undertaken by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and funded by New Zealand Government.*

**ABSTRAKT:**

*Mezinárodní obchodování s nativním uměním evokuje řadu etických otázek. Kulturní artefakty již často nejsou ve vlastnictví národů, v rámci jejichž kultury byly vytvořeny, nýbrž jsou vystavovány v muzeích nebo drženy v soukromých sbírkách po celém světě. Tento článek se zabývá navrácením Toi moko (tetovaných mumifikovaných hlav Maorského původu) ze zahraničních institucí zpět do země jejich původu, na Nový Zéland. Obchodování s Toi moko bylo rozšířené zejména na přelomu 18. a 19. století; v tomto období byly do zahraničí převezeny stovky překoupených nebo ukradených maorských hlav. Toi moko nepředstavují pouze lidské ostatky, ale také kulturní artefakty, jež jsou významné pro kulturní reprodukci a jejichž význam pro maorskou kulturu je nespochybnitelný. Cílem tohoto článku je reflektovat snahy repatriačního programu Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme, který vede novozélandské národní muzeum Te Papa Tongarewa pod záštitou novozélandské vlády.*

It will have been three years on 23 January 2015 since the repatriation handover ceremony of twenty Toi Moko, tattooed and preserved Māori heads, took place in the Musée de Quai Branly in Paris, France. Though it was not the first returning of Māori ancestral remains to New Zealand, it was the single largest. After years of negotiation with representatives of the French government and overcoming legal obstacles, the remains could return home thanks to The Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme. The programme, which is run by the national museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and supported by the New Zealand government, has facilitated more than 200 international repatriations up to now. It defends the rights of indigenous peoples, ensures the communication between local and international institutions, and carries out quality research. The New Zealand’s Karanga Aotearoa

Repatriation Programme deals with the consequences of trafficking culture and set an example for other countries and organisations that are engaged in art and cultural repatriation. New Zealand is considered to be a relatively new country as it was not colonised by the Europeans until the late 18th century; however, when talking about historical patrimony, it is often not taken into account that this island situated in the south-western Pacific Ocean has been inhabited since AD 1200 by Polynesian settlers, who have developed their unique culture through the centuries and are now referred to as Māori. Representing 15% of today’s New Zealand population, Māori culture has a very strong influence on the creation of the New Zealand identity. Both Māori and non- Māori people are proud of the cultural heritage that the Māori ancestors left behind. Traditional Māori haka (war cry and dance), which is performed by the All Blacks (New Zealand National

**KEYWORDS:**  
cultural identity, culture, ethics, art trade, Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme, Māori, native art, New Zealand, tattoo, Toi moko

**KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA:**  
kultura, kulturní identita, Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme, Maorové, nativní umění, Nový Zéland, obchod s uměním, tetování, Toi moko

<sup>1)</sup> Royal College of Surgeons, UK; British Museum, UK; Aberdeen Marischal College, UK; South Kensington Museum, UK; Halifax Museum, York, UK; Plymouth Museum, UK; King’s College Museum, UK; Whitby Museum, UK; University Museum, Oxford, UK; Trinity College, Dublin, IR; Natural History Museum, Paris, France; Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, GE; Auckland Museum, NZ; Königliches Christchurch Canterbury Museum, NZ; Sydney Australian Museum, AU; Anthropological Museum, Florence, IT; Anthropological Museum, Rome, IT; Smithsonian Institution, Washington, USA; etc. (Robley 1896).

<sup>2)</sup> Moriori are the indigenous people of the Chatham Islands, archipelago situated southeast from New Zealand. Their culture resembled to this of Māori, although there were some differences (King 2003: 53-57).

<sup>3)</sup> This karanga (unique form of female oratory that is sung at the beginning of pōwhiri) was recorded on October 7, 1963 at the annual celebration of the coronation of King Koroki at Turangawaewae, Ngaruawahia. It was performed by a Waikato woman during a pōwhiri, or welcome, for visitors from Ngāpuhi and Ngāiaterangi tribes (“Calling the dead” 2014).



General Horatio G. Robley with his "collection" of Māori heads, ca 1900.

▶ Rugby Team) before every match is only one of the examples of Māori influence on New Zealand culture.

To preserve the vital cultural background, the New Zealand government launched several programmes supporting the conservation and development of Māori culture; one of them is Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme. The objective of this programme is to repatriate Māori Toi moko from the institutions overseas back to their homeland. The main argument of Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme is that Toi moko represent human remains of Māori ancestors and should therefore be returned to their living descendants. There is another relevant aspect of Toi moko nature that should be taken into consideration; their cultural aura. While Toi moko stand only for simple art artefacts deprived of cultural background in international institutions (museum, galleries, universities, etc.), they gain deeper cultural meaning at their place of origin. Toi moko represent cultural treasures and symbolise the ancient times of Aotearoa (Māori name for New Zealand) and the knowledge of its indigenous people.

#### THE WORLD OF MĀORI

Māori are the original inhabitants of New Zealand, a group of islands situated in the South Pacific approximately 2000 km southeast from Australia, who arrived from tropical Polynesia no later than 1000 years ago (Belich 1996: 7; King 1997: 9). Having at disposal 270,000 square kilometres of land mass and being so distant from the other islands, the early Polynesian settlers of New Zealand lived in a great isolation. As they were for a long time separated from other

racess or cultures, they had no concepts of race or culture, nor a vocabulary to express them. Pre-European New Zealanders formerly referred to themselves only by their tribal (iwi) or sub-tribal (hapu) names and they do not appear to have begun to use the expression Māori until the 1840s, when the Europeans started to explore the islands (King 2008: 37). The word Māori means 'normal', 'usual', or 'native to the place' and it served to distinguish the 'ordinary man' from the stranger, in this case a European. Nowadays, however, the term Māori is often used to describe both pre-European and

post-European New Zealanders.

Despite their relatively short history, Māori developed a unique and rich culture, which was partly influenced by their Polynesian origins and also by the specific conditions of life in the islands. Until the arrival of Europeans to New Zealand in the middle of the nineteenth century, Māori did not master writing and so the culture spread by the means of oral tradition and artefacts; it survived in the structures of traditional society. In illiterate societies (which Māori were for more than six centuries) art played an essential role in everyday life and was a source of collective cohesion. Among the various forms of art that Māori practised, the art of tattoo was one of the most developed and valued.

Tattooing was a part of an everyday life in the traditional Māori society and was based on principles of Māori social organisation and Māori cultural values. Māori society has been highly kin-based, the first Polynesian settlers were organised into whānau (extended family groups) that eventually grouped together into hapu (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribes) (Mikaere 2013: 12). The identity

of a tribe linked to both place, relating to the tribal territory, and ancestry, referring to its first ancestor. The society was also strictly based on genealogy; the prefixes ngā, ngāi, or ati were often added to tribal names in order to refer to the origins of a tribe (e.g. Ngā Rauru Kitahi tribe is named after an important ancestor Rauru Kitahi). Each tribe had a relationship with other tribes through connections build over generations and several tribes might have occasionally created alliances to defend or invade a common territory. Classic Māori society was based on the principles of leadership and hierarchy and the status of an individual was determined by both birth and sex; these characteristics also implied his/her rights and prestige (Barrow 1995: 15; Mikaere 2013: 12).

Although the position within the society was mostly inherited through a senior line of descent, individuals could also reach the position of leadership thanks to his/her personal characteristics or skills. Fighting was considered as a very valuable skill that was much needed in the war-orientated society. The warriors were glorified and supplied with the best goods and it was a glory to die in a battle, while being taken as a prisoner was the greatest shame. Māori art was closely related to the art of war, weapons were decorated with elaborated designs, warriors owned personal ornaments of great importance and their faces and body parts were adorned with tattoos.

#### THE ORIGINS OF TĀ MOKO

The word tattoo was introduced to European languages by English explorer James Cook, whose crew were the first Europeans to observe and record Polynesian tattooing on their transoceanic voyage in 1769 (King 1992). The verb tattoo appeared in Cook's Journal for the first time on the 13 July 1769 describing the tattooing in Tahiti (Rychlík 2014: 126), however, Cook's assistant, botanist Joseph Banks described the process of tattooing already on the 5 July 1769: 'This morn (sic) I saw the operation of Tattooing the buttocks performd (sic) upon a girl of about 12 years old, it provd (sic) as I have always suspected

a most painful one. It was done with a large instrument about 2 inches long containing about 30 teeth, every stroke of this hundreds of which were made in a minute drew blood. (...) I was setting in the adjacent house with Tomio for an hour, all which time it lasted and was not finishd (sic) when I went away tho (sic) very near. This was one side only of her buttocks for the other had been done some time before' (Banks 1768-1771: 309).

In November 1869, Banks described in his Journal his encounter with New Zealanders and also commented on their appearance, including their tattoos: 'The people themselves were browner than those to the

southward, as indeed they have been ever since we came to Opoorage, as this part is called, and they had a much larger quantity of amoca or black stains upon their bodies and faces' (as cited in Hooker 1896: 203). As we can notice from Banks' notes, to the Māori, the originally Tahitian word tatu was unknown. Banks referred to their tattoos as to amoca, which corresponded with the Māori term for the art of tattooing tā moko (term used mostly for a face tattoo). For the tattooing of the other body parts Māori used mainly the term whakairo. The word whakairo means 'to ornament with a pattern' and is also frequently used as a term describing woodcarving. The relationship between these two Māori art forms is considerable (Simmons 2007: 19), and there is an evidence of significant exchange in symbols and meaning between the traditional Māori arts of carving, painting, weaving and tattooing (Paama-Pengelly 2010: 72).

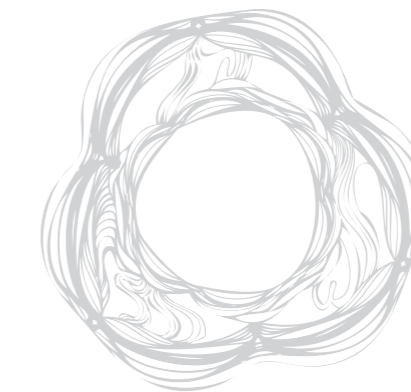
Māori developed a distinctive form of tattooing with the flesh carved away and the pigment placed inside the grooves, creating deep dark pattern. The carving method was used exclusively for facial moko, while the other parts of the body were tattooed in the more conventional method; the pigment was inserted underneath the skin with a sharp-tooth comb while the skin was left smooth (ibid.: 14; Palmer & Tano 2004). 'For work on the face, the Māori developed a technique unknown anywhere else in the world' (Te Awēkotuku 2007: 20).

However the form of tattooing was rather fixed, its styles were changing within the Māori society, as the first European observers made their records (Reed 2002: 178): 'In remote times it is thought that the moko was confined to crosses and straight lines, but during the centuries of occupation in Aotearoa the characteristic curvilinear patterns were developed in the same way as designs in wood carving.' Since the discovery of Aotearoa, Māori moko has gone through several changes in its design as well as in the intensity of its practice. Facial tattooing has always been a part of Māori society, but it is believed that the carving of skin has widely spread especially during the inter-tribal wars of the 1820s adapting new tribal styles and designs (Graham 1994: 15). Furthermore, its practice changed with the arrival of European settlers to New Zealand. The development of moko was profoundly influenced by technological innovations such as the introduction of metal, needles, etc.; however, it was historical circumstances that caused the decline of all forms of male facial tattoo by the 1860s. Missioners considered moko the Devil's art (Nikora - Rua & Te Awēkotuku 2005: 194) and the Tohunga Suppression Act outlawed traditional Māori cultural and healing practices in New Zealand in 1907, including

the practice of moko. The Act was not repealed until 1962 via the Maori Welfare Act. Having moko between these years proclaimed an allegiance to an outlawed way of life of its bearer (Juniper 2008: 16-17). Since 1970's, Ta Moko has played an important role in the Māori renaissance movements and Māori cultural revival. Nowadays, moko is still a vital practice and it is perceived (by its bearers, artists and scholars) as a medium connecting the past and present, representing the life essence conveying memory and history and the culture of Māori people (Juniper 2008: 76, 199-200). Furthermore, it has recently attracted attention of non-Māori who are more frequently willing to get a traditional Māori design tattoo.

#### TOI MOKO, FAMILY AND WAR BUSINESS

Tā moko has also been a source of mana, a spiritual quality which has a great importance in Māori society. 'The moko not only



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indicated mana but contained mana itself' (Palmer & Tano 2004). Māori regarded head as a sacred body part and tā moko supported its significance. When a noble member of a Māori society died, his head was usually cured or embalmed in order to remind the family, eventually iwi and hapu, his character and actions. Embalming techniques involved cleaning, drying and preserving the head, while skin, hair and tā moko design stayed intact (Graham 1994: 24). Dried and smoked heads served as a personal remembrance in the society innocent of literature or of any usual form of art (except carving) (Robley 1896: 10: 1; Palmer & Tano 2004).

There are number of terms, which are more or less widely used, to denote

these preserved head. The most common traditional term that appears in early literature of European explorers, ethnologists, anthropologists, and historians (eg. Robley) is mokamōkai (eventually mokomōkai). This term is explained in Dictionary of the Māori Language as: '2. Dried human head; 3. Curiosity, treasure' (Williams 1957: 207). On the other hand, contemporary Māori cultural experts prefer using modern terms to describe a traditional practice; Awēkotuku (2003; 2007) uses term ūpoko tuhi (inscribed, engraved, patterned head), while the Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme uses an alternative term Toi moko, which is directly associated with the repatriation work of Te Papa Tongarewa ('What is a Toi moko' 2014). Another terms used are: upoko whakairo - carved head, mahanga pakipaki - preserved head or moko mai - tattooed, preserved head (Bentley 1999: 257).

The practice of preserving human heads was widespread in traditional Māori society and was motivated by two main reasons: either to esteem a person of great importance, or to testify the tribe's war success by keeping a head of its enemy as a trophy. In both cases, the principal function of this custom was to keep alive the memory of the dead; Toi moko substituted the place that pictures, statues or photography have in today's society (Robley 1896: 10: 1-2). The heads of loved ones remained in the families of the deceased hidden in wooden carved boxes and protected by strict tapu. They were displayed only at the time of special occasions such as departure of a warlike expedition or gathering of a tribe and their function was to signify that the departed chief or warrior was still a part of the tribal affairs and his presence dwelled amongst the people. On the other hand, Toi moko of the enemies were exhibited at the top of houses or on poles by marae (meeting houses) and waysides so that they could be seen by everyone (Robley 1896: 10: 3). Toi moko of enemy warriors served to decrease mana of the defeated tribe while enhancing that of the victorious ('Why were Toi moko made' 2004); they were valuable possessions.

Captured Toi moko also played an important role at the time of peace negotiations. At the end of a war an exchange of heads between the participating tribes was an essential step towards the peace; should a chief of one of the fighting party dispose of a captured head during the continuance of the war, it was perceived as a sign that he would never conclude peace with his present enemy (Robley 1896: 10: 7). As long as Toi moko remained in the possession of victorious chief no form of friendly relationship was possible between the two rival tribes (ibid.: 8), to the contrary, when the two

► parties were about to conclude peace, the embalmed heads could be traded or exchanged and returned to their surviving relatives (ibid.: 9). The importance of Toi moko in warlike business implied their high value, but the situation changed with the arrival of early European settlers in New Zealand and importation of guns and muskets.

#### FROM AOTEAROA TO THE MUSEUMS

Māori culture has always attracted attention of Europeans and they were fascinated by tā moko in particular; several pictures and records of Māori face tattooing come from the late eighteenth century (Cook, De Surville, King, Parkinson, Hodges, etc.), and many more were made in the nineteenth century (Earle, Cruise, d'Urville, Bidwill, Robley, Lindauer, Goldie, etc.) (Simmons 2007). Although the practice of cutting, embalming and storing heads of ancestors seemed to be barbarous from the western point of view, Toi moko aroused scientific curiosity and became highly-valued objects of intercultural trade. As early as on captain Cook's first voyage to New Zealand in 1770 the expedition's naturalist Joseph Banks bought a head of a fourteen- or fifteen-year-old boy and brought it on the board of the Endeavour despite the reluctance of the natives (Robley 1896: 12: 2). Nevertheless, this reluctance disappeared soon after the Māori discovered the advantage of fighting with guns. After coming back from his visit to England in 1821, Ngapuhi war chief Hongi Hika (c. 1780-1828) started to prepare for his campaign and armed his tribe with arms and ammunition traded with Europeans (McLintock 1966). 'Hongi was the first one to organise Maori warfare on this new principle, and the terror of his name spread far' (Robley 1896: 10: 9). Traditional Māori weapons had no chance against the muskets and gunpowder, and so the other chiefs made an effort to meet Hongi on equal terms by trading with Pākehā (ibid.). Māori chiefs were obtaining guns in exchange for flax, potatoes and slave women. However, while a ton of flax was needed to get one musket, only one Toi moko could provide several muskets. 'The mokomokai, once essential objects in the establishment of peace, became the source of guns and the cause of wars' (Palmer & Tano 2004).

The museums and private collectors in Europe desired to possess Toi moko as curiosities and did not hesitate to offer a good deal of money for them. It is estimated that hundreds of these heads were traded to Europe during the peak period of 1820s (Palmer & Tano 2004). On the other hand, Māori were more eager to obtain muskets and ammunition and so the traffic sprung up. Shortly, the demand overcame the supply and Māori were not able to fulfil the market with the dried heads of captured warriors and slain chiefs. They came out with a new way how to meet the demands

of European traders; Māori chiefs set slaves to be tattooed and killed in order to make a profit. The life of a slave was less valuable than its tattooed head (Palmer & Tano 2004; Robley 1896: 12: 6). This practice was against the traditional beliefs, as originally only the men or women of a high rank could be tattooed. Furthermore, slaves were tattooed carelessly without focus on details and traditional designs. 'There are instances of several white heads having been included in the trade in specimens' (Robley 1896: 12: 3). Tā moko lost its mana and become simply an object of trade. Commercial demand for Toi moko desecralized its value and at the same time destroyed its aesthetic. 'This seems to be a trend with western demands on indigenous art' (Palmer & Tano 2004).

The first traders with Māori heads were usually deserters from ships who lived among the natives, and the dried



The first traders with Māori heads were usually deserters from ships who lived among the natives...

heads were sent abroad on whaling boats; however, as the trade begun to grow on importance, special agents were sent to New Zealand in order to search for Toi moko with the most intricate designs and dried heads acquired a separate entry among the imports at the Sydney Customs. Moreover, it was not uncommon that the dealer visited Māori tribe and chose a still living slave whose head he would have liked to obtain (Robley 1896: 12: 6).

#### BEING TATTOOED MEANT TO BE IN DANGER

The trade in heads was always considered a sacrilege by the natives and there are some records of traders being attacked by Māori after they had found that the object of a trade was one of their relatives (this re-

cognition was possible since traditional moko were usually distinctive) (Palmer & Tano 2004). Gradually, the traffic with dried heads became unacceptable also for European society, yet the European law institutions were slow to react to the atrocities committed by people who were involved in the trade. The trade was prohibited by Governor Darling of New South Wales who issued his Proclamation in April 16th, 1831 in Sydney; however, some efforts to get around the law continued for at least another decade. Eventually, the traffic begun to die out when the Māori were not anymore in need for muskets and the discontent of western society grew up (Robley 1896: 12: 20-23). The trade with dried heads had for consequence not only a decrease of Māori population but also an almost extinction of male tattooing practice. Māori stopped practising tā moko and preserving the heads of relatives and friends out of respect as the trade made it uncertain. Being tattooed at the time when the trade with heads was on its peak meant to be in incessant danger (ibid.: 169).

'The original attraction of Europeans to the mokomokai seems to be a fascination with the exotic and noble savage' (Palmer & Tano 2004). Toi moko were source both of an admiration and fear among the Europeans who had obtained them for their collections. Toi moko were collected as curiosities of natural history and exhibited in museums and galleries as part of ethnographic collections, but they also aroused interests of universities and medical schools where they served as research objects for scientists and doctors who were interested in non-Western cultures, eventually they ended up in hands of private collectors. The stereotype connection of Māori tattoo to a cannibalism, sex and war was strengthened by displaying the tattooed heads in museums where they were isolated from their original context. Toi moko were desecralized and void of cultural, political and religious meaning (ibid.).

Most of the specimens of Māori dried heads in museum collections date from 1770 to 1830, which is relatively short period of time; however, the large majority of them were bought in the last twenty years of this period (Robley 1896: 13: 2). They can be found in museums all over the Europe, in Australia and of course also in New Zealand. In 1896, General Horatio Robley, a Toi moko collector himself, made a list of some institutions that owned the most precious Toi moko as a part of their collections<sup>3</sup>; however, a great deal of traded or stolen Toi moko have stayed untracked. In simple words, there have been many Toi moko all around the world, at the places that are distant from New Zealand and the culture of its original inhabitants. In recent years, the requests to repatriate

the remains of Māori ancestors has arose; not only because keeping human remains seems to be unethical but also because they are part of the Māori cultural property and have deeper significance for Māori cultural community.

#### NATIVE ART AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHTS

As United Nation expert Erica-Irene Daes points out in her study Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous People (1997): 'Indigenous people cannot survive, or exercise their fundamental human rights as distinct nations, societies and peoples, without the ability to conserve, revive, develop and teach the wisdom they have inherited from their ancestors' (as cited in Tipene-Hook 2011: 23). Native art is one of the sources of this cultural wisdom and therefore it is important to keep it accessible for the culture within it was created. Although the majority of cultural stakeholders agree that the cultural property should be preserved and protected, the conflict appears when it comes to the question who should oversee this protection (Tipene-Hook 2011: 23). Museums are still often viewed as symbols of colonial era and oppression and the calls from indigenous communities for regaining their cultural treasures are recently more frequent (ibid.: 25).

In case of Toi moko the efforts for repatriation are even stronger as they represent Māori ancestors and thus link today's people to their past. This connection between the past and present is extremely important for the continuation and promotion of Māori culture (Palmer & Tano 2004). The recognition and maintenance of the Māori cultural identity, and the protection, control and repatriation of its cultural heritage goes hand in hand. The cultural recognition and self-determination are central to the repatriation debates which indigenous people demand the entitlement to exercise their rights within (Tipene-Hook 2011: 23). The United Nations has developed a number of international conventions, declarations, and legislation that impact directly the development, protection, preservation and repatriation of cultural property (e.g. the Declaration of Human Rights; the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict; the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property; the Declaration on the Human Rights of Indigenous Peoples); however, these are not sufficient to regulate all the potential repatriation processes. The cooperation of all interested parties - nation states, indigenous populations, heritage institutions, art dealers and collectors, artists, and heritage professionals (anthropologists, archaeologists, historians, art historians, etc.) is necessary to ensure

the repatriation of cultural heritage material in a culturally respectful manner (ibid.: 23-24).

#### KARANGA AOTEAROA REPATRIATION PROGRAMME

In February 2001, the Wellington based national museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa launched its policy that provides guidelines for responding to the requests to repatriate kōiwi tangata that is defined as 'any part of the human body (skeletal or soft tissue) of Māori and Moriori<sup>4</sup> origin, which is an unmodified state since death' from overseas institutions and museums. The Moriori term for human remains is koimi tangata. The policy turned into a formal programme in 2003 and its official name is Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme. 'Items that have been modified entirely or partly from human bone (e.g. carved, or decorated) are defined as taonga. These taonga are kept separate from the kōiwi tangata, and are identified as part of the Museum's collection. As such, they are managed under the Te Papa Collection Development and Management Policies' (The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 2010: 3).

Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2004) is managed by Te Papa and funded by the New Zealand Government. The programme was developed in order to assure policies for proper repatriation of kōiwi tangata Māori, including Toi moko, and later to provide a comprehensive framework for their management and care in the Museum's guardianship. Furthermore, it also provides guidelines for returning kōiwi tangata to the hapu and iwi where their origin from. The programme involves an expert Repatriation Advisory Panel, a research team, manager and programme coordinator; relevant iwi; external organisations, including Air New Zealand, national and international institutions, museums and libraries; government ministries and agencies, including Ministry of Culture and Heritage, New Zealand Custom Service, Ministry of Māori Development, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, and the Department of Conservation.

Its main objectives are:

- carrying out quality research with appropriate tikanga (custom)
- bringing kōiwi/kōimi tangata home from overseas institutions and museums
- facilitating their final resting place through engagement with iwi
- maintaining close communication with iwi
- working under the guidance and advice of experts in the form of a Repatriation Advisory Panel

One of the main functions of the programme is to create an open forum for iwi and to facilitate their communication with the international institutions. The research team also continuously look for information on overseas collections of kōiwi tangata and eventually contact the international institutions in order to establish a relationship and negotiate repatriation. When Te Papa succeeds to return kōiwi tangata to New Zealand, the kōiwi tangata are stored in the Museum's wāhi tapu (sacred consecrated space) until its provenance is identified. After such a time, a national repository for the remains is determined in relation to their origins and iwi. Kōiwi tangata are tūpuna (ancestors) and therefore are considered sacred and treated accordingly. 'Te Papa's position in repatriating kōiwi tangata, is that they are not considered part of the museum's collection, rather they are the remains of ancestors to be treated appropriately at all times' (The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 2010: 7).

The programme works on six general principles that convey the role of Te Papa and the New Zealand Government in regard to any repatriation process: the government role is only the one of facilitator, it does not claim the ownership of kōiwi tangata; repatriation is proceed by mutual agreement; the programme does not concern the Māori remains in war graves; the origin of kōiwi tangata must be identified in New Zealand or Chatham Islands; Māori and Moriori people are able to be involved in the repatriation and to determine its final resting place; no payment will be made for kōiwi tangata. International repatriation is followed by domestic repatriation to iwi if possible, facilitated by partnership between iwi and Te Papa.

Although they were taken overseas, kōiwi tangata are still regarded as ancestors and family members within Māori society, and thus should be treated with dignity and respect. Their descendants call for kōiwi tangata to rest in their homeland Aotearoa in a cultural appropriate manner. Kōiwi tangata are still a part of a living Māori culture and contain mātauranga Māori (indigenous knowledge) that can mediate iwi the life of its ancestors and their practices. The return of kōiwi tangata allows iwi to reconnect with their ancestors and to explore their associated knowledge. By researching kōiwi tangata iwi can get a better insight into their history and migration, reconnect with funerary traditions and practices, and also obtain a greater knowledge of other traditional practices, such as the art of tā moko and Toi moko preservation methods. Moreover, repatriation of Māori ancestors' remains enables to create closer genealogical, emotional and spiritual connection between descendants and their tūpuna. ►

► Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme holds regular wānanga (forums of higher learning) to build ongoing relationship with iwi, so that they are more informed and could later take part in the decision-making processes about repatriation.

To date, Te Papa repatriated more than 200 kōiwi tangata, including Toi moko, from 14 foreign countries (“International Repatriations” 2014). At present, some negotiations are going on in order to ensure future repatriations, however, Te Papa refrains from highlighting potential repatriations that are discussed. The List of International Repatriations can be updated only when the process of repatriation meets two conditions: the physical remains are received by Te Papa, and a formal transfer document is signed by the institution involved and received by Te Papa. Concerning the domestic repatriation, about 90 ancestral remains were returned to the place of their origins (“Domestic Repatriations” 2014). It is estimated that at least 100 Toi moko are still held in institutions and collections overseas, however, the number is likely to increase as the research continues.

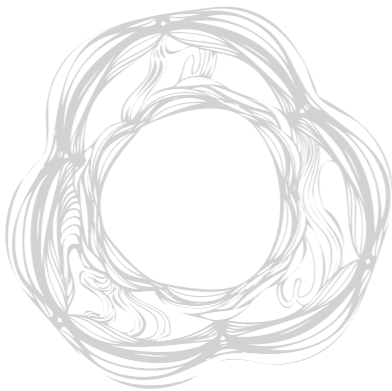
#### HUMAN REMAINS, OR CULTURAL OBJECTS?

Repatriations of Toi moko also attract the attention of international media from time to time. In January 2012, the repatriation of twenty Toi moko from France was discussed in the French press (“La France restitue” 2012). Though the Musée du Quai Branly repatriation was not the first one that took place from France (in 2011 a repatriation from Ruen involving one Toi moko preceded), it was the largest and raised some controversy (“Repatriations from France” 2014). While prior to the first repatriation from Rouen in 2011 Te Papa perceived Toi moko as human remains, French law recognised Toi moko as cultural objects, and therefore any repatriation of Toi moko was not legally possible. ‘The repatriation of twenty Toi moko in January 2012 was the culmination of an enormous amount of work in both New Zealand and France, which began with the discovery of a Toi moko in the Rouen museum in 2007’ (ibid.).

Twenty Toi moko repatriated on 23 January 2012 came from nine French museums and one university, while seven of them were held in the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris. These seven heads were acquired from donations made between 1885 and 1999, however, more precise information on the conditions of their acquisition are uncertain. It is likely they were all acquired on the European market. One head was given to Te Papa after the death of its owner, French physician and pre-historian Louis Captain in 1929; another two heads were donated to the Museum in 1947 by their owner Sir Adrian Paris; the

most recently acquired head was a gift from Madame Germaine Urban, who believed that Toi moko belonged to one of her ancestors and it entered the collection in 1999 (“Research of Toi moko” 2014).

The case of Toi moko from the Musée du Quai Branly pointed out an interesting intersection between repatriation in the sense of ‘return of body parts to their homeland’ versus ‘repatriation of cultural objects to the country of origin.’ ‘In the eyes of the French law, their value as objects trumped their condition of being human remains. Therefore, only after creating a new law that specifically addressed the change in status of Toi moko from artefact to human remains was the Toi moko able to be repatriated’ (“Māori heads return” 2012). Moreover, the return of Toi moko to New Zealand set an example for further repatriations to the Pacific region and



Tracking down dried heads is a lengthy and exact process due to the lack of documentation.

can serve as a model of diplomatic, legal and cooperative processes that can be utilised within international negotiations. Each of successful repatriation of Toi moko allows reaffirming the international commitment to human rights and enables Māori communities to create their own relationship with their heritage (ibid.).

#### STILL A LONG WAY TO GO

Tracking down Toi moko is a lengthy and exact process due to the lack of documentation about the trade of dried heads. Te Papa uses different sources of information to follow its research, such as museum records and registers, shipping records, oral histories, letters, personal diaries, Māori Land Court files, donor and collector information, etc.

(The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 2004). It will take a long time until all of the kōiwi tangata reach their homeland and can be seen by the community of their descendants. Māori have high interest in Toi moko repatriation as they represent taonga (treasure) and are perceived not only as ancestors’ body remains but also as a source of cultural identity. They represent the traditions and cultural practices of Māori ancestors and enable modern Māori to recall the common past. As Brenda Tipene-Hook, descendant of Ngāi Hine, emphasises in her thesis on repatriation of Ngāi Hine taonga, the location of cultural artefact is crucial for cultural wellbeing of a community: ‘All artefacts are situated within a context of international, indigenous, social, institutional, cultural and spiritual factors. Any number of these factors can have an effect on the preservation, protection, and “ownership” status of taonga. Speaking purely from an indigenous position, the wellbeing of a specific taonga, and its descendant community, is critically dependant on where that taonga is physically/or spiritually located’ (Tipene-Hook 2011: 3).

Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme is an example of a possible approach towards the future of indigenous peoples’ rights. Having repatriated more than 200 kōiwi tangata including Toi moko from 14 foreign countries up to date, the Programme offers a successful solution of returning artefact of indigenous origin back to their homeland. This is due to the high level of organisation of the Programme managed by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, a number of experts involved and funds from the New Zealand Government. Museum practice has expanded through repatriation. All other institutions involved need to adapt to this new practice; however, a number of obstacles can emerge. ‘Repatriation of human remains will continue to be a major issue in both New Zealand and abroad. As repatriation increases, museums will have to develop their practice to recognise that it requires a different approach to the traditional one in which relationships last only for one transaction. Instead there must be commitment to long-term engagement with the communities museums deal with’ (O’ Hara 2012: 61).

We can only hope that the process of future Toi moko repatriation is going to be easier and Māori will be able to welcome more of their ancestors with haka pōwhiri (ceremonial welcome) in New Zealand:

‘Haere mai rā te āhuatanga i ō tātou mate tuatini, e haere mai!’  
 ‘Welcome to the representatives of our many dead, welcome!’<sup>31</sup>

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#### LIST OF INTERNATIONAL REPATRIATIONS

International Repatriations carried out by Te Papa Tongarewa including those carried out prior to the establishment of the dedicated Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation Programme.

1990	Museum of Ethnology Melbourne Museum of Victoria National Museum Ireland	Stockholm Dublin	Sweden Australia	2008	Bristol Museum Royal Ontario Museum	Bristol Toronto	England Canada
1991	Ulster Museum	Belfast	Ireland		Canadian Museum of Civilisation University of British Columbia	Ottawa Vancouver	Canada Canada
1992	Musée d’Ethnograph Museum for Volkerkunde	Geneva Basel	Switzerland Switzerland		Oxford Museum of Natural History British Museum (partial approval for kōiwi tangata only)	Oxford London	England England
1994	Manchester Museum New Zealand High Commission	Manchester London	England England		Manchester Museum Cuming Museum	Manchester London	England England
1996	Royal Albert Memorial Museum Lichfield Museum, Staffordshire Sheffield City Museum and Mappin Art Gallery Queensland Museum Whitby Museum Scarborough Museum	Exeter Staffordshire Sheffield Brisbane Leeds North Yorkshire	England England England Australia England		National Museums of Scotland Department of Zoology and Geology Macleay Museum University of Sydney Amgueddfa Cymru - National Museum Wales Hunarian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow	Glasgow Sydney Cardiff	Scotland Australia Wales
1999	University of Edinburgh National Museums of Scotland	Edinburgh Edinburgh	Scotland Scotland		The Museum of World Culture / Världskultur Museet Gothenburg Museum of Natural History	Glasgow Gothenburg Gothenburg	Scotland Sweden Sweden
2000	South Australian Museum	Adelaide	Australia		Trinity College	Dublin	Republic of Ireland
2001	Australian Museum	Sydney	Australia	2011	Lund University Frankfurt Museum of World Cultures Senckenberg Museum of World Cultures	Lund Frankfurt Frankfurt	Sweden Germany Germany
2004	Museo Etnográfico Bishop Museum, Hawai’i & National Burials Programme	Buenos Aires Hawai’i	Argentina USA		Oslo University, Department of Anatomy Oslo University Museum of Cultural History	Oslo Oslo	Norway Norway
2005	University of Melbourne Museum Victoria State Coroner’s Office Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum Suffolk Regiment Museum Perth Art Gallery and Museum Saffron Walden Museum Leeds Museum Royal Albert Memorial Art Gallery & Museum	Melbourne Melbourne Melbourne Leiden Glasgow Suffolk Perth Essex Exeter	Australia Australia Australia Netherlands Scotland England Scotland England England		Rouen Museum of Natural History Museum National d’Histoire Naturelle Musée National de la Marine Musée du Quai Branly Museum de Nantes Museum de Lille Musée des Beaux-Arts Musée des Confluences Musée des Sens	Rouen Paris Paris Paris Nantes Lille Dunkurque Lyon Sens	France France France France France France France
2006	Überseemuseum	Bremen	Germany		Musée d’Arts Africains, Océaniens, Amériindiens de Marseille Université de Montpellier	Marseille Montpellier	France France
2007	Marischal Museum Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery National Museums Australia Australian National Wildlife Collection, CSIRO Institute of Anatomy Field Museum National Museums Liverpool Swansea Museum Hancock Museum Plymouth Museum Bexhill Museum University College Royal College of Surgeons BARTS and the London, Queen Mary School of Medicine and Dentistry	Aberdeen Tasmania Canberra Canberra Canberra Chicago Liverpool Swansea Newcastle Plymouth Sussex Sussex London	Scotland Australia Australia Australia Australia USA England Wales England England England England		Western Australian Museum Shellshear Museum, University of Sydney Stanford University Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Professor H.B. Fell, Private Collection Natural History Museum Peabody Essex Museum Wellcome Trust University of Birmingham Guernsey Museum & Art Gallery Royal College of Surgeons Ireland Warrington Museum & Art Gallery	Perth Sydney San Francisco Montreal City Oklahoma Rhode Island Salem London Birmingham Guernsey Dublin Warrington	Australia Australia USA Canada USA USA USA England England Guernsey Island Republic of Ireland England