‘No More Distance’

Contact, Contemporaneity, and the Historiography of New Zealand Art

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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For my mother(s), who was one so many and so much, for — unto thee

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Abstract

Recent years have seen renewed interest in the subject of contact within the discipline of Art History. While the art of colonial encounters and/or cross-cultural exchange has long been studied from postcolonial perspectives, art historians are now turning their attention to transcultural and translocal artistic practice and circulation more broadly, in response to the challenges of (de)constructing global and/or world art histories. As an art-historical framework, contact seems to promise a means of escaping the parameters of national histories of art on the one hand, and of countering the homogenisation of local art histories in the face of the global on the other. However, the task of writing art histories of contact in an expanding field raises significant historiographical questions, which, I argue, require us not only to study contact as an empirical phenomenon but also as a discursive construction.

This thesis seeks to supplement this burgeoning scholarly field by examining contact as an art-historical discourse. Its particular focus is on the historiography of New Zealand art, which is ostensibly remarkable for its concern with a certain discourse of distance. It aims to historicise the (re)turn to a discourse of contact in the contemporary art(-historical) practice of Aotearoa/New Zealand, by tracing the appearance of the word "contact" through the literature of New Zealand art history. My reading reveals that there is in fact a double discourse of distance *and* contact at play in these texts, and that contact is thus not only a contemporary concern but also a perennial theme of New Zealand art historiography. I further explore this shift in focus from distance to contact by examining the historiography of 'New Zealand-born, London-based' artist Francis Upritchard, whose reception as a contemporary expatriate situates her paradoxically at the nexus of these two discursive paradigms.

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Abbreviations

Publications and Publishers

AiNZ	*Art in New Zealand*
ANZ	*Art New Zealand*
ANZJA	*Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art*
Ascent	*Ascent: A Journal of the Arts in New Zealand*
BNZAH	*Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*
BWB	Bridget Williams Books
CEINZA	*Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art* (Wellington: NAG, 1939)
NCENZA	*National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940)
NZJH	*New Zealand Journal of History*
RR	*Reading Room: A Journal of Art and Culture*

Places, Institutions, Organisations, and Exhibitions

AAANZ	Art Association of Australia and New Zealand
AAG	Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, Auckland (1996–present)
Academy	New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, Wellington
ACAG	Auckland City Art Gallery, Auckland (1888–1996)
Adam	Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi, VUW, Wellington
AHRC	Art History Research Cluster, VUW, Wellington
Arts Council	Arts Council of New Zealand Toi Aotearoa
Artspace	Artspace NZ, Auckland (1987–2019) Artspace Aotearoa, Auckland (2019–present)
BL	British Library, London
CAG	Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū, Christchurch
CEINZA	'Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art'
CIHA	International Committee of the History of Art (Comite International d'Histoire de l'Art)
City Gallery	City Gallery Wellington Te Whare Toi, Wellington

CNZ	Creative New Zealand
Colony	Colony of New Zealand (1841–1907)
Dominion	Dominion of New Zealand (1907–47)
DPAG	Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin
EAF	Experimental Arts Foundation, Adelaide
FKV	Frankfurter Kunstverein, Frankfurt am Main
GB	Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth
IMA	Institute of Modern Art, Brisbane
MCA	Museum of Contemporary Art Australia, Sydney
MIMOCA	Marugame Genichiro-Inokuma Museum of Contemporary Art, Kagawa
NAG	National Art Gallery of New Zealand, Wellington (1936–1992)
NCENZA	'National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art'
NGV	National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne
NZFA	New Zealand Film Archive
Realm	Realm of New Zealand (1983–present)
ST PAUL St	ST PAUL St Gallery, Auckland University of Technology, Auckland
Te Papa	Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington
Treaty	Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi
VUW	Victoria University of Wellington Te Herenga Waka, Wellington

Introduction

Beginnings: Rooted in a Bookish Encounter

The research presented in this thesis has had many beginnings and at least one false start. It might well have begun in December 2011, when I met Christina Barton in her office at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) to discuss my research on Francis Upritchard's artists' books, the topic of the master's dissertation that I had recently completed at the University of Leeds. Or at least it could be understood in part as the result of an endeavour to grasp the significance of a comment that Tina made in the course of our conversation, which would have been a throwaway remark if only it hadn't puzzled me for quite some time afterwards. As I recall, Tina said something along the lines of 'everyone is talking about contact at the moment'. I can only guess now that her observation was made in response to my discussion of the representation of contact in Upritchard's artists' books, a concern that I had identified in the conclusion of my dissertation as a starting point for future research. It was not until sometime in 2016, when I came across a recent edition of the *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art* (*ANZJA*) on the theme of contact, that I began to make sense of Tina's remark. The articles published in this special issue were written in response to the theme of the 2011 Art Association of Australia and New Zealand (AAANZ) annual conference, which was held in Wellington less than a fortnight before I spoke with Tina. Hosted by the Art History Programme at VUW, the conference drew more than one hundred and seventy delegates who presented papers on the theme of contact. Indeed, the word "contact" had been on the lips of many artists, curators, and art historians in the region at the time of our conversation. My belated discovery of this conference and its attendant literature, a discourse that I was not privy to in person but could

only access as a reader after the event, is in some ways a point of departure for this enquiry into contact as an art-historical discourse.

I might not have arrived at this particular starting point, however, if it was not for a subsequent discussion with Griselda Pollock, who, in examining the work that I had submitted at the end of my first year as a doctoral candidate, rightly questioned me on the lexicon of my project. I was prompted by Griselda to define my use of the key terms that appeared in the working title of my thesis, which was at that stage called: 'Contact, Territory, Practice: (De)Composing Material Agency in the Contemporary Art of Francis Upritchard'. Beginning with the word "contact", I got as far as "territory" before realising that the title was not only wordy but laden with terminology and I would be hard pressed to explore all of the concepts that I had packed into it in as much depth as I had begun to consider what I meant by "contact". In concentrating on this first term, I came to ask questions not only of myself but of art-historical discourse, and ultimately of the discipline of Art History itself. For example: What are art historians referring to, and what do they mean, when they use the word "contact"? Are they speaking literally or metaphorically? How is the term "contact" used in different art-historical contexts, and (how) has its use changed over time? How is "contact" produced and reproduced, not only in the work of art, but also in and through and as an effect of art-historical discourse? And (how) could the study of "contact" contribute not only to our knowledge of art and its histories, but also to our understanding of the practice of Art History itself? In asking such questions, my research gradually acquired its current art-historiographical, rather than strictly art-historical, focus.

As I began to place pressure on contact as an art-historical term, I remembered Christina Barton's observation concerning the topicality of contact in the contemporary art(-historical) discourse of Aotearoa/New Zealand, which led me to enquire into the subject of contact and New Zealand art history and historiography. While a keyword search of library catalogues and databases yielded few results, two avenues of research opened up this specialist subject for me, which is all but inaccessible outside of New Zealand: one digital, the other analogue. Searching online, I came across a special issue of the *ANZJA* entitled 'Contact', which, although it had originally been published in hard copy in 2013, was only made

available online in mid-2015, following a new publishing partnership between the *Journal*, as it is known in Australia and New Zealand, and Taylor & Francis, which has enabled local Australasian art-historical scholarship to be distributed, and thereby gain a certain visibility, worldwide, and to have thus become accessible to me in the United Kingdom in a way that it was not when I began my doctoral research at the University of Leeds in 2012. Finding this special 'Contact' issue of the *Journal* led me in turn to discover the now deleted web pages that documented the activity of the Art History Research Cluster (AHRC) at VUW, which supported initiatives relating to its theme of contact (including the 2011 AAANZ annual conference and its publication outcome) for the six or so years that it was active following its institution in 2010 by Barton's then colleague Geoffrey Batchen. Here, on the web pages of the AHRC, I was able to view video documentation of the aforementioned conference, including the closing plenary session in which Batchen asked the delegates to consider the possibility of developing a regionally distinctive art history of contact. I became intrigued with this question, with and against which I have struggled to differentiate my own research questions.

Indeed, the research presented in this thesis has been profoundly shaped by my protracted yet productive encounter with Batchen's question, which, although it is no longer publicly accessible, is documented and discussed in some detail in Chapter 1, and which has proved something of a stumbling block to the efficient progress of my research, which did not, of course, begin with this question, but became unexpectedly waylaid by it and gradually took new directions in response to the challenge of contextualising and historicising it for my own purposes.

Whereas the increasing digitisation of art-historical discourse has allowed me to virtually unearth the literature and/or texts that came to constitute the contemporary focus of my research project, the archive that constitutes the project's historical focus was initially constructed by tracing fragments of a certain discourse of contact in a miscellaneous collection of booklets, catalogues, and ephemera that I had dug out of second-hand bookshops — the arcades or ruins of twentieth-century New Zealand art history — on recent trips "home" to Aotearoa/New Zealand. Browsing the pages of the *Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art*, a small, non-descript, unassuming, almost

austere catalogue, bound in brown paper covers no thicker than its newsprint pages (Figure 2.12), which documents an identically titled and understudied exhibition of contemporary art that opened at the National Art Gallery in Wellington on 10 November 1939, I stumbled across the word “contact”, not once but twice. This surprise discovery of an historical concern with contact set me to skimming other texts on the subject of New Zealand art to see if such a concern was widespread in this particular national context. I found not only that the word “contact” occurred repeatedly throughout the New Zealand art-historical literature, but also that the issue of contact was at stake in this archive.

Encountering the archive of New Zealand art history as a corpus which does not necessarily or only speak of the histories of a national art, but which also speaks of (a lack of and desire for) contact and contemporaneity allowed me to begin to think historically about, and indeed to question, the AHRC’s proposal for a contemporary art history of contact, which, in my reading, was put forward as an alternative to the dominant canonical and national(ist) histories of New Zealand art. I began to wonder, for example, if an art history of contact would necessarily be postcolonial and post-national, as the AHRC had proposed, just because it is written in the global contemporary context. Or in other words, I began to question what in my view appeared to be a passive conflation of contact with the global contemporary (which is, of course, itself an at once useful and problematic conflation) within recent art-historical discourse.

This thesis thus begins with, and is in a certain sense rooted in, an encounter with and between the mid-twentieth century literature of New Zealand art history on the one hand and a more recent art-historical discourse of contact that emerged in (relation to) the Aotearoa/New Zealand context on the other. Thus, “contact” is not only the subject, but also the very condition and grounds, of the enquiry presented in the following chapters. Moreover, through this foundational encounter between an art historian, myself, and an earlier and a later art-historical discourse of contact, these two discourses, the former ostensibly historical and the latter ostensibly contemporary, are — at least in my understanding of contact as a relational event between two or more simultaneously present entities and/or things — co-constituted as contemporaneous with each other, and thus it cannot

be said, in the context of my encounter with these discourses, that either of them is necessarily more or less contemporary than the other, for neither is the ostensibly historical discourse one that is entirely past, insofar as it continues to speak, and is thus pertinent, to the more recent art-historical discourse of contact in question, and nor is the ostensibly contemporary discourse one that is ahistorical, insofar as it has called forth a certain history, albeit one that is not straightforwardly its own, but is rather a future art history of contact, which proceeded from as much as it precedes, and which haunts but is not possessed by, this latter discourse.[1] Indeed, as the "textual unconscious" of a more recent or latter art-historical discourse of contact, this former future art-historical discourse of contact to come is considered here as an 'uncanny repetition' or 'continuation' of the latter discourse that was and is (to be) replayed in and through the reading of this thesis, and as thus contiguous if not exactly continuous with the latter discourse.[2] The performative

[1] My sense of the multiple temporalities, the historicalities and the contemporaneities, of an art-historical text, literature, or discourse is indebted to Ashley Thompson's description of the 'multiple contemporaneities of historical objects', in Ashley Thompson, 'Calling the Earth to Witness', 3 May 2023, in MoMA, 'Post: Notes on Art in a Global Context' <https://post.moma.org/calling-the-earth-to-witness/> [accessed 31 July 2023] (para. 2 of 20). Here Thompson understands classical works of Southeast Asian art not as static or 'fixed things' which were only contemporary in their time, that is, at the time they were made and for a certain period afterwards, but as what Hubert Damisch calls "theoretical objects", that is, as objects or artworks which 'embody theorization-in-the-making', which work continually in the present to 'theorize in themselves', and which, in their engagement with contemporary artists and art historians, call forth and co-construct new interpretations, and thereby new histories and contemporaneities (Thompson 2023: paras 2 and 4). In Thompson's view, these historical–theoretical art objects are as dynamic and as contemporary as more recent works of "contemporary" art, and thus they cannot be simply opposed to contemporary art works, insofar as they continue to perform their work of art in the present. Indeed, in Thompson's view, 'historical conditioning proceeds from the work of art as much as precedes it', which is to say that the historical–theoretical art object is in some ways essential to the emergence of the contemporary work of art (Thompson 2023: para. 2). In translating Thompson's conception of the multiple temporalities of the artwork to an understanding of the art-historical text, I am affording a certain agency to the literature and discourse of Art History, which is usually reserved for the work of art, and in doing so, the encounter of art historian and artwork as the privileged site of art-historical research is displaced by the art historian's encounter with a particular "New Zealand" art-historical corpus or, if a distinction must be made between the historical and contemporary literature, corpora.

[2] In using the term "textual unconscious", I am referring to the idea of the unconscious of a literary work, text, or discourse, as proposed in Jonathan Culler, 'Textual Self-Consciousness and the Textual Unconscious', *Style*, 18.3 (1984), 369–76. According to Culler, the textual unconscious structures the relationship between a text and its

historiographical encounter that is located at the heart of this thesis on the topic of contact as an art-historical discourse thus calls into question the opposition between, and reification of, "the contemporary" and "the historical", a tendency which is unfortunately not uncommon in contemporary art(-historical) discourse and/or scholarship.[3]

By saying that this thesis is "rooted in" an encounter with a certain literature and discourse of (Aotearoa/)New Zealand art history, I do not mean to suggest that it originates or springs from "direct contact" with the autochthonous soil of the national art-historical tradition of my native land, so to speak, and thereby claim

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interpretation, linking the text and its analysis through the continuous, indeed 'endless and unending', process of transference and counter-transference (Culler 1984: 375–76), which takes place in and through the 'not simply cognitive but also performative' task of interpretation and/or analysis (Culler 1984: 371), and thus positions the critic or analyst as one who is caught up in a certain relationship with the text itself, rather than one who stands outside the text as master of that which he critiques. From the relational perspective of the textual unconscious, there is thus a certain continuity between a text and its interpretation, which Culler describes as 'an uncanny repetition' and 'a replaying or uncanny continuation' of a certain dynamic or aspect of the text that is made manifest in its interpretation (Culler 1984: 371; 375). In applying Culler's idea of the textual unconscious to my own reading (interpretation and analysis) of two art-historical discourses, each with its attendant literature and/or texts, one body of works published much earlier than the other, and in positing the earlier or former discourse as the textual unconscious of the latter, I am not claiming that the former underlies and thus anticipates the latter in any straightforward causal sense, but rather I am suggesting that in the context of my own analysis of these two discourses, which resulted from my encounter with these two bodies of literature read in tandem, the former art-historical discourse of contact is produced as the unconscious of the latter discourse, and thus, in my reading, strangely repeats and continues the latter's concern with contact even though it was published before, and arguably excluded from, the latter. I am indebted to Griselda Pollock for suggesting that I consider the research presented in Chapter 2 in terms of the textual unconscious.

[3] For example, Griselda Pollock observes 'a substantial shift in the historical imagination that once fed into Art History', and indeed 'a loss of the historical' incurred in this disciplinary 'shift to the contemporary', a situation which inevitably reifies the historical and the contemporary as separate domains of art-historical enquiry. See Griselda Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns: The Aesthetic, the Pathetic and the Adversarial in the Long Durée of Art's Histories', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 7 (2012), 1–32 <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/pollock.pdf> [accessed 2 April 2023], p. 9. And in the particular field of Southeast Asian art, Thompson observes that '[t]here is a chasm between classical and contemporary Southeast Asian art — as there is between specialists in the former and the latter', noting that this tendency to oppose old and new works of Southeast Asian art as traditional and contemporary not only 'effectively denies the multiple contemporaneities of historical objects' but also denies their theoreticality among other things, and in effect reifies history and theory. Thompson, 'Calling the Earth to Witness', paras 1–2 of 20.

that my research has been written from, or indeed occupies, an essentially privileged (indigenous, local, or insider) position in relation to its subject matter. While it does to some extent rest upon inside knowledge of the history and historiography of New Zealand art that I gained as an undergraduate student in Art History and Theory at the University of Otago in the late 1990s, and is also contingent upon my acquisition of second-hand literary material on New Zealand art, which could only have been chanced upon in such abundance in the arcades of Aotearoa, this thesis is an attempt to write not only from a certain inside but also from a certain outside of New Zealand and its art and art history, and to thereby challenge the notion that one cannot contribute to the writing of New Zealand art history if one is not physically located inside New Zealand, wherein resides the majority of the collections of, and expertise in, New Zealand art.[4] Thus, unlike the art-historical and/or curatorial project of Hamish Keith, an 'articulate consumer' if not historian of New Zealand art, whose career as an artist and curator was initially motivated by 'direct contact with 19th century New Zealand painting' and a revelatory encounter with certain, now canonical, works of twentieth-century New Zealand painting in the original, my own research project is grounded in the very problem of second- and third-hand contact that Keith's (and Gordon H. Brown's) national(ist) and post-colonial histories of New Zealand art sought to overcome.[5]

Rather, in saying that my research is "rooted in" a certain readerly and literary, even bookish, encounter with the historiography of New Zealand art, I mean to say that it has arisen from a fertile meeting of two ostensibly different — old and new,

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[4] Constituted in part by the distance it has necessarily opted to take from what is traditionally the primary source of New Zealand art histories, that is, the culturally privileged objects or works called "New Zealand" art, this outside of which I speak cannot be simply reduced to the geographical location in which my research was largely conducted, namely Great Britain, once imperial metropole to its colonial antipode, New Zealand, and, as we shall see in Chapter 3, symbolic site of the negation and erasure of New Zealand art from mainstream (Euro-American) canonical histories of modern art.

[5] For the above quotations, see the biography of Hamish Keith printed on the back of the dust jacket of the hardback edition, Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1967* (Auckland: Collins, 1969); and for the full statement from which the latter quotation concerning 'direct contact' was extracted, see the entry for Brown and Keith's first edition of *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting* in Table 1, p. 172 of Chapter 2 below; references to Brown and Keith's concern with second- and third-hand contact can also be found in Table 1, on pp. 172–73.

past and present, historical and contemporary — art histories of contact, which, while they are not similar in many if not most respects, are somehow interconnected, insofar as they emerged from the common ground of a shared national context. This 'subterranean' encounter with and between two literary or discursive bodies of not unrelated texts, has taken root, if not place, below ground, in the depths of research, where one reads/writes in the dark 'with an eye towards' unsettling what one knows of a text or literature in an attempt to reach new conclusions without knowing where or for what to look, and where what is deemed above ground to be fixed appears from below the surface to be in flux — where "the contemporary" cannot be disentangled from, but is rather found to be rooted in, "the historical", which is found in turn to be putting, and indeed calling, forth new contemporaneities.[6]

The close reading of a discourse of contact in the historiography of New Zealand art which is presented in the following three chapters is thus in part an attempt to 'bridge the chasm' between the historical and the contemporary.[7] It sets out, especially in Chapters 1 and 2, to see what 'the living and the dead' have to say to each other about the problem of art in/and/of contact, by reading 'across the

[6] Here I am borrowing and adapting Thompson's metaphor of 'the subterranean vantage point', a perspective located below the surface of the useful yet superficial categories of "historical object" and "contemporary art", from and through which Thompson proposes that the art historian might perceive or witness the symbiotic relationship between historical and contemporary artworks, and indeed sustain a productive and lively encounter — 'where roots take hold but also grow and branch' — between old and new, or historical and contemporary, works of art, where the historical work of art can be seen to give rise to the contemporary work of art and vice versa, and where both new and old artworks are 'as historical as they are contemporary, and as contemporary as they are timeless'. Thompson, 'Calling the Earth to Witness', para. 2 of 20. In translating Thompson's metaphor of the subterranean vantage point as a perspective from and through which to encounter 'the *work* of art, old and new' to one from and through which to encounter 'the *work* of art [history], old and new' (Thompson 2023: para. 3), I have drawn from Anne Berger's description of the practice of '[r]eading/[w]riting', found in Anne Emmanuelle Berger, 'Reading and its Discontents', *The Oxford Literary Review*, 44.2 (2022), 165–91 (p. 165). According to Berger, 'one writes with an eye towards reading', and I would add, 'one [reads] with an eye towards [writing]', and in and through the 'encounter' of reading, a 'community' of 'the living and the dead', which could also be thought of as the contemporary and the historical, is assembled 'across the divides of time' (Berger 2022: 165–66).

[7] Thompson, 'Calling the Earth to Witness', para. 1 of 20.

divides of time',[8] between, that is, the archive of New Zealand art history, a canonical literature which is generally characterised as nationalist in content and overly concerned with the geographical distance between New Zealand and the Euro-American art world(s), and a more recent art-historical discourse of contact that emerged in the academy and museums of Aotearoa/New Zealand, which, in contradistinction to the canon of ostensibly nationalist histories of New Zealand art, explicitly positioned itself as postcolonial and post-national, and, moreover, in proposing an art history of contact, sought to negate the melancholic, mythopoetic discourse of distance associated with the national(ist) historiography of New Zealand art. Indeed, my reading explores not only the differences and interrelationship between two art-historical discourses of contact, but also the opposition between, what I show in Chapter 2 to be, the twin discourses of contact and distance that are seemingly peculiar to New Zealand art historiography.

Rooted at once inside and outside, and indeed below, the politico-cultural space of Aotearoa/New Zealand and its dominant settler-national tradition of New Zealand art history,[9] this thesis is in part an attempt to renegotiate the exilic condition of being 'caught "between two hemispheres"', a predicament suffered not only by the New Zealand artist but also arguably borne by the historian of New Zealand art, who is equally faced with the decision to stay in New Zealand or leave and thereby become separated from the sources (collections, works, and knowledge) of New Zealand art and its histories.[10] Since its appropriation by 'New

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[8] Berger, 'Reading and its Discontents', p. 166.

[9] I describe New Zealand art history as the 'dominant national tradition of art history' in Aotearoa/New Zealand, in comparison to the historically suppressed yet burgeoning field of the country's other — or Other(ed) — national tradition, namely Māori art history.

[10] The phrase "between two hemispheres" is particularly significant in the historiography of New Zealand art, as is the predicament of being 'caught "between two hemispheres"'. For a discussion of this predicament, including full references, see the section 'Caught "between Two Hemispheres": The Expatriate Tradition and the Crisis of Exile' on pp. 322–29 of Chapter 3 below. For a discussion of this predicament framed in terms of a choice, between staying in the Antipodes to practise art or leaving to practise elsewhere (most often Europe), which has historically faced Australian- and New Zealand-born artists of European descent, see Rex Butler and A. D. S. Donaldson, 'Stay, Go, or Come: A History of UnAustralian Art, 1920–40', *ANZJA*, 9.1 (2008), 119–43 (pp. 120–21); see also my discussion of this topic in n. 1, p. 304 of Chapter 3 below. While much has been made of the artist's position in this predicament, I would also argue that if one decides to leave New Zealand to practise art history in the metropolitan centres of Euro-America, then, although one

Zealand's first important art historian', Eric McCormick, in 1940, the phrase "between two hemispheres" has been used to refer to the perpetual displacement or unsettlement of the New Zealand-born (settler rather than indigenous Māori) artist, who was not thought to be at home either inside or outside their native country, but rather split between the metropole and colony, or centre and periphery, of Britain and New Zealand, and their respective national histories of art.[11] Even as late as 1999, New Zealand expatriate artists, such as Francis Upritchard, whose historiography is studied in some depth in Chapter 3, were considered 'in danger of falling between the two stools of metropolitan and local [art] histories', and local New Zealand art histories were themselves considered, even in 2009, the year that Upritchard represented Aotearoa/New Zealand at the 53rd Venice Biennale, as falling outside the mainstream disciplinary concerns of anglophone art history.[12]

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experiences 'the advantage of a more direct contact with the realities of [Western] art', as Hamish Keith has observed of the New Zealand expatriate painter, one also faces a certain 'remoteness […] from the sources' of New Zealand art history, as there are no significant collections of New Zealand art history or its texts outside of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Hamish Keith, 'Contemporary Developments', in Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1967* (Auckland: Collins, 1969), pp. 159–79 (p. 167). For a full quotation of Keith's observation, see Table 1, p. 173 of Chapter 2 below.

[11] The phrase "between two hemispheres" was introduced into New Zealand art historiography by McCormick in Chapter 6 of his book E. H. McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand*, New Zealand Centennial Surveys, 10 (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940). For further detail on McCormick's appropriation of this phrase, see n. 186, p. 264 of Chapter 2 below. In 1959, following the publication of *Letters and Art* and his subsequent research into the work of New Zealand-born expatriate painter Frances Hodgkins, McCormick was described as 'New Zealand's first important art historian', by John Stacpoole in the foreword to the essay E. H. McCormick, *The Inland Eye: A Sketch in Visual Autobiography* (Auckland: Auckland Gallery Associates, 1959), p. 3.

[12] Of New Zealand expatriate artists, such as Billy Apple and Len Lye, who both practised in London and New York in the mid-twentieth century, Wystan Curnow argues that '[s]uch variously expatriated artists will always be in danger of falling between the two stools of metropolitan and local histories unless the kind of histories from, rather than of the margins are undertaken.' See Wystan Curnow, 'Writing History on the Margins: New Zealand', conference paper, 1999 <http://www.apexart.org/conference/curnow.htm> [accessed 12 October 2013] (para. 5 of 11) (first publ. in *On Cultural Influence: Collected Papers from Apexart International Conference 1999–2006*, ed. by Steven Rand and Heather Kouris (New York, NY: Apexart, 2006), pp. 27–34. Even so, it would seem that such local art histories, written from the margins of anglophone art history, if not the discipline of Art History as such, have been largely overlooked by those art histories written from the discipline's Euro-American centre, which too often profess to speak in the name of the

While much recent art-historical scholarship has drawn attention to, and has indeed begun to bridge, the chasm between local and global art histories, so that the gap between the two may now appear (to some) to have diminished, there remains much work to be done to bridge the divide between, and indeed to deconstruct the opposition of, the two art-historical discourses of distance and contact, which, as we shall see in Chapters 2 and 3, have come to distinguish the literature of twentieth- and twenty-first century (Aotearoa/)New Zealand art history respectively.

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The phrase, and indeed the idea, of "beginnings" has a certain significance in New Zealand art historiography. When Francis Upritchard (b. 1976) represented her native country at the 53rd Venice Biennale, entitled 'Making Worlds', her work to date was described by Jenny Harper, the commissioner for New Zealand's national presentation at Venice in 2009, as 'an impressive and remarkable series of worlds […] constructed from her beginnings in Aotearoa New Zealand and equally forcefully connected to her European present'.[13] Although Harper differentiates Upritchard's 'beginnings in Aotearoa New Zealand', where the artist lived continuously from birth until her early twenties, from 'her European present', we must not mistake '[Upritchard's] beginnings' for her past, in contrast to 'her […] present'.[14] Rather, it would seem that Upritchard's beginnings are equally present,

universal and/or global, if we are to take the word of Francis Pound, who in his magnum opus, published near the end of his thirty-year career as an historian of New Zealand art, observed that: 'More and more over the years I had come to understand that to write about New Zealand art was like writing at the heart of a black hole — that no trace of one's words could ever reach a world outside.' Francis Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand: Art and National Identity, 1930–1970* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 2009), p. xviii. For more detailed discussion of the marginalisation and negation of New Zealand art and its histories from mainstream and/or canonical art history, see the section 'Loved at Home and Noticed Abroad: Renegotiating the Double Bind of New Zealand Art (History)' on pp. 329–37 of Chapter 3 below; and for the above quotation from Pound in this context, see especially pp. 334–35.

[13] Jenny Harper, 'Foreword: The Worlds of Francis Upritchard', in *Save Yourself: Francis Upritchard*, ed. by Heather Galbraith (New Plymouth: GB, 2009), pp. 21–22 (p. 21). *Save Yourself* is the official (sponsored) publication that accompanied Upritchard's exhibition 'Save Yourself' at the Venice Biennale in 2009.

[14] Ibid., p. 21.

as the intangible stuff — embodied material and visual memories — from which her work is in part constructed; as the archaic and inalienable resource particular to Upritchard's individual biography, from which her art practice continuously draws, and which allows Upritchard to begin, again and again, to (re)make contemporary works of art from wherever she is presently located.

This view of the New Zealand expatriate artist's situation in relation to their patria, which is perhaps more mine than Harper's, is certainly different to McCormick's depiction of the doubly-exiled artist who is 'caught "between two hemispheres"', and indeed to subsequent descriptions of the expatriate artist that can be found in the mid-twentieth century historiography of New Zealand art, which were written by those who regarded the expatriate artist's relationship to their native country as one constituted by distance — rather than proximity, by absence rather than presence — and not contact.[15] Writing in the late 1960s, Keith argues that '[a]lthough expatriatism had the advantages of a more direct contact with the realities of [European] art, it was an advantage dissipated by the remoteness of the [artist] from the [native] sources of his individual reaction and experience'.[16] Ten years earlier, Keith's colleague and superior at the Auckland City Art Gallery, British art historian Peter Tomory, had described in some detail the acquisition of these sources by the artist and/or 'the perceptive New Zealander', who, 'as he goes to work, to the beach at week-ends, to the country for holidays, acquires an intimate visual vocabulary of the natural and man-made forms which confront him'.[17] Such an 'intimate visual vocabulary' was, according to Tomory, the result of the 'accretion of ocular experience' brought about through 'a strong attachment to the land', a '[subconscious]' tie that can only be developed by someone who, unlike Tomory, 'has spent much of his or her life in one country;

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[15] While the phrase "between two hemispheres" can be attributed to McCormick, the phrase 'caught "between two hemispheres"' was in fact coined by Dennis McEldowney, in has chapter 'Following On', in *Writing a New Country: A Collection of Essays Presented to E. H. McCormick in his 88th Year*, ed. by James Ross, Linda Gill and Stuart McRae ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1993), pp. 29–37, p. 35. For further detail, see n. 10, p. 9 and n. 11, p. 10 above; and see also the discussion on p. 322 of Chapter 3 below.

[16] Keith, 'Contemporary Developments', in Brown and Keith, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1967*, p. 167.

[17] Peter Tomory, 'Looking at Art in New Zealand', *Landfall*, 12.2 (1958), 153–69 (p. 154).

Tomory referred to this vocabulary, or 'vast storehouse of visual excitements' that results from such an indigenous attachment, as a 'series of contacts'.[18] Moreover, he likened the 'subtle relationship' between the artist and their homeland, which 'exists through the eye', to the tactile relationship that the farmer — 'scooping up a handful of earth' — cultivates with the land; this Tomory called 'direct contact'.[19]

From such a perspective, which is in fact just as much a post-colonial (if not postcolonial) outlook as it is a nationalist stance, the beginnings of New Zealand art can only be located physically — that is, according to the *OED*, 'in a way that involves bodily contact' — within the mainland of what is now the Realm of New Zealand. It is counter to this idea of direct contact, which is explored in further depth in Chapter 2, that this thesis — which is itself rooted, conversely, in, what in Keith's terms would be called, "indirect contact" with New Zealand art (history) — positions itself. Indeed, in the research presented here, I have largely shied away from writing about my "direct contact" with Upritchard's works of art, which I encountered in exhibition and in the artist's studio on multiple occasions during the course of this project, preferring instead to consider the historiography of her practice, which, as I shall discuss in Chapter 3, is in part composed, if not exactly written, by Upritchard herself, whose hand has been frequently involved in the documentation, and thereby in the historicisation, of her practice through her authorial role in the creative process of producing her artists' books. Thus, it is with the problematic that I explored in my master's dissertation, namely, the (art historian's) encounter with the work of art in the (artists') book, that I again return to, and begin with, here.[20]

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[18] Tomory, 'Looking at Art in New Zealand', p. 154. Tomory also refers to such contacts as 'totems', which he defines according to the *OED* and illustrates using the example of a particular type of indigenous work of art, namely, a totem pole 'standing in an Objibway Indian encampment'. Ibid., p. 155. Peter Tomory (1922–2008) was born in Hong Kong, educated in British India and the UK, and following his directorship at the ACAG, held academic posts in the US and Australia.

[19] Ibid., p. 156.

[20] Leah Houghton, 'The Work of Art in the Artists' Books of Francis Upritchard: (Framing) A Visual Reading' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of Leeds, 2011). For a discussion relevant to the concerns outlined in the main text above, see in particular the section entitled 'The New Zealand Expatriate and the Printed Page', on pp. 13–16.

Harper's choice of the word "beginnings" to refer to Upritchard's background in Aotearoa New Zealand — her childhood, education, including her art school years, and her initial professional experience as a practising and exhibiting graduate in Fine Art — would have been unremarkable if only this same word did not already carry a certain significance as the title of a well-known and oft-cited text in which the now canonical New Zealand-born painter Colin McCahon (1919–87) describes his background as a young artist.[21]

In his lecture 'Elements of Modernism in Colin McCahon's Early Work', which was delivered in 2002, inaugurating the annual Art History Lecture Series at VUW, Keith's one-time colleague, the esteemed historian of New Zealand art, Gordon H. Brown, began with McCahon's 'Beginnings' — that is, the autobiographical text in which McCahon describes his early encounters with art, and with modern art in particular, which was first published in the arts and literary journal *Landfall* in 1966.[22] Brown begins by questioning McCahon's account of his discovery of Cubism

[21] This implicit association of Upritchard with McCahon is not the first connection between the two New Zealand artists to have been made. In 2005, following her success in London as a shortlisted candidate for the Beck's Futures award in 2003, and the acquisition and subsequent exhibition of her work by the Saatchi Gallery in 2004, Upritchard's Auckland dealer Ivan Anthony declared her to be New Zealand's 'greatest ever art export' and claimed that: 'No New Zealand artist has ever got to this level overseas before, not even McCahon.' Ivan Anthony quoted in Grant Smithies, 'Art Throbs', *Sunday Star Times Magazine*, 18 September 2005, pp. 16–19.

[22] Brown's lecture was delivered at City Gallery, Wellington, on 12 December 2002, following his award of honorary Doctor of Literature from VUW for his services to Art History in New Zealand. The lecture coincided with the exhibition 'Colin McCahon: A Question of Faith', which was curated by Marja Bloem and organised by the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, and was held at City Gallery, Wellington, 7 December 2002 – 9 March 2003, following its exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, 31 August – 10 November 2002, and before it toured to Auckland and two venues in Australia. The edited text of Brown's lecture was published as Gordon H. Brown, *Elements of Modernism in Colin McCahon's Early Work*, ed. by Christina Barton, Art History Lecture Series, 01 (Wellington: VUW, 2003). On the back cover of this lecture booklet, McCahon is described as 'New Zealand's most important twentieth-century artist'. The text of McCahon's that I refer to above is Colin McCahon, 'Beginnings', *Landfall*, 20. 4 (1966), 360–64. This autobiographical text written by McCahon about his early experiences of art was commissioned by Charles Brasch, then editor of *Landfall*, for the quarterly journal's serial column entitled 'Beginnings', which asked writers (or, in McCahon's case, artists) to tell its readers how they began writing (or making art); McCahon's 'Beginnings' was the tenth in the series, which had begun two years earlier, with the 'Beginnings' of E. S. Grenfell in the issue dated December 1964, and ran until March 1967, when it ended with the eleventh in the series. McCahon's text was published again, together with the other ten essays in the series, in the

in the *Illustrated London News*, a passage, quoted by Brown in full, in which McCahon relays how, at some point in his youth — when exactly he could no longer recall, he came across reproductions of cubist paintings while leafing through magazines on a Sunday outing with family in Dunedin (Figure 0.1).[23] In this passage, McCahon situates his own discovery of Cubism in relation to 'the Cubists' discoveries', which, he claims,

> had become a part of our environment. Lampshades, curtains, linoleums, decorations in cast plaster: both the interiors and exteriors of homes and commercial buildings were influenced by this new magic. But to see it all as it was in the beginning, that was a revelation.[24]

Thus, McCahon concludes that by the time he 'discovered Cubism' in the *Illustrated London News*, a moment which Brown suggests took place sometime between late 1936 and 1937, roughly twenty-five years after the publication of the particular issue of the illustrated magazine that McCahon remembered browsing on his Sunday visit, '[t]his world [of Cubism] was one [McCahon] felt [he] already knew and was at home in'.[25]

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book *Beginnings: New Zealand Writers Tell How They Began Writing*, ed. by Robin Dudding (Wellington: Oxford UP, 1980), pp. 101–05.

[23] Following a brief statement of his main concern 'with Colin McCahon's early works up to 1947', Brown opens the lecture by riffing on the title and theme of the text by McCahon that he is about to quote: 'I begin with what appears to be a relevant statement by McCahon written in 1966'. Brown, *Elements of Modernism*, p. 9. As the start of a section, the words 'I begin with' are capitalised in the statement that appears in the lecture publication. Brown then quotes two paragraphs from McCahon's text in their entirety. McCahon, 'Beginnings', p. 361 quoted in Brown, *Elements of Modernism*, pp. 9–10. Brown's focus on the beginnings of McCahon is reiterated by the fact that his lecture, which begins with McCahon's 'Beginnings', was itself to become the beginning of the annual lecture series of the Art History Programme at VUW, subsequently renamed the Gordon H. Brown Lecture series. Brown questions the chronology of McCahon's account of his discovery of cubism, describing McCahon's text as 'a highly condensed version conditioned by his own perception of how he saw himself', and suggesting a way of interpreting McCahon's condensation of his early artistic encounters. Brown, *Elements of Modernism*, p. 11.

[24] McCahon, 'Beginnings', p. 361.

[25] Ibid., p. 361. Brown identifies the particular article and issue of the weekly news magazine that McCahon was browsing on a Sunday afternoon when he claims to have come across images of works by cubist painters for the first time, as 'Cubism and the Cubists', *Illustrated London News*, 21 October 1911, p. 648. This one-page article discusses the exhibition 'Cubism and the Cubists', which was held at the Salon d'Automne, Paris, and is illustrated with four reproductions, two of paintings by Auguste Herbin and two of paintings by Picasso. For further detail, see Brown, *Elements of Modernism*, n. 2, p. 37.

In Brown's estimation of McCahon's narrative, 'the weight he gave to the three small reproductions of cubist paintings' — which Brown authenticates as works by Auguste Herbin and Pablo Picasso — 'in his understanding of Cubism goes beyond what one could expect from this encounter'.[26] Indeed, McCahon does place what may seem like undue emphasis on these reproductions in his account of what Brown and Keith, writing three years later, termed his 'second and third hand contact' with Cubism in reproduction and in translation, as décor, homeware, and architecture.[27] Such an overemphasis of his second-hand encounter with the cubist painting of Herbin and Picasso — which surely could not have been an unusual experience for someone of his upbringing to have had on a Sunday afternoon — undoubtedly serves to mythologise his discovery of Cubism. However, the role McCahon assigns to these four grainy black and white images printed on newsprint

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Contrary to the narrative order of McCahon's text, in which his account of his encounter with cubist paintings in reproduction is preceded by a discussion of his early discovery of signwriting, which, according to Brown, could have happened no later than 1929, when McCahon was not yet ten-years old, and is eventually followed by a brief reference, on the final page of McCahon's text, to his first encounter with the paintings of New Zealand-born painter M. T. Woollaston (1910–88) in a small shop in downtown Dunedin, Brown claims that McCahon in fact saw Woollaston's paintings in July 1936, prior to his encounter with cubism in the *Illustrated London News*, an event which Brown dates as happening either in late 1936 or in 1937. (See Brown, *Elements of Modernism*, p. 10.) Far from a pedantic analysis of McCahon's biography, what Brown is in fact pointing up here is McCahon's displacement of the formative influence of his encounter with Woollaston's work, which, in McCahon's account of his beginnings, appears to have occurred much later in his life, if we read McCahon's text chronologically, that is, if we conflate the narrative order of McCahon's text with the chronology of his biography. By discussing Woollaston's works much later in his essay, McCahon privileges his encounter with cubism, albeit in reproduction, which thus appears as a more formative influence on his work than Woollaston's influence, which Brown claims is evident in McCahon's work almost immediately after McCahon first saw Woollaston's paintings in the original as a teenager in 1936.

[26] Although there are in fact four paintings reproduced in the *Illustrated London News* article under discussion, as noted in n. 25 immediately above, Brown only considers three of these to be cubist; of the two paintings by Herbin, Brown avers that 'one only can be labelled a mild-mannered cubist work'. Brown, *Elements of Modernism*, n. 2, p. 37.

[27] In their co-authored book, first published in 1969, Brown and Keith state that although 'second and third hand contact with the main currents of Western art often produced a militant form of provincialism, or […] a completely unselective imitation of fashionable contemporary styles', both 'Woollaston and McCahon profited from their second and third hand contact with modern European painting'. Brown and Keith, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1967*, pp. 11 and 167.

is, as we shall see, crucial to McCahon's construction of his encounter with Cubism as an authentic and original experience.

In his 'Beginnings', McCahon's condensation of his formative years as an artist complicates any naïve notion of an artist's beginnings as a series of clearly defined starting points and/or originary moments in and through which the creator is themself definitively formed or created, and which occur, and can thus be ordered, chronologically. On the one hand, in using scriptural language to describe the four paintings that he had seen in print as 'a revelation' that enabled him a view of Cubism 'as it was in the beginning', McCahon claims that his discovery of Cubism in reproduction was an original experience — original, that is, in the sense that knowledge of 'this new magic' of Cubism was divinely disclosed to him for the first time, and also in the sense that his second-hand contact with these reproductions was somehow a more authentic experience than his third-hand contact with, what his encounter thus revealed to be, 'the watered-down translations [of Cubism] provided by architects, designers and advertising agencies'.[28] On the other hand, in stating that he 'felt [he always] already knew and was at home in' the 'world' of Cubism, a milieu that was familiar to him through his everyday encounters with objects such as '[l]ampshades, curtains, [and] linoleums', and in describing this world in some detail in the paragraph that precedes the one in which he first mentions the *Illustrated London News*, McCahon displaces (the originality of what was ostensibly) his first encounter with Cubism with an earlier, and thus, in a certain sense, more original, encounter with cubist material and visual culture.

What is more, in claiming revelation — that upon first contact with Herbin and Picasso in reproduction, when he 'at once became a Cubist', he was consequently able 'to see it all as it was in the beginning', McCahon conflates the ostensible beginning of his own awareness of Cubism proper with knowledge of *the* beginning — and indeed the essence — of Cubism itself, which would have otherwise, and perhaps in fact, remained inaccessible and thus unknowable to McCahon.[29] Indeed, in his implicitly biblical (New Testament) narrative of a divine revelation that leads

[28] McCahon, 'Beginnings', p. 361.
[29] Ibid., p. 361.

to his conversion, McCahon claims to have appropriated knowledge of the essence of Cubism. Following the description of his revelatory encounter with pictures of paintings by Herbin and Picasso, McCahon declares that he 'at once became a Cubist, a staunch supporter and sympathiser, one who could read the Cubists in their own language and not only in the watered-down translations provided by architects, designers and advertising agencies'.[30] In professing to have become a native speaker of Cubism, and, moreover, in declaring himself to have in fact become a Cubist, McCahon thus claims to have miraculously obtained inside, embodied, and even indigenous, knowledge of the essence, nature, or natural property — the native language or mother tongue — of what is properly Cubism at its source, concentrated and not diluted through translation. McCahon does not only become a convert to the cubist cause, 'enthusiastically joining the band of translators [him]self',[31] in framing his narrative of second-hand contact with the work of Herbin and Picasso as a revelatory encounter that dispelled his former ignorance of Cubism, he converts this mediated experience of indirect contact into a situation in which there is no apparent need for translation or mediation, and thus transforms his second-hand encounter with Cubism — which becomes an exchange wherein he is given the gift of a new tongue, Cubism, in return for his attentive observation of cubist pictures and/or willingness to become an apostle or translator of Cubism — into one of direct contact.

Indeed, in the account of his beginnings, McCahon transfigures his encounter with artworks in reproduction — a potentially grubby, tactile and material, and not only 'ocular experience', involving, at the very least, the touching of fleshy digits and roughish inky paper — from 'second or third hand contact' into an event, or better yet, advent, of direct contact. While McCahon's encounter as he describes it does not bear obvious comparison with Tomory's 'farmer scooping up a handful of earth', his autobiographical composition does, however, describe a fertile domain,

[30] McCahon, 'Beginnings', p. 361.
[31] Ibid., p. 361.

which is at once indigenous and cosmopolitan, and which gave rise to a significant aspect of the painting practice of this major canonical figure of New Zealand art.[32]

McCahon's 'Beginnings' presents a complex picture of contact and its relationship with distance, a relationship which invariably involves varying degrees and qualities of mediation and intermediality. It is precisely this complexity — not only of contact per se, but also of a *discourse* of contact — that I would like to explore in the following chapters of this thesis.

As I have noted above, Brown's lecture 'Elements of Modernism in Colin McCahon's Early Work', which began with McCahon's 'Beginnings', inaugurated the annual Art History Lecture Series hosted by the Art History Programme at VUW. From its beginning in 2002 until its sponsorship by the AHRC in 2012, the lecture series focussed on 'an aspect of New Zealand art history'.[33] However, the series shifted away from its original national focus following Robert Leonard's lecture 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', which was delivered at City Gallery, Wellington, less than a fortnight before the AAANZ convened in this same city for their annual conference, this time on the theme of 'Contact', in early December 2011. For the six years that the Gordon H. Brown Lecture series was sponsored by the AHRC, the series adopted the cluster's theme of contact in an attempt to '[widen] its scope to place New Zealand art history in broader post-nationalist and cross-cultural contexts'.[34] Such a shift in focus suggests, amongst other things, that the presumably narrow and nationalist scope of New Zealand art history, which is largely known and bemoaned for its characteristic discourse of distance, had not previously been concerned with contact. The research presented in this thesis sets out to prove otherwise. It aims to show that contact is in fact a recurrent and long-standing and not only a postcolonial and contemporary concern of New Zealand art historiography. Indeed, it has already shown, in the above analysis of McCahon's 'Beginnings', that a

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[32] Tomory, 'Looking at Art in New Zealand', pp. 154–56; Brown and Keith, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1967*, p. 167.

[33] Christina Barton, 'Preface', in Roger Blackley, *A Nation's Portraits*, ed. by Christina Barton, Gordon H. Brown Lecture Series, 03 (Wellington: VUW, 2005), p. 5 (p. 5).

[34] See Christina Barton, 'Preface', in Robert Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, ed. by Christina Barton, Gordon H. Brown Lecture Series, 10 (Wellington: VUW, 2012), pp. 5–6 (p. 6). For further detail on the Gordon H. Brown Lecture series' shift in focus, see pp. 65–67 of Chapter 1 below.

concern with contact is located at the beginning of Brown's inaugural lecture, and thus that contact could be fairly described as (always already) 'an aspect of New Zealand art history'.[35] If a concern with contact can be demonstrably located at the origin of the Gordon H. Brown Lecture series, if not at the origin of New Zealand art historiography at large, this thesis asks: (how) can — and indeed it questions if — the adoption of contact as a contemporary art-historical framework (can) provide an alternative to the national(ist) histories of New Zealand art?

Art Histories of Contact in an Expanding Disciplinary Field

In recent years, the concept of contact has emerged as a framework for the exhibition of contemporary art, following James Clifford's proposition that the museum be regarded as a contact zone, an idea which has achieved widespread circulation since it was first put forward in print in 1997.[36] Nigerian-born curator Okwui Enwezor (1963–2019) was instrumental in the development of this new direction at a global level. Over a fifteen-year period beginning with the second Johannesburg Biennale, 'Trade Routes', in 1997, Enwezor acted as artistic director of several biennials, including 'Documenta11' (2002) and the third Paris Triennale (2012), that not only presented works of art which, in their exploration of transcultural and translocal encounter and exchange, exemplified contact as a subject of contemporary art, but also sought to construct the exhibition itself as a zone of contact, that is, as an arena itself productive of such encounters and exchanges.[37] In conceptualising the biennial as contact zone, Enwezor not only

[35] Barton, 'Preface', in Blackley, *A Nation's Portraits*, ed. by Barton, p. 5.

[36] James Clifford, 'Museums as Contact Zones', in James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997), pp. 188–219.

[37] The second Johannesburg Biennale 'Trade Routes: History and Geography' (1997), for which Enwezor acted as artistic director, is an early example, and indeed precursor, of this trend in curatorial practice. In showcasing the work of many contemporary artists from outside Europe and North America, who, according to Enwezor, would otherwise have been excluded from such a large-scale international exhibition, the biennale aimed to '[build] new "contact zones" for productive and lasting exchanges between artists and intellectuals, across cultures, economic positions, and political affiliations'. Okwui Enwezor, 'Travel Notes: Living, Working, and Traveling in a Restless World', in *Trade Routes: History and Geography: 2nd Johannesburg Biennale 1997*, ed. by Okwui Enwezor (Johannesburg:

showcased art from the global South, according to critics he also 'challenged the North Atlantic hegemony over the definition of contemporary art'.[38]

This trend in curatorial practice is evident in both large-scale international and/or global(ising) exhibitions and much smaller exhibitions of local significance that variously adopted contact as a curatorial framework. While not explicitly modelled upon Enwezor's mega-exhibitions, the 15th Biennale of Sydney, 'Zones of Contact' (2006), was also organised around the theme and concept of the contact zone. The biennale's artistic director, Charles Merewether, proposed that the exhibition be regarded as 'a temporary zone of contact' and, as such, 'a critical forum of collaboration and [network] of exchange', a suggestion which echoes Enwezor's curatorial approach to biennales.[39] The following year, a much smaller exhibition, simply entitled 'Contact Zone', which was held at the National Museum

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Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council and Thorold's Africana Books, 1997), pp. 7–12 (p. 12). Enwezor subsequently developed his conceptualisation of the exhibition form as contact zone in his role as artistic director of the hugely influential 'Documenta11' (2002). While not built around contact zones as such, 'Documenta11' comprised five forums, or "platforms", held successively in locations across the globe and finally in Kassel, the small German city which has hosted documenta since 1955. For in-depth discussion of Enwezor's platforms, see Anthony Gardner and Charles Green, 'Post-North? *Documenta11* and the Challenges of the "Global Exhibition"', in *Documenta: Curating the History of the Present*, ed. by Nanne Buurman and Dorothee Richter, (= *OnCurating*, 33 (2017)), pp. 109–20 (pp. 109, 112–14) <http://www.on-curating.org/issue-33.html#.Xbh9qhRjVlI> [accessed 31 August 2019]. Like his contact zones, Enwezor's platforms were envisaged as discursive sites through which to redistribute the attention of the international art world away from Euro-America towards the global South, and to thus ultimately challenge 'North Atlantic hegemony' over contemporary art discourse. Gardner and Green, 'Post North?', p. 111. As artistic director of 'Intense Proximity' (2012), the third edition of Paris's La Triennale, Enwezor again engaged with the concept of the contact zone. See Okwui Enwezor, 'Intense Proximity: Concerning the Disappearance of Distance', in *Fragile Identities*, ed. by Kerstin Stakemeier and Susanne Witzgall (Zurich: Diaphanes, 2017), pp. 79–90 (pp. 83–86). Enwezor's construction of the mega-exhibition as contact zone has at once built upon and expanded James Clifford's innovative and contemporaneous reading of the museum as contact zone; Enwezor's debt to Clifford is implicitly acknowledged in the title of the second Johannesburg Biennale, 'Trade Routes', which nods to the title of Clifford's book *Routes*, in which his essay 'Museums as Contact Zones' was published in 1997, the year that Enwezor's Johannesburg Biennale was staged. Both Enwezor and Clifford borrowed the contact zone concept from Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 1st edn (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[38] Gardner and Green, 'Post-North?', p. 111.

[39] Charles Merewether, 'Taking Place: Acts of Survival for a Time to Come', in *Zones of Contact: Sydney Biennale 2006*, ed. by Charles Merewether, (Sydney, NSW: Biennale of Sydney, 2006), 45–60 (p. 58).

of Mali, brought together the work of twelve contemporary artists from across the Sahara, that is, from North Africa and West Africa.[40] While these artists were often exhibited and collected in Europe and the United States, their work was thought by the curators to be less familiar to the museum's regional audience, who were thus, ironically, being brought into contact with it for the first time. Similarly, the exhibition 'Points of Contact: Jim Allen, Len Lye, Hélio Oiticica', which travelled to venues across the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand between 2010 and 2011, not only re-presented certain historical and aesthetic connections, or points of contact, between the three titular artists, but also reconstructed and restaged works by New Zealand-born post-object artist Jim Allen (1922–2023) for a subsequent generation of Allen's compatriots, who had not encountered his work when it was first shown in the late 1960s and 1970s.[41] And in 2013, the curators of 'Zones of Contact: Propositions on the Museum' engaged with contemporary artists to explore the institution of the museum as a site, producer, and archive(r) of South Asian cultural memory at Kiran Nadar Museum of Art, Noida, India.[42] Such exhibitions are emblematic of a worldwide if not global shift in the curatorial field towards the privileging of contact as a subject, theme, and framework of contemporary art discourse.

This curatorial shift towards a discourse of contact has in many ways set the agenda for the contemporary practice of art history in the academy, where contact has increasingly become a topic of study as well as a theoretical framework and a methodology within Art History. In the last ten years or so, several monographs on the subject of art and contact have been published in English; with a broad chronological focus, these studies cover not only modern but also ancient works of

[40] 'Contact Zone', curated by N'Goné Fall, Bisi Silva, and Rachida Triki, Musée national du Mali, Bamako, 2 October – 10 November 2007.
[41] 'Points of Contact: Jim Allen, Len Lye, Hélio Oiticica', curated by Tyler Cann and Mercedes Vicente, Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth, 11 December 2010 – 27 February 2011; the Adam, Wellington, 18 March – 22 May 2011.
[42] 'Zones of Contact: Propositions on the Museum', curated by Akansha Rastogi, Deeksha Nath, and Vidya Shivadas, Kiran Nadar Museum of Art, Noida, India, 18 January – 30 November 2013.

art.[43] In particular, the concept of the contact zone has been taken up as a tool with which to contest and revise canonical narratives of modern art, to cut across culturally determined regional(ist) and national(ist) geographies and reframe modernism as a transcultural and not (only) a European project, and to rethink the problematic of art and globalisation across the modern, and not only the contemporary, period.[44] Following Clifford's and Enwezor's collective proposition that the museum and the exhibition be regarded as a zone of contact, art historians have also put Mary Louise Pratt's concept of the contact zone to work in an expanded field, considering novel sites, such as human skin, as zones of contact.[45] Indeed, the practice of art history itself is now thought to occur in the contact zone.[46] In addition to Pratt's concept of the contact zone, art historians have also taken up the neighbouring concepts of transculturation and transculturality as another means through which to explore the ways in which certain processes of contact affect the production, circulation, reception, and interpretation of art .[47]

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[43] See for example, *Cultural Contact and the Making of European Art since the Age of Exploration*, ed. by Mary D. Sheriff (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2010); S. Rebecca Martin, *The Art of Contact: Comparative Approaches to Greek and Phoenician Art* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2017); and Christian Kravagna, *Transmodern: An Art History of Contact, 1920–60*, trans. by Jennifer Taylor (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2022) (first publ. as Christian Kravagna, *Transmoderne: Eine Kunstgeschichte des Kontakts* (Berlin: b_books, 2017)).

[44] See for example Kobena Mercer, 'Cosmopolitan Contact Zones' in *Afro Modern: Journeys through the Black Atlantic*, ed. by. Tanya Barson and Peter Gorschlüter (Liverpool: Tate Liverpool, 2010), pp. 40–47; *Contact Zones: Photography, Migration, and Cultural Encounters in the United States*, ed. by Justin Carvelle and Sigrid Lien (Leuven: Leuven UP, 2021); *Reading Objects in the Contact Zone*, ed. by Eva-Maria Troelenberg, Kerstin Schankweiler and Anna Sophia Messner, Heidelberg Studies on Transculturality, 9 (Heidelberg: Heidelberg UP, 2021) <https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.766>; and Ingeborg Høvik and Sigfrid Kjeldaas, 'Introduction: Counter-Stories from the Arctic Contact Zone', *Interventions*, 26.1 (2023), 1–13 <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2023.2190910>. See also titles from the series Contact Zones: Studies in Global Art, edited by Lars Blunck, Bénédicte Savoy and Avinoam Shalom, and published by Walter de Gruyter, beginning in 2014; none of the seven volumes published thus far in the series have the word "contact" in the title, thus it is only the series title that signifies a concern with contact.

[45] *Probing the Skin: Cultural Representations of our Contact Zone*, ed. by Caroline Rosenthal and Dirk Vandebeke (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2015).

[46] Ingeborg Høvik, 'Art History in the Contact Zone: Hans Zakæus's *First Communication*, 1818', in *Sámi Art and Aesthetics: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. by Svein Aamold, Elin Haugdal and Ulla Angkjær Jørgensen (Aarhus: Aarhus UP, 2017), pp. 49–68.

[47] Pratt's concept of the contact zone, a term that she proposed in her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992), is itself an appropriation and/or adaption of the

This scholarship comprises what is now referred to as transcultural art history, a burgeoning multilingual and not only anglophone field that constitutes a significant portion of the recent art-historical work on the subject of contact.[48]

Contact has been the subject of much recent art-historical dialogue and collective enquiry. Over the past two decades, there have been several conferences organised around the theme of art in/and/of contact and/or transculturation. In 2003, a two-day symposium entitled 'Contact', organised by Sylvie Coëllier, was held at Aix-Marseille University, Provence, which resulted in a French-language publication on the history and aesthetics of contact in

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concept of transculturation (*transculturación*) coined by Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz in his book *Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar* (La Havana: Jesús Montero, 1940), which was first translated into English in 1947. There are other conceptions or elaborations of the contact zone, for example, Donna Haraway's, which refers to encounters between nature and culture, or animals and humans. See for example Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2008). Although not the only iteration, the concept of transculturality is generally thought to derive from Wolfgang Welsch, 'Transculturality: The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today', in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, ed. by Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage, 1999), pp. 194–213. As Monica Juneja has pointed out, 'The definition [of transculturality] proffered by Wolfgang Welsch has been generally regarded as a major theoretical landmark in that Welsch deployed transculturality as a heuristic device to critique the conceptualization of culture ascribed to [Johann Gottfried] Herder and the Enlightenment — i.e., a view of culture as a closed, internally cohesive, and linguistically homogeneous sphere — which, according to Welsch, is "untenable" today as it is no longer commensurate with the experience of modern societies.' Juneja quoted in Monica Juneja and Christian Kravagna, 'Understanding Transculturalism: Monica Juneja and Christian Kravagna in Conversation', in *Transcultural Modernisms*, ed. by Model House Research Group (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013), pp. 22–33 (p. 24).

[48] The field of transcultural art history is mapped out in Eva-Maria Troelenberg, Kerstin Schankweiler and Anna Sophia Messner, 'On the "Objectscape" of Transculturality: An Introduction', in *Reading Objects in the Contact Zone*, ed. by Eva-Maria Troelenberg, Kerstin Schankweiler and Anna Sophia Messner, Heidelberg Studies on Transculturality, 9 (Heidelberg: Heidelberg UP, 2021), pp. 1–15 (pp. 2–3) <https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.766.c10395>. For scholarship in the field of transcultural art history, see for example *Empires, Ruins plus Networks: The Transcultural Agenda in Art*, ed. by Scott McQuire and Nikos Papastergiadis (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne UP, 2005); Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890–1915* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2009); *Transculturation in British Art, 1770–1930*, ed. by Julie F. Codell (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012); Siobhán Shilton, *Transcultural Encounters: Visualising France and the Maghreb in Contemporary Art* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2013); *Double Desire: Transculturation and Indigenous Contemporary Art*, ed. by Ian McClean (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014); and *EurAsian Matters: China, Europe, and the Transcultural Object, 1600–1800*, ed. by Anna Grasscamp and Monica Juneja (Switzerland: Springer, 2018).

contemporary art.[49] In 2008, the 32nd World Congress of the International Committee of the History of Art (CIHA), entitled 'Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence', was held over the course of a week at the University of Melbourne, Australia. While it was billed as 'an in-depth examination of the effect of globalism on art and art history', it also addressed the theme of art and cross-cultural contact; in bringing together so many scholars from the North and the South, it proved a crucial forum for making connections between the various local theoretical and methodological approaches to, and national and regional historiographies of, an art history of transcultural and transnational contact.[50] In 2011, the aforementioned AAANZ annual conference, also entitled, quite simply, 'Contact', was hosted by the Art History Programme at VUW, Aotearoa/New

[49] The symposium 'Contact', which was organised by Sylvie Coëllier and held at Aix-Marseille University, Provence, on 27–28 March 2003, resulted in the edited volume *Histoire et esthétique du contact dans l'art contemporain*, ed. by Sylvie Coëllier (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2005); which included two texts by Coëllier that reflected specifically on an art history of contact: Sylvie Coëllier, 'Contact! Contact!!', in *Histoire et esthétique du contact dans l'art contemporain*, ed. by Sylvie Coëllier (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2005), pp. 9–24; and Sylvie Coëllier, 'Pierres que roulent: une histoire transversal du contact dans la sculpture du XXe siècle', in *Histoire et esthétique du contact dans l'art contemporain*, ed. by Sylvie Coëllier (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 2005), pp. 101–19.

[50] More than two hundred conference papers from the 32nd CIHA Congress, which was held at the University of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, on 13–18 January 2008, were published in the tome *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence: The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art*, ed. by Jaynie Anderson (Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, 2009). The quotation (in the main text above) concerning the agenda of the congress to 'examin[e] […] the effect of globalism on art and art history' is a citation of the abstract describing and promoting the publication (of) *Crossing Cultures*, and can be found, for example, online at: Melbourne University Press, 'Crossing Cultures' <https://www.mup.com.au/books/crossing-cultures-paperback-softback> [accessed 21 August 2023]. In addition to the congress title 'Crossing Cultures', which signifies an obvious concern with cross-cultural contact despite the fact that the word "contact" does not appear in the title, several of the headings organising the congress papers also signal a concern with contact and/or transculturation, for example, the headings 'Art Histories in an Interconnected World' and 'Cultural and Artistic Exchange in the Making of the Modern World, 1500–1900'. Moreover, the artwork selected for the cover of *Crossing Cultures* and for promoting the 2008 CIHA conference and its publication outcome, an ink drawing by Aboriginal artist Tommy McRae (c. 1835–1901), is described by the conference convenor Jaynie Anderson as one of the many 'image[s] of first contact' with which '[m]ost Australian art histories begin'. Jaynie Anderson, 'Playing between the Lines: The Melbourne Experience of Crossing Cultures', in *Crossing Cultures: Conflict, Migration and Convergence: The Proceedings of the 32nd International Congress in the History of Art*, ed. by Jaynie Anderson (Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, 2009), pp. 4–9 (p. 7).

Zealand. Seven articles on the conference theme of contact were subsequently published in a special issue of the *ANZJA*, which was guest edited by conference convenor David Maskill and his colleague Geoffrey Batchen, who had established the AHRC at VUW in 2010, the year prior to the AAANZ conference in question.[51] And more recently, the 35th CIHA World Congress, entitled 'Motion: Migrations', was held in São Paulo, Brazil, in 2022. Although the congress title does not immediately sound as if it is concerned with the subject of contact, in fact the theme of mobility is very much a concern with, what is referred to in the context of transcultural art history as, the 'itineraries of contact'.[52] Likewise, the conference 'New Worlds: Frontiers, Inclusion, Utopias', held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 2015, was also greatly concerned with the subject of contact, despite the fact that it did not signal such a concern in its title.[53]

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[51] The AAANZ annual conference on the theme of contact was held in Wellington, New Zealand, on 7–9 December 2011. Seven articles on the conference theme were published in *Contact*, ed. by Geoffrey Batchen and David Maskill (= *ANZJA*), 13 (2013)).

[52] The 35th CIHA World Congress was held on the theme of 'Motion: Migrations', at São Paulo, Brasil, on 17–21 January 2022. The congress, which is usually held every four years, was unusually the second part of a transnational collaboration between Italy and Brazil; the first part of the congress, entitled 'Motion: Transformation', was held in Florence, Italy, on 6–9 September 2019. According to the convenors, '[t]he overall title Motion has pushed the focus in the direction of a transcultural or global art history' — that is, in the direction of an art history of contact. Comite International d'Histoire de l'Art, 'Motion: Transformation' <http://www.ciha.org/content/motion-transformation-proceedings-35th-world-congress-art-history> [accessed 21 August 2023]. The 'itineraries of contact' was the subject of the annual conference of the German research group Transkulturelle Verhandlungsräume von Kunst, which was held at the Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, on 23–24 May 2013. For further detail, see n. 55 of this chapter below. DFG Research Unit 1703: Transcultural Negotiations in the Ambits of Art, 'The Itineraries of Art: Topographies of Artistic Mobility in Europe and Asia 1500–1900', conference programme, p. 2 of 2 <https://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/transkulturell/veranstaltungsarchiv/tagungen/2__jahrestagung.html> [accessed 19 August 2023].

[53] The conference 'New Worlds: Frontiers, Inclusion, Utopias' was held as a joint initiative of CIHA and the Brazilian Committee of Art History in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, on 25–29 August 2015, and resulted in the publication *New Worlds: Frontiers, Inclusion, Utopias*, ed. by Claudia Mattos Avolese and Roberto Conduro (Comitê Brasiliero de Historía da Arte; CIHA and Vasto: São Paulo, 2017). The resulting publication attests to a strong interest in the subject of contact; the word "contact" is used seventeen times, in roughly one third — seven — of the book's twenty chapters; and the term "transcultural", or variations thereof, appears twelve times. Indeed, the publication ends with the pertinent question: 'Could we imagine our shared investment in the Americas as a basis for writing new narratives in which contacts among peoples on the American continent are treated with the same concern as contacts among regions within Europe or across the Mediterranean?'. Clare Farago, 'Whose History? Why? When? Who Benefits, and Who Doesn't?', in *New Worlds:*

In addition to the literature resulting from such conferences, further research on the subject of contact has been published worldwide by the many art historians involved in research groups that focus on contact and/or transculturality and related issues, such as cultural and artistic mobility, and the circulation of artists, artworks, and images. Several research groups working in the field of transcultural art history in Germany, or germanophone contexts, have regularly held conferences and published their research in English. For example, between 2011 and 2018, a Max Planck Research Group based at the Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence, focussed on the topic 'Objects in the Contact Zone: The Cross-Cultural Lives of Things', under the direction of Eva-Maria Troelenberg, which resulted in the edited volume *Reading Objects in the Contact Zone*.[54] And in 2013, the annual conferences of two transcultural art history research groups were held at Freie Universität Berlin, which resulted in publications that sought to revise the narratives and geographies of canonical histories of modern art by focussing on certain dynamics and networks of contact.[55] Moreover, the research project and digital forum Artl@s, which was founded in 2009 by Béatrice Joyeaux-Prunel and based online and in Paris, France, until it moved with her to the Université de Genève, Switzerland, in 2019, has contributed much to a transnational, more than a transcultural, art history of contact, by focussing on questions of artistic circulation,

Frontiers, Inclusion, Utopias, ed. by Claudia Mattos Avolese and Roberto Conduro (Comitê Brasiliero de História da Arte; CIHA and Vasto: São Paulo, 2017), pp. 283–303 (p. 299).

[54] *Reading Objects in the Contact Zone*, ed. by Troelenberg, Schankweiler and Messner (2021).

[55] The conference 'Questioning Narratives, Negotiating Frameworks: Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics, Late 19th to Early 21st Centuries' was held at the Department of Art History, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, on 5–7 December 2013, almost exactly two years after the 2011 AAANZ annual conference entitled 'Contact' was held in Wellington. It resulted in the similarly titled: *Art/Histories in Transcultural Dynamics: Perspectives on Narratives and Frameworks in the 20th and 21st Century*, ed. by Pauline Bachmann and others (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2017). Earlier in the year, the research group 'Transcultural Negotiations in the Ambits of Art: Comparative Perspectives on Historical Contexts and Contemporary Constellations' had also convened its annual conference at the Freie Universität Berlin, on 23–24 May 2013, which addressed the 'agency of routes', in particular 'overland and maritime networks as itineraries of contact and catalysts of artistic exchange' (DFG Research Unit 1703, 'The Itineraries of Art', conference programme, p. 2 of 2), which resulted in the book *The Itineraries of Art: Topographies of Artistic Mobility in Europe and Asia*, ed. by Karin Gludovatz, Juliane Noth and Joachim Rees (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2015).

and the geographies, cartographies, spatialities, and geopolitics of art.[56] Indeed, the Artl@s project views its website — which, in addition to an open-access peer-reviewed journal, includes an interactive map and database that not only pictures but also quantifies the Parisian art market from 1790 onwards — as a resource and 'a means for diverse populations to come into contact with art history through new paths'.[57] And finally, as I have mentioned above, during the six years or so that it was active, the AHRC, which was established at VUW, in the capital city of Aotearoa/New Zealand, in 2010, also sponsored several conferences, exhibitions, and publications, which will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 1.

Two explicit proposals for an art history of contact have emerged out of the context of the research groups described above. The first was put forward by Batchen and the AHRC in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 1, this proposal was not made explicit at the inception of the AHRC but emerged gradually over the course of the cluster's activity. Perhaps the most candid and succinct expression of this proposition was the question that Batchen put to the delegates (including Enwezor, who attended in the capacity of keynote speaker) at the final plenary session of the 2011 AAANZ annual conference: 'Is there the possibility of developing a distinctive art history out of the specificity of our experience of contact?'[58] The AHRC's proposal for an art history of contact was subsequently consolidated in the editorial to the special 'Contact' issue of the *ANZJA*, which was published in 2013, and in several shorter texts. Motivated by the

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[56] In addition to the many seminars hosted by Artl@s and the scholarly articles published in the online *Artl@s Bulletin*, such as Maria de Fátima Morethy Couto, 'Between Paris and London: Contacts and Exchanges of South American Artists in Europe (1950–1970)', in *Artl@s Bulletin* 5.1 (2016), 72–92 <https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/artlas/vol5/iss1/7/> [accessed 20 December 2013], the following book also arose out of the context of the Artl@s project: *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, ed. by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

[57] Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, 'ARTL@S: A Spatial and Trans-National Art History: Origins and Positions of a Research Program', in *Artl@s Bulletin* 1.1 (2012), 9–25 (p. 17) <https://docs.lib.purdue.edu/artlas/vol1/iss1/> [accessed 20 December 2013].

[58] Batchen was in conversation with Okwui Enwezor, then director of the Haus de Kunst, Munich, Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, Professor of History of Art at the University of California, and Ann Stephen, then AAANZ president. Batchen quoted in Geoffrey Batchen and others, *Reflecting on the Theme of "Contact": A Conversation with Delegates*, online video recording, School of Art History, Classics and Religious Studies, VUW <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/sacr/research/art-history> [accessed 3 October 2014].

'continual negotiation between Maori and settler histories, interests, and practices [which have] result[ed] in [the] distinctively multicultural mode of social and cultural life' of Aotearoa/New Zealand, it was hoped that this 'newly engaged' 'post-colonial and trans-national art histor[y]' of contact, written from the 'regional perspective [of] the Pacific', if not from the (indigenous) perspective of Oceania, could 'have something to teach the rest of the world'.[59]

The second proposal was put forward by the Viennese art historian Christian Kravagna in the German and germanophone, and eventually the anglophone, contemporary art-historical contexts. In 2013, Kravagna published a bilingual article (in English and German) in the Berlin-based contemporary art magazine *Texte zur Kunst* entitled 'Toward a Postcolonial Art History of Contact'.[60] Kravagna's proposal for an art history of contact emerged out of research presented earlier in 2013, at the annual conference of the research group 'Transcultural Negotiations in the Ambits of Art' in Berlin, which was published as the chapter 'When Routes Entered Culture: Histories and Politics of Transcultural Thinking' in 2015.[61] His proposal was also incubated in the interdisciplinary research project 'Mapping Transcultural Modernisms', which studied processes of cultural transfer, or contact, in the emergence of architectural modernity in Asian and African contexts.[62] And in

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[59] Geoffrey Batchen and David Maskill, 'Editorial', in *Contact*, ed. by Geoffrey Batchen and David Maskill (= *ANZJA*), 13 (2013)), pp. 21–23 (p. 21); and Geoffrey Batchen, 'Art History Research Cluster', 23 September 2013, paras 1 and 4 of 24. <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/sacr/research/art-history/contact-research-cluster> [accessed 8 June 2016].

[60] Christian Kravagna, 'Toward a Postcolonial Art History of Contact; or, Für eine Postkoloniale Kunstgeschichte des Kontacts', *Texte zur Kunst*, 91 (September 2013), 110–31.

[61] In May 2013, Kravagna presented a paper entitled 'When Routes Entered Culture' at the conference 'The Itineraries of Art' held by the DFG Research Unit 1703 at Freie Universität Berlin, which was subsequently published as the chapter Christian Kravagna, 'When Routes Entered Culture: Histories and Politics of Transcultural Thinking', in *The Itineraries of Art: Topographies of Artistic Mobility in Europe and Asia*, ed. by Karin Gludovatz, Juliane Noth and Joachim Rees (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2015), pp. 33–47.

[62] Kravagna participated in the research project 'Model House: Mapping Transcultural Modernisms', which was headed by Peter Spillmann and based at the Academy of Fine Arts, Vienna, where it was conducted over a two-year period, between 2010 and 2012. The Model House project 'investigate[d] and map[ped] out the network of encounters, transnational influences, and local appropriations of an Architectural Modernity as manifested in various ways in [housing projects in] Israel, India, and China [and Morocco]' 'during the time of decolonization in the 1950s and 1960s'. Peter Spillmann, 'Model House – Mapping Transcultural Modernisms' <https://www.hslu.ch/en/lucerne-university-of-

2017, Kravagna's proposal was published as the first chapter in his German-language book-length study of modern art in/and the paradigm of transcultural contact, which was translated into English and published five years later, in 2022, as the monograph *Transmodern: An Art History of Contact, 1920–60*.[63] In the texts that comprise his proposal for an art history of contact, Kravagna argues against the art-historical 'rhetoric of the global' that was being advocated by such figures as Hans Belting and James Elkins at the start of the twenty-first century, which, in his view, 'blinds us to the diversity of the cultural and artistic contacts that actually existed in the twentieth century in which "the West" was at most a meeting place for transcultural actors'.[64] Indeed, against what appeared to him as the obstinately

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applied-sciences-and-arts/research/projects/detail/?pid=3745> [accessed 22 August 2023]. For a slightly different description of the project, which I have used here to insert several extra details into Spillmann's description quoted above, see the publisher's blurb: Sternberg Press, 'Transcultural Modernisms' <https://www.sternberg-press.com/product/transcultural-modernisms/> [accessed 22 August 2023]. Kravagna contributed a chapter to the book which resulted from the project; this chapter was later published as a chapter in his own book *Transmodern*. See Christian Kravagna, 'Transcultural Beginnings: Decolonisation, Transculturalism, and the Overcoming of Race', in Christian Kravagna, *Transmodern: An Art History of Contact, 1920–60*, trans. by Jennifer Taylor (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2022), pp. 90–106 (first publ. as Christian Kravagna, 'Transcultural Beginnings: Decolonization, Transculturalism, and the Overcoming of Race', in *Transcultural Modernisms*, ed. by Model House Research Group (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013), pp. 34–47).

[63] Christian Kravagna, 'Towards a Postcolonial Art History of Contact', in Christian Kravagna, *Transmodern: An Art History of Contact, 1920–60*, trans. by Jennifer Taylor (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2022), pp. 39–62. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to access Kravagna's monograph *Transmodern*, which was first publ. as Christian Kravagna, *Transmoderne: Eine Kunstgeschichte des Kontakts* (Berlin: b_books, 2017), and so I can only surmise that the first chapter of the book, cited above, is at once based upon and develops his original article of (almost) the same title published in *Texte zur Kunst* almost ten years earlier.

[64] Kravagna, 'Toward a Postcolonial Art History of Contact, p. 110. In contesting the 'rhetoric of the global', Kravagna is thinking of texts such as *The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds*, ed. by Hans Belting, Andrea Buddensieg and Peter Weibel (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013); and James Elkins, 'Art History as a Global Discipline', in *Is Art History Global?*, ed. by James Elkins (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 3–24. Kravagna critiques Belting's and Weibel's chronology of global art, which they posit as beginning with the re-ordering of the Western world in 1989, which saw the fall of the Berlin wall and Jean-Hubert Martin's exhibition 'Magiciens de la Terre' staged in Paris, because, in his view, this picture of the emergence of contemporary art, which depicts 'the events of 1989 [as that which] first rendered the non-Western world capable of articulating its cultural and political diversity', 'erase[s] at one stroke the ambitions and accomplishments of many decades of anticolonial movements and the contested history of non-Western modernities and modernisms'. Ibid., p. 112. On the other hand, Kravagna critiques what he sees as the

Eurocentric perspective of global art history, Kravagna argues instead for a disciplinary 'focus […] on concrete contacts and alliances between actors' to counter the ideological effects and affects of the diffusionist presuppositions that beset art-historical 'categories such as influence and reception'.[65]

Towards an Understanding of Contact as an Art-Historical Discourse

The research presented in this thesis is concerned with the question of an art history of contact. It calls into question "contact" as a subject, concept, and framework of art-historical enquiry. It begins again, here, with the word "contact" — just as it began to take new directions by following up on a throwaway remark concerning the topicality of "contact", which was, according to Tina Barton, something of a buzzword in the world(s) of Aotearoa/New Zealand contemporary art (history) at the time I spoke to her more than ten years ago now, and just as it began by stumbling across the word "contact" in a yellowed and foxing exhibition catalogue which had been disposed of in the arcade/archive of twentieth-century New Zealand art history. Indeed, this key word — "contact" — is something of an obstinate object around which the present research project is orientated.

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dehistoricising and depoliticising tendencies of the perspective embodied by Elkin's discourse, which, he claims, 'negates the modernity of art all over the world during the preceding century', that is, it 'negates […] the global art of modernism, which started asking questions about transcultural and transcontinental relations in artistic practice […] long ago'. Ibid., pp. 112 and 114.

[65] Kravagna, 'Toward a Postcolonial Art History of Contact', p. 110. To support his critique of influence, an art-historical idea which maintains that 'Western art is regarded as the yardstick for all non-Western derivatives', Kravagna draws upon Partha Mitter's description of 'a phenomenon [Mitter] calls a "pathology of influence"': '"as an art historical category"', Mitter argues, '"influence ignores significant aspects of cultural encounters, especially the enriching value of cross-fertilization of cultures."' Partha Mitter, 'Decentering Modernism: Art History and Avant-Garde Art from the Periphery', *Art Bulletin*, 90.4 (2008), 531–48 (p. 538) quoted in ibid., p. 126. In critiquing the idea of influence, Kravagna also refers to James Blaut's critique of 'the diffusionism characteristic of the "colonizer's model of the world"', which would view modernity and modern art as deriving from the centre (for example, Europe, Euro-America, or the West) and diffusing to the peripheries (for example, the global South) where it is passively received and, in the case of modern art, is imitated in works that are then perceived in the centre as derivative of European and/or Western originals. James Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographic Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993) quoted in ibid., p. 126.

The research does not begin by presupposing a certain or fixed definition, concept, or knowledge of contact, but rather by understanding contact: firstly, as 'a word from everyday language', which, like any and surely every word, is polysemic, and thus bears a multitude of possible meanings; and secondly, as a 'travelling concept', that is, as a term whose meaning is neither fixed nor clear-cut and whose usage can differ from one academic discipline, and indeed from one art historian, to another, and thus must be continually brought into question, clarified, contested, and redefined as it travels — or 'trips' and sometimes stumbles — from one epistemic context to another. Thus, this thesis begins with a 'word-concept' and a question(ing).[66]

What is signified by the signifier "contact" when it appears and is uttered in art-historical literature and discourse? This basic question, which I return to again and again throughout this thesis, and especially in Chapters 1 and 2, drives the following enquiry. It is a recurrent question because it can never be answered absolutely, and thus it must be asked in each instance. For example: What does the word "contact" mean in this or that particular (disciplinary, national, geographical, or historical) context? Or if it is used by this author rather than that speaker? Does "contact" express the same idea across texts, for example, in the various articles published in the same journal, or in the sundry documents which comprise a single archive? Or does its usage change according to author, context, time, and location? And if so, how does it signify differently in this or that (con)text? Such questions constitute a set of general concerns that both frame and guide the present enquiry.

In asking this core question, I do not set out to offer a definitive answer nor to define what art historians mean or have meant by contact, but rather to explore

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[66] According to Mieke Bal, who coined the term "travelling concept": 'concepts are not fixed. They travel – between disciplines, between individual scholars, between historical periods, and between geographically dispersed academic communities. Between disciplines, their meaning, reach, and operational value differ. These processes of differing need to be assessed before, during, and after each "trip".' Bal draws a distinction between disciplinary concepts and 'word[s] from everyday language', however, as she points out, there is often ambiguity — a certain play which can result from travel — between the two, that is between words and concepts, so that certain key words or concepts, such as "text", are used casually and not in the exact sense of a concept; Bal calls these ambiguous terms 'word-concept[s]'. Mieke Bal, *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide* (Toronto: Toronto UP, 2002), pp. 24–26.

what is at stake, in disciplinary terms, when the word "contact" is used in art-historical literature in a way that seems to carry weight. For example, if the word "contact" appears with some frequency in a certain art-historical context, I not only ask what is literally (or metaphorically) meant by the word "contact" in this context, but I also ask: what (political) significance does the word "contact" bear for this community of speakers? Thus, it may seem to the reader that at times the discussion has lost sight of the main object and subject of enquiry. However, this is often precisely the point, to read around the word "contact" in order to garner some idea of what is at issue when the speaker is not intentionally thinking or speaking directly about contact. This is to say, in my close reading of texts associated with the word and theme of contact, I am reading with an eye towards not only what is explicitly said about contact and what is included in this or that (con)text, but also towards what is excluded from and by such an explicit concern with contact in these (con)texts.

The fundamental question at the heart of this enquiry, concerning the significance of the word-concept of "contact" in art-historical discourse, also generates more specific questions than those exemplified above. For example: Why were two proposals for an art history of contact put forward at approximately the same time, that is, within two years of each other, but in two distinct, geographically distant and linguistically different, national contexts, namely, that of Germany (or Germanophone Europe) and Aotearoa/New Zealand?[67] As there is no obvious connection between these two events, does this coincidence register a collective unconscious, worldwide or perhaps global, disciplinary concern with the concept of contact? And of what, if any, significance is an observation made in 1903 by Frank Rinder, who for a decade served as Adviser to the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, concerning the now canonical painter 'Mr. Arthur Streeton', who, in Rinder's view, 'demonstrated how uncolonial a talented Australian artist can become when brought into contact with European traditions', when read in

[67] Here I am of course referring to the proposal for an art history of contact that was proposed by the AHRC at VUW in 2011 and the comparable proposition made by Christian Kravagna in an article of 2013 and most recently in his book of 2022. For further detail, see pp. 28–31 of this chapter above.

conjunction with the proposition that the Australian art historian, Geoffrey Batchen, put to a panel of delgates at the AAANZ annual conference in 2011 concerning 'the possibility of developing a distinctive art history out of the specificity of our [whose?] experience of contact'?[68] Should we read anything into the fact that in both cases it would seem that the word "contact" seems to be similarly invested with a certain significance, that is, the possibility of something new: in the first case, an uncolonial — and, by inference, a modern, even avant-garde, or national Australian — art; and in the second case: a distinctive Australasian art history? Does the word "contact" carry a special significance — express a particular desire or even promise — in the art history of Australia and, by extension, Australia's trans-Tasman neighbour, New Zealand? Should the practice of art history be informed by an — my, your, our, their — experience of contact in the way that an art practice is always already informed by contact? And could a global contemporary art history of contact become decolonial in the way that Rinder claimed Streeton's painting had become uncolonial?

In the anglophone literature of Art History, the term "contact" is what Mieke Bal would call a 'word-concept', that is, a key word or key concept that is often used casually and/or ambiguously, without precise definition, in a given academic context, and thus its usage falls between that of 'a word from everyday language' and a disciplinary and/or philosophical concept.[69] The term "contact" is a good case in point, because it is often used by art historians to refer to a specific type of contact, namely "transcultural contact" or "cross-cultural contact"; both variations of what in Anthropology was initially called "acculturation" or "culture contact", that is, put quite simply, 'contact between peoples'; an area of study which, in 1938, was considered 'a relatively recent development in the anthropological repertory'.[70] Thus, we often find in art-historical literature that the single everyday

[68] Frank Rinder was the Adviser in London to the Felton Bequests' Committee and to the Trustees of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia, between 1918 and 1928. Frank Rinder, 'London Exhibitions', *Art Journal*, July 1903, pp. 219–22 (p. 222). Batchen quoted in Batchen and others, *Reflecting on the Theme of "Contact"*.

[69] Bal, *Travelling Concepts*, pp. 24–26.

[70] Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (New York, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1938), p. 1. Herskovits, the American anthropologist of Africa and the African diaspora, gives a concise definition of "culture contact" in the opening paragraph of his

word “contact” is in fact an elision intended to signify a more specific anthropological and/or postcolonial concept denoting the types of artistic and cultural encounters and exchanges involved in, and that emerge out of, the process(es) of what is now called “transculturation”, a term widely used in the contemporary practice of art history in preference to “acculturation”, because it emphasises the role of exchange and reciprocity in the transfer and migration of art and culture across locations, and thereby acknowledges and examines the agency of indigenous, colonised, and other subordinated, oppressed, and dispossed people(s) in contact situations involving power asymmetries.[71] Such transcultural concepts of contact are not listed amongst the general dictionary definitions for the word “contact”, or at least they are not in the *OED*. When art historians wish to be more specific about the type of contact they are referring to, they often use more specialist terms, such as “cultural transfer” and “transculturality”, which suggests that the key word “contact” does not quite amount to a concept in and of itself.[72]

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study, which calls for ‘a comprehensive program of research [which] must recognize the value inherent in the study of peoples whose traditions have been or are today being influenced by the customs of other folk with whom they are in contact’ (p. 1). According to Herskovits, the term “acculturation” was in use as early as the 1880s to describe the process in and through which ‘[t]he arts pass from place to place and from people to people […] so that the peoples of unlike origin practise like arts, while those of like origin are found practising unlike arts’. W. H Holmes quoted in Herskovits, *Acculturation*, p. 3.

[71] The term “transculturation” was coined by Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz in his book *Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar* (1940) to redefine the processes of cultural adaptation described by the concept of “acculturation” then current in anthropological discourse. However, the concept has developed since 1940, and is not used in the sense that Ortiz understood it. According to the art historian Monica Juneja, ‘[w]hile Ortiz saw [transculturation] as a unidirectional process that entailed an initial loss followed by the emergence of something new, the transcultural in its present usage has become a concept and a perspective that is multidirectional and multivalent. Juneja quoted in Juneja and Kravagna, ‘Understanding Transculturalism’, in *Transcultural Modernisms*, ed. by Model House Research Group, p. 23.

[72] The term “transferts culturels” or, in English, “cultural transfer”, was coined by the French Germanist Michel Espagne and Michael Warner in the 1980s to refer to the transfer and reception of elements of a French national culture to/in Germany in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As a conceptual framework, “cultural transfer” is an attempt to rethink the centre–periphery relationship and the relationship between influence and power, and is thus often used by art historians to challenge the art-historical category of influence. Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, *Transferts: Les relations interculturelles dans l’espace franco-allemand* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988).

But because the word "contact" does often carry a less everyday meaning of more disciplinary significance, neither is it not an art-historical concept.

In the field of transcultural art history, which, generally speaking, pays close attention to concepts and their interdisciplinary travels, many specialist terms are used to refer more specifically to what was, until recently, most often referred to in mainstream anglophone art history as "cross-cultural contact", a phrase that seems self-explanatory if only because it appears more of an everyday word than the seemingly technical term "transculturation". Geohistorian of art, Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has referred to the numerous terms for (aspects of) transcultural contact, together with its affiliated vocabulary or 'neighbouring concepts', which have amassed in this field, as a 'copious conceptual arsenal':

> Various terms, many anthropological, are now used to describe European contact with the Americas [and with other non-European territories across the globe] and its results (such as *attrition*, *adjustment*, and *penetration*) as well as the diffusion or spread of culture (such as *dissemination* and *dispersal*). This copious conceptual arsenal includes such notions as acculturation, transculturation, assimilation, and accommodation.[73]

DaCosta Kaufmann's observation echoes that of Clifford, who, twelve years earlier, described the terminology of contact, in less militaristic and more lively terms, as:

> An unruly crowd of descriptive/interpretive terms [which] now jostle and converse in an effort to characterize the contact zones of nations, cultures, and regions: terms such as *border*, *travel*, *creolization*, *transculturation*, *hybridity*, and *diaspora* (as well as the looser *diasporic*).[74]

Other terms that have come to be associated with the (post)colonial study of the problematic of art in/and/of contact, in addition to those mentioned above, include: agency, alliances, appropriation, circulation, conflict, cooperations, encounter, entanglement, exchange, first contact, interculturation, itinerary,

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[73] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Cultural Transfer and Arts in the Americas', in *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600–1825 from the Thoma Collection*, ed. by Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (Milan; Stanford, CA: Skira in association with Iris & B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts, Stanford University, 2006), pp. 19–25 (p. 23). The term "neighbouring concept" is borrowed from Bal, who often works with what she refers to as 'a cluster of neighbouring concepts' which are 'different but affiliated'. She warns of the difficulties and risks in doing so: '[neighbouring concepts] are often conflated, with disastrous results, or, alternatively, kept separate, with impoverishing results'. Bal, *Travelling Concepts*, p. 35.

[74] James Clifford, 'Diasporas', *Cultural Anthropology*, 9. 3 (1994), 302–38 (p. 303).

migration, mobility, networks, routes, syncretism, translation, and, of course, transnational.

While it is beyond the necessarily limited scope of this thesis to provide a full survey or detailed historiography of either the field of transcultural art history or its well-travelled terminology, it is hoped that in identifying and introducing some of the key and neighbouring concepts that are used in this field to study the problem of art in/and/of contact, the reader will have a better idea of the concerns and extent of this disciplinary terrain, which I have only discovered in all its vastness and complexity very recently, and is thus, admittedly, largely unfamiliar to me. Insofar as this thesis did not emerge out of a detailed and critical analysis of the literature comprising transcultural art history, it is not positioned as a critique of the field, which I have not so much outlined as sketched above. However, my research does differ on two main points from the little that I have read of this literature. Thus, it perhaps has something to contribute, in a small way and in a supplementary sense, to this burgeoning disciplinary field.

First, it does not aim to study contact as an empirical phenomenon, but rather to examine contact as an art-historical, and not necessarily an anthropological, discourse. Indeed, it takes as its starting point the premise that 'art history is a discourse': a 'mainly literary and always textualizing discourse', and, moreover, an increasingly spectacularising discourse, which requires cultural analysis.[75] It identifies and analyses an art-historical discourse which is rooted in a much older tradition of contact than that which stems more directly from the importation, adaptation, and transformation of the concerns and concepts of cultural

[75] On this point I defer to Griselda Pollock, who begins a description of art history as spectacle by stating: 'I take it as read that art history is a discourse, a body of texts about art, not always written (for example, exhibitions; but even these are obviously accompanied by texts in the catalogue and on labels and they also create a spatial narrative through the semiotics of display). This volume tries to address directly the oddities of a mainly literary and always textualizing discourse dealing with a non-literary and apparently non-textual practice. Art history, however, is a more extensive practice than lecturing, publishing and journalism. There is its major performative activity through museums and exhibitions. The organization of the architectural spaces, the displays and the itineraries laid out for the visitor all constitute a discourse on another register. […] These become the mediating signs of a culture experienced as a spectacle.' Pollock, 'Beholding Art History', in *Vision and Textuality*, ed. by Melville and Readings, p. 43.

anthropology and/or the anthropology of art (with)in(to) the discipline of Art History. This tradition is associated with the European academies of art, and with canonical art history, and is perhaps best described as academicist. In the anglophone art-historical context, it is associated with the Royal Academy of Arts, London, and in particular with the seven discourses on art written by the Academy's first president, Joshua Reynolds, in the late eighteenth century. In my reading of the archive of New Zealand art history presented in Chapter 2, I trace this academicist discourse of contact in the early twentieth-century art historiography of the interwar Dominion of New Zealand.

This academicist tradition considers the influential relationships emerging out of and resulting from the serendipitous, singular or sustained, and often scholarly encounters and exchanges between European artists and art works, and, by extension, works of art and their audiences, in terms of contact. Moreover, it posits a concept of contact as foundational not only to an individual artist's attainment of mastery, or the status of Master, but also to the genesis, and indeed genius, of a nation's art. Despite, or perhaps because of, its genealogical concern with contact, it is, however, largely concerned with the patrilineal connections — that is, the concrete contacts and less tangible influential artistic relations between artist-men — that constitute the history and canon of Western art, which is, of course, gendered masculine.

In contrast to the academicist tradition, the more recent tradition of thinking about "contact" and the practice, history, and interpretation of art, which has an historical and enduring association with the anthropology of art, and which cannot be thus entirely conflated with the contemporary field of transcultural art history, also considers artistic encounters and exchanges in terms of contact. Until very recently, it has largely focussed on the occurrence of such events, or series of events, outside of Europe, in, what are, from a European perspective, non-Western regions, such as Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and in imperial, colonial (including settler-colonial), and post-colonial contexts in particular. In the context of this modern twentieth-century anthropological tradition, which is concerned with the role that cultural contact plays in the dissemination and development of art, encounters and exchanges between individual artists, works of art (objects and

images), and audiences are understood not so much in genealogical terms but rather as part of more extensive historical, political, material, economic, cultural, social, and symbolic processes, such as European expansionism and colonisation, modernisation and globalisation, and what used to be called civilisation. Whereas the anthropological tradition sets out explicitly to study the problem of art in/and/of contact and has thus come to be associated with the term "contact", the academicist tradition treats the subject and concept of contact implicitly and is thus little-known. And while both traditions have been significantly revised in the late twentieth century, in response to the criticism of the so-called New Art History, and thus the discursive legacies of each tradition share certain things in common, they remain unknown to, and uninformed by, each other, and have thus remained separate.

Second, in contradistinction to the attention paid by art historians of the transcultural to the competing and multitudinous concept(s) of contact, the research presented here is more interested in the single yet polysemous word "contact", in part because the literature and/or discourse that it analyses does not generally use precise terminology to represent the phenomenon of artistic and cultural contact with any conceptual accuracy. It wants to know what art historians, or indeed those less professional authors of what has come to constitute art-historical literature, are referring to, and what they mean, when they use the word "contact" in an everyday, rather than in a technical, sense. And, as I have already mentioned above, it also wants to know why contact is discussed in art-historical literature — what is at stake and for whom?

In the anglophone literature of Art History, the word "contact" is widely used, either literally or metaphorically, to refer to encounters and exchanges between artists, art works, and audiences, regardless of the particular — geographical, national, cultural, social, political, or pedagogical — context(s) in which such events take place. In the art-historical parlance of this dominant Western disciplinary context, then, the term "contact" is used in an everyday sense to denote a certain type of commonplace yet transformative event which takes place between the actors or subjects and objects of art-historical scholarship, and which thus comprises not only the subject matter of Art History but also the very relations of

art-historical practice, including those of the art historian to their object–subject of study.

While it isn't usually theorised as such, in this context, "contact" is generally, albeit tacitly, understood as an historical, cultural, social, artistic, embodied, mediated, and intersubjective event or process which conditions not only the production and circulation of art but also its reception and interpretation. Although not explicitly aiming to write art histories of contact, scholarship associated with the conceptual and disciplinary shift of the so-called New Art History, which, in revising the academicist and canonical discourses of the old Art History, has made a major contribution to the thinking through of certain aspects of artistic contact. For example, feminist approaches to doing Art History, such as Griselda Pollock's many interventions, have contributed to the analysis and theorisation of intersubjective encounters and exchanges in the work of art.[76] Nevertheless, the subject of, and indeed the signifier, "contact" has, however, come to be explicitly associated with the history and development of non-Western art, and with enquiries into the problem of art and cultural, rather than sexual, difference. Or in other words, the concept of contact has come to be conflated with the postcolonial.

Despite the ostensible universality of contact as a relational event (or series of events) which shape(s) the many practices, theories, histories, and discourses of — what has, in the West, come to be called — "art" across the globe, as an explicit focus of art-historical scholarship, however, the subject, issue, and indeed problem

[76] Griselda Pollock's feminist interventions into art's histories have made a significant contribution to thinking about contact: as an art-historical subject (the encounter between feminism and art in the late twentieth century); as an artistic process (the intersubjective encounters and exchanges of modern art); and as an art-historical practice (encounters in the virtual feminist museum). See for example Pollock's discussion on the studio as a site of intersubjective exchange between artist and model, in Griselda Pollock, 'Beholding Art History: Vision, Place and Power', in *Vision and Textuality*, ed. by Stephen Melville and Bill Readings (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1995), pp. 38–66 (pp. 56–57); and on the work of art and the (virtual) exhibition as sites of intersubjective encounter, see Griselda Pollock, 'Moments and Temporalities of the Avant-Garde "in, of, and from the Feminine"', *New Literary History*, 41.4 (2010), 795–820 (pp. 803–06). See also Griselda Pollock, 'Differencing: Feminism's Encounter with the Canon', in *Differencing the Canon: Feminism and the Writing of Art's Histories* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 23–63; and Griselda Pollock, *Encounters in the Virtual Feminist Museum: Time, Space and the Archive* (London: Routledge, 2007).

of "art" in/and/of "contact" has, until quite recently, been largely confined to the (post)colonial study of non-Western art, and to the encounter(s) between Western and non-Western art in particular. Consequentially, the subject of contact has been effectively racialised in art-historical practice and discourse, insofar as the art and artists of Euro-America and/or the West have not been subject to the discourse of cultural contact to the same extent as have non-Western artistic and aesthetic practices. Moreover, as an art-historical subject, the phenomenon of contact is studied predominantly from a cross-cultural or transcultural perspective and increasingly within a transcultural paradigm, wherein the idea of contact is to a great extent treated as synonymous with the concept of transculturation, an idea popularised within the discipline of Art History in the late 1990s, instigated by James Clifford's adaptation of Mary Louise Pratt's concept of the contact zone for the purposes of rethinking, from a postcolonial perspective, the role of the museum and, by extension, the art gallery as sites of transcultural encounter or contact.[77]

In anglophone art history, "contact" is generally treated as something that happens between artists, art works, audiences, and other actors in the (art) world, and thus as something which takes place, and shapes art's histories, prior to the writing, or composition, of the history of art. This is to say that in this discursive context, "contact" is (also) generally regarded as an empirical phenomenon, that is, as an occurrence that is first experienced by the subjects and objects of Art History, and which can thus be observed or discovered and then recorded, described, discussed, and analysed by art historians. This thesis maintains, however, that while contact is certainly an empirical phenomenon it is also a discursive construction. Or in other words, this thesis contends that art-historical knowledge of contact is as much a construction of the discipline of Art History as it is a representation of reality, and that contact thus also takes place in the writing of art history, that is, in the historiography of art. It therefore contends that if we are to write an art history of contact, as has recently been proposed by several art historians variously located in and/or in relation to the mainstream Euro-American academy, we must attend not only to the subject, but also to the discourse, of

[77] See Clifford, 'Museums as Contact Zones'; and Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

contact. Indeed, it maintains that the subject of art in/and/of contact cannot be studied entirely independently of an art historian's relation to — or contact with — their object and/or subject of study, nor without some consideration of how such contact shapes art-historical narratives.

Moreover, it maintains that contact is in fact a metadiscourse of Art History, insofar as it can be understood to be an overarching condition, and indeed paradigm, of *all* art-historical study. And because our experience and understanding of contact is itself subject to history, that is, because (our knowledge of) contact is historically conditioned, contact must therefore be historicised, in order to move towards an historical consciousness of contact not only as an art-historical discourse but also as a practice of Art History.

This thesis thus aims to gain a better understanding of how "contact" is constituted in and through art-historical discourse, both explicitly and implicitly. By focussing not only on what is explicitly said about contact as a conceptual framework of art-historical enquiry, on, that is, what is intended or desired of an art history of contact, and on what, and indeed whom, is included, but also on what and whom is occluded from, or even excluded by, such an explicit focus on contact, my analysis of a particular (local and ostensibly nationalist) contemporary art-historical discourse of contact hopes to highlight what is beyond the scope, and what falls outside of the field of vision, of a certain disciplinary perspective that goes by the name of "contact". And by looking closely at a certain archive of texts that is not usually associated with the theme or phenomenon of contact, and tracing the word, and therefore a concern with, "contact" in these texts, I not only hope to show that a particular art-historical discourse of contact does in fact structure this literature, but also aim to recall a textual unconscious at work in this archive, which can speak back to a body of more recent texts that nominate contact as a contemporary concern. Moreover, in turning to the archive, my intention is not only to historicise a particular contemporary art-historical discourse of contact, but also to call forth a more historically, or historiographically, informed, and thereby textually self-conscious, future art history of contact.

Questions of art historiography are central to this enquiry. It asks, for example: How, why, by, and for, or on behalf of, whom are art histories of contact being

written? (How) do contemporary art histories of contact differ from earlier, postcolonial and indeed national, art histories of contact? And how could we come to write an art history of contact differently? Indeed, what difference do and could art histories of contact make to the (re)constitution of Art History in the expanding and globalising disciplinary field?

In particular, this thesis sets out to describe, analyse, contextualise, historicise, explore, and indeed problematise a certain local contemporary art(-historical) discourse of contact which has emerged in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. In attending to the arguably overlooked yet certainly understudied art-historical literature of this (bi)cultural–national context, it seeks to redress in some small way the lack of art-historical scholarship on not so much the (histories of) art in Aotearoa/New Zealand, but rather its art histories. Moreover, in (re)reading the dominant tradition of New Zealand art historiography, which has come to be associated with a certain, ostensibly nationalist and melancholic, mythopoetic discourse of distance, and in raising historiographical questions pertinent to the nascent contemporary art(-historical) discourse of contact in question, it suggests, if not begins to achieve, the critical task of deconstructing the settler-centric national(ist) histories of New Zealand art — a necessarily ongoing task, which has, of course, already begun, and to which this thesis hopes to ultimately contribute.

Indeed, the research presented here imagines itself to be positioned, and thus asks to be read, in relation to the widespread disciplinary attempt to deconstruct national(ist) art histories. While this contemporary endeavour is not an old one, it is also not a new one; art historians have brought the national framing of the discipline into question and have set about the task of its deconstruction ever since the old or canonical Art History, which had and retains a certain investment in the nation state, was contested by the so-called New Art History which emerged during the 'adversarial moment' of the 1970s.[78] The 'continuing dominance of the national paradigm' within the discipline of Art History, which, as Matthew Rampley

[78] On the New Art History, the 'old or canonical Art History', and the 'adversarial moment' (an expression coined by Griselda Pollock to better describe what has been branded as, and is thus generally referred to, as the New Art History), see Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns', pp. 9–15.

has pointed out, is persistent even in the monolithic face of the global, means, however, that this is no easy task.[79] Towards this end, the present research project sees itself as making a particular contribution to the collective efforts of Australasian scholars, such as: Rex Butler and A. D. S. Donaldson, whose project for an unnational art history aims to decentre if not deconstruct the settler-colonial perspective of the national histories of Australian and New Zealand art; and Leonard Bell, whose sustained focus on the contribution that immigrant artists have made to the histories of art in Aotearoa/New Zealand has done much to contest the nationalist narratives of New Zealand art historiography.[80] Moreover, in focussing on the idiomatic singularity of New Zealand art historiography, this thesis does not seek to affirm the chauvinism of the literature which it sets out to study, but rather to counter the homogenising tendency of global art history, by providing a close reading of a relatively little-known local art-historical literature and/or discourse.

Chapter Outline

This thesis is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter, I will examine contemporary art histories of contact produced in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, which emerged in the wake of a widespread turn away from national(ist) histories of New Zealand art and a concomitant art-historical discourse of distance. In the second chapter, I will turn to the archive of New Zealand art history, to look more closely at an earlier discourse of contact, which, as the tabulated study of this archive shows, is twinned with the very discourse of distance that has been negated by the contemporary turn to an art history of contact examined in the first chapter. And finally, in the third chapter, I will turn again to the contemporary, in order to

[79] Matthew Rampley, 'Introduction', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, ed. by Matthew Rampley and others (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 1–13 (p. 1).

[80] See for example, Rex Butler and A. D. S. Donaldson, *UnAustralian Art: Ten Essays on Transnational Art History* (Seattle, WA: U of Washington P, 2022); Leonard Bell, *In Transit: Questions of Home & Belonging in New Zealand Art*, ed. by Christina Barton, Gordon H. Brown Lecture Series, 5 (Wellington: VUW, 2007); and Leonard Bell, *Strangers Arrive: Emigrés and the Arts in New Zealand, 1930–1980* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 2017).

explore the peculiar intersection of these twin discourses of distance and contact in the historiography of Francis Upritchard's art practice.

While I turn to the archive, the present project should not be assigned to the archive, so to speak. Rather, this performative examination of the archive positions itself on the side of the contemporary. In rereading the archive of New Zealand art history for what it has to say about contact and contemporaneity, it aims not only to refute the widespread conflation of contact and the global contemporary, but also to contribute to the contemporary rethinking of contact as a specifically art-historical, and not only an anthropological, concept, and thereby supplement the important research currently being produced in the field of transcultural art history.

Chapter 1 attempts to make sense of the appearance and prominence of the word "contact" in the vocabulary of contemporary art(-historical) discourse produced in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context by examining three interrelated contemporary art-historical projects which explicitly engage with the theme of contact. The first of these projects is that of the AHRC, which took "contact" as its single theme for the six or so years that it was active following its establishment at VUW in 2010. The cluster's project, including its proposal for an art history of contact, will be analysed in the broader context of an institutional and disciplinary shift away from national histories of New Zealand art, which have been typically associated with a certain discourse of distance, and towards post-national histories of art in/and/of contact. The other two projects that I will look at in this chapter are both recent exhibitions associated with the work of post-object artist Jim Allen, which were held in New Zealand and Germany between 2010 and 2012, in the early stages of the AHRC's activity. Both exhibitions included documentation of, and one even restaged, Allen's performance *Contact* (1974), from whence they derived their curatorial metaphor of contact, which featured in the exhibition title of each. These two exhibitions will be analysed in the context of the recent historicisation of Allen as a contemporary, and not only a post-object, artist, a reinterpretation which emphasises the central role that a concept of contact has played in Allen's practice. By examining these three art-historical (academic and curatorial) projects in broader historiographical contexts, I hope to show not only how they are interrelated, and indeed constitute a turn — or, in light of the findings presented in

Chapter 2, a *re*turn — to a discourse of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, but also how these projects emerged following the negation of a certain discourse of distance associated with the historiography of New Zealand art, a subject which I will explore further in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2 comprises an analysis of a discourse of contact in twentieth-century New Zealand art historiography. In this chapter I turn back towards the archive, to the historical sources which have largely been used to write a national history of New Zealand art, to take a closer look at what this literature, which is usually associated with a melancholic, mythopoetic discourse of distance, has to say about contact. In tracing the word, and thereby a discourse of, "contact" in the archive of New Zealand art history, this chapter attempts to complicate our understanding of, if not deconstruct, the binary opposition of a discourse of distance, which has come to be associated with a national(ist) and colonial past, and a discourse of contact, which has come to be associated with a post-national(ist) and postcolonial present. My close reading of a discourse of contact will focus on texts published at several key moments in the historiography of New Zealand art. I will examine closely: several articles that appeared in the early issues of *Art in New Zealand*, which, when it began publication in 1928, was the first periodical devoted exclusively to the arts in and of the Dominion; as well as a constellation of three texts produced in association with the New Zealand Centennial of 1940, two of which are understood to be foundational documents of New Zealand art history; and the post-colonial settler-national(ist) history of New Zealand painting co-authored by Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith, which was first published in 1969, and draws upon both *Art in New Zealand* and the centennial histories of New Zealand art. In revisiting these historical texts, which are generally assumed to be loathsome and irrelevant to contemporary art history, and by paying close attention to their discussion of contemporary art and contemporaneity, a topic which is often raised in conjunction with the use of the word "contact", this chapter aims to challenge the presumption that this archive can only be read as narrating a national(ist) history of art.

Chapter 3 surveys the literature on 'New Zealand-born, London-based' contemporary artist Francis Upritchard (b. 1976), whose reception has been especially shaped by the twin discourses of distance and contact, which, as I show

in Chapter 2, are characteristic of New Zealand art historiography.[81] This chapter will explore the complex discursive construction of Upritchard's identity as a contemporary New Zealand expatriate artist-woman,[82] and analyse the various ways in which the reception of her practice has been caught between the contradictory interpretative paradigms of distance and contact on the one hand, and of the postcolonial and the contemporary on the other. I will turn again to the archive of New Zealand art history in order to examine Upritchard's reception as an expatriate artist in light of the art-historical discourse of distance described in Chapter 2, before examining her reception in light of the disciplinary and cultural shift to the contemporary and to a discourse of contact. I will consider the role that Upritchard's artists' books have played, as a site of encounter or second-hand contact with the work of art, in the historiography of her practice. Moreover, in paying close attention to the present interpretations of the theme or subject of contact in Upritchard's practice, this chapter seeks to identify the possibility of a different interpretation of the ways in which her work critically engages with a concept of contact. Indeed, it begins to stake out the grounds for a non-representational and feminist reading of an aesthetic of contact in Upritchard's work.

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Finally, before beginning the first chapter, I will provide a brief introduction to the complex cultural and Treaty politics of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and point to some of the implications of these politics on (the vocabulary of) the present historiography of New Zealand art. This final introductory section began as a somewhat conventional statement on the terminology and orthography of *te reo Māori*, the language of Aotearoa/New Zealand's indigenous population. However, in my attempt to get to grips with the ways in which the usage of *te reo* has changed in

[81] Upritchard is frequently described as a 'New Zealand-born, London-based' artist. For references to the use of this epithet, see n. 5, p. 306 of Chapter 3 below.

[82] Following Griselda Pollock's example, I have chosen to refer to Upritchard as an 'artist-woman' rather than a woman artist; for a discussion of Pollock's coinage of the compound noun "artist-woman", see n. 100, p. 60 of the Introduction below, where you can find a full reference to the text in which Pollock proposes the term.

English language scholarship since I last submitted academic work to a New Zealand institution, I began to consider my own linguistic choices in relation to the broader bicultural politics of Aotearoa/New Zealand, and this text grew to become more of a position statement. It not only explains why I ultimately chose to diverge from current convention on some points, but also discusses certain difficulties in redressing the violence of cultural imperialism, by, for example, simply using Māori terms instead of, or in addition to, English ones. It also describes the peculiar relationship of *te reo* and New Zealand English, languages which are mutually evolving in contact with each other. This description thus acts as an acknowledgement and a reminder of the general and ongoing contact situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand, which informs this study of a particular art-historical discourse of contact.

In the course of this research project, I have been asked why I chose to write largely about two Pākehā artists, namely Jim Allen and Francis Upritchard, rather than about Māori artists, which might have been a more appropriate choice given the culturally sensitive topic of contact. This seeming imbalance could understandably be read as perpetuating not only the under-representation of Māori artists in, and indeed their exclusion from, the historiography of New Zealand art, but also the radically asymmetrical (post- and/or neo-)colonial relationship between the settler/Pākehā and indigenous/Māori constituent populations of bicultural Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, this is not my intention in attending to, and thereby inevitably privileging, the historiography of Allen and Upritchard.

I hope that in reading my analysis of the historiography of Allen's and Upritchard's respective art practices in Chapters 1 and 3, it will become clear why these two artists have been selected for discussion. In some respects, this selection was not a choice as such. In the case of Allen, it is the arguably unparalleled way in which his practice has come to be associated with the word and concept of "contact" in the contemporary art(-historical) discourse of the Aotearoa/New Zealand context that has recommended him for consideration here. If this strong association of a settler, rather than an indigenous, art practice with the signifier "contact" is symptomatic of a dominant settler-centric voice in the contemporary art(-historical) discourse of Aotearoa/New Zealand, then that is precisely the type

of dynamic that I aim to explore and to question in Chapter 1. And in the case of Upritchard, it is the peculiarly paradoxical situation of (the reception of) her practice — which straddles the twin discourses of distance and contact so particular to the historiography of New Zealand art — which is arguably unlike that of any other contemporary artist who works both inside and outside the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, that recommends her for consideration here. While there are many contemporary Māori artists whose work also engages with the subject and/or theme of contact, such as Lisa Reihana (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Hine, Ngāi Tūteauru, Ngāi Tūpoto) and Michael Parekōwhai (Ngāti Whakarongo, Ngāriki Kaipūtahi), the historiography of Allen's and Upritchard's respective practices are uniquely imbricated in the very particular art-historical discourses of contact (and distance) that this thesis sets out to explore and to problematise.

I hope, moreover, that the following position statement goes some way to clarifying any concerns that the reader may have regarding the cultural politics of the research presented in this thesis. Generally speaking, throughout this thesis I take the position that while it is crucial to address the question of indigenous representation, and to this end I discuss the work of contemporary Māori artists (such as Fiona Pardington, in Chapter 1, and Shane Cotton, in Chapter 3) where I can, an art history (of contact) which attempts to simply reverse, rather than deconstruct, the hierarchised settler/indigenous binary opposition by privileging Māori artists over Pākehā artists might not in fact result in a post-national or even a postcolonial history of art. Indeed, I argue that privileging either of the two Treaty peoples, Māori and Pākehā, risks further entrenching a certain colonial hierarchy of race, which has arguably enforced the under-representation of Pasifika and Asian artists in the historiography of New Zealand art. Rather, in focussing on what might admittedly seem, especially from a Māori perspective, to be a Pākehā topic, literature, and discourse, I look to find ways in which the settler-centric, sexist and not only racist, national(ist) histories of "New Zealand" art can be deconstructed, in an effort to open up the potentially decolonial framework of contact to all of those artists who have been, or could likely be, marginalised or excluded from canonical histories of art in Aotearoa/New Zealand. While this thesis thus risks falling foul of a certain resurgent identity politics, it ultimately hopes to complement the effort of

scholars, such as Jonathan Mane-Wheoki (Ngāpuhi, Te Aupouri, Ngāti Kuri), Deidre Brown (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Kahu), and Ngarino Ellis (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Porou), who, in establishing the field of Māori art historiography, have also contested the dominant settler-centric perspective and prejudices of New Zealand art history.

Terminology and Orthography: *Te Reo*, New Zealand English, and the Cultural and/or Treaty Politics of Aotearoa/New Zealand

In this thesis I use words and phrases in and/or borrowed from *te reo Māori*, the Austronesian language spoken largely by the indigenous Māori population of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Many of these terms are loanwords in New Zealand English, a new and emerging variety of English spoken by the majority of the New Zealand population, including Māori, which evolved historically as a result of contact between speakers of various, largely British, dialects of English on the one hand, and these Englishes and *te reo* on the other hand, and which is still changing in relation to the Māori language today. Indeed, the development of both *te reo Māori* and New Zealand English continues to be affected, albeit unequally, by and through the mutual yet peculiarly asymmetrical contact scenario that is currently playing out between the two languages, in which the endangered minority language (Māori) is exerting influence over the dominant majority language (English), and thereby inverting the typical asymmetry of the settler–indigenous power relation, at least in the linguistic domain.[83] My own usage of Māori terminology in this thesis is informed not only by stylistic conventions, but also by a consideration of the complexities and the (often fraught) cultural politics of this contemporary language contact situation in relation to the broader (historical, national, and transcultural) context(s) in which it is, and has been, shaped.

[83] For a discussion of the peculiarity of the language contact scenario between *te reo Māori* and New Zealand English, see Marta Degani, 'Language Contact in New Zealand: A Focus on English Lexical Borrowings in Māori', *Academic Journal of Modern Philology*, 1 (2012), 13–24; and for the use of Māori loanwords in New Zealand English as an inverted 'case of asymmetrical lexical movement', see Katharine Levendis and Andreea Calude, 'Perception and Flagging of Loanwords: A Diachronic Case-Study of Māori Loanwords in New Zealand English', *Ampersand*, 6 (2019), 1–9 (p. 2) <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.amper.2019.100056> [accessed 11 February 2021].

Since gaining official language status in 1987, *te reo* has become increasingly visible in the public domain and many Māori terms have consequently entered common usage in New Zealand English, so much so that it is the lexical influence of Māori that is now considered to mark its distinctiveness.[84] Recent years have seen a shift towards the institutionalisation of *te reo* as a vernacular language of the public (including the tertiary education) sector, largely in response to the concerted revitalisation efforts made by the Māori Language Commission Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori since its establishment more than thirty years ago, and to its most recent campaign to normalise the use of the language across 'non-traditional Māori language domains' more broadly.[85] This shift has resulted in several key changes to

[84] In recent linguistic scholarship, New Zealand English has been (re)defined by its relationship to *te reo Māori*: 'the most unmistakeably New Zealand part of New Zealand English is its Maori element' (Tony Deverson, 'New Zealand English Lexis: The Maori Dimension' *English Today*, 26 (1991), 18–25 (p. 18)); 'Indeed, New Zealand English is a variety whose most distinctive feature is the influence of *te reo Maori*' (John Macalister, '*Weka* or *Woodhen*? Nativization through Lexical Choice in New Zealand English', *World Englishes*, 26.4 (2007), 492–506 (p. 493)); 'Indeed, Māori loans and hybrid compounds can be seen as the most distinctive traits of New Zealand English lexis. They unquestionably mark the uniqueness of New Zealand English as a variety of English' (Degani, p. 15). In making this point concerning the resourcing and resourcefulness of New Zealand English, I do not wish to overshadow the fact that *te reo Māori* has suffered marginalisation and severe endangerment as a result of colonial (including post- and neo-colonial) practices, despite its current popularity in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. I would hasten to add that the resourcefulness of New Zealand English should not simply be thought of as a straightforward case of colonial appropriation, that is, as another instance of colonialism in which Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent) are taking (or resourcing) *te reo* from Māori for their own use, for example, to differentiate "their" English from other Englishes, because this would be to risk drawing a false distinction between speakers of each language based upon racial identity, whereas in fact the large majority of, if not all, *te reo* speakers are also English speakers, and thus the resourcefulness of New Zealand English should also be attributed to its *te reo*/Māori speakers.

[85] A central function of the Māori Language Commission, which was established following the passage of the Māori Language Act 1987, is to promote the use of *te reo* 'as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication'. For a full description of the Commission's functions, see 'Functions of Commission', in Māori Language Act 1987, Parliamentary Counsel Office Te Tari Tohutohu Pāremata <https://legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1987/0176/latest/DLM124150.html> [accessed 16 February 2021]. The recent campaign to normalise the use of the Māori language in non-traditional domains, for example, outside of the *marae* (meeting house complex), has been framed by the Chairperson of the Commission, Professor Rawinia Higgins, as a strategic response to what she sees as the musealisation of *te reo* that has, in her view, come about since the language was designated as a *taonga* (treasure) following the recommendation of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1986. See for example Rawinia Higgins, 'Ki Wīwī, Ki Wāwā: Normalising the Māori Language', in *Reconciliation, Representation and Indigeneity: 'Biculturalism' in*

the typographical and orthographical conventions governing the use of *te reo* in written English in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, most notably concerning the use of italics and macrons. Broadly speaking, in this context it is no longer considered best practice to differentiate between Māori and English by italicising Māori words or phrases used in English texts as if they were foreign, but rather to use parentheses to add a gloss if deemed necessary; it is, however, now considered best practice to differentiate between Māori and English by using macrons to mark long vowels in Māori words. Increasingly, public sector best practice is becoming academic protocol, evidenced by the growing number of scholars who choose to publish their research in accordance with both the Taura Whiri convention of written Māori and the stylistic conventions of New Zealand English as regards the (non)differentiation of *te reo Māori*.

In partial accordance with this shift in recent practice, italics have not been used for proper (including place) names in Māori; nor have they been used for the terms Māori or Pākehā (New Zealanders of European descent). Italics have been used, however, for all other Māori words and phrases, which often signify key cultural concepts, and which, although they may be in common usage in New Zealand English, may still be unfamiliar to readers of this thesis.[86] In general, the Taura Whiri convention has been followed with regards to the spelling of Māori words, the use of macrons (with the exception of personal names), and the application of hyphens. The orthography of sources has not, however, been altered to conform to current convention. This is to say, Māori words that appear in quotations and in titles, of books, exhibitions, and organisations, for example, have been left in their original form.

Aotearoa New Zealand, ed. by Peter Adds and others (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016), pp. 25–38; and Jarrod Haar and others, *Ki te Tahatū o te Rangi: Normalising te Reo Māori across Non-Traditional Māori Language Domains* (Auckland: Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori, 2019).

[86] Studies have shown that even the average speaker of New Zealand English is only familiar with approximately ten per cent of all Māori loanwords. See for example John Macalister's benchmark studies 'Of Weka and Waiata: Familiarity with Borrowings from te Reo Maori', *Te Reo*, 49 (2006), 101–24; and 'Revisiting Weka and Waiata: Familiarity of Maori Words among Older Speakers of New Zealand English', *New Zealand English Journal*, 21 (2007), 34–43.

In using italics to differentiate between English and Māori, my concern is not only with the (un)familiarity of *te reo* to readers of written English, but more with the difficulties of translation. Indeed, I am concerned less with making a distinction between which Māori words can or should be regarded as *māori* (common) and which as *pākehā* (foreign), than with emphasising the irreducible difference of the concepts signified by these Māori words and phrases, such as that of *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination or sovereignty), the translation of which has played a pivotal role in (the settlement of) disputes between Māori and the Crown that allegedly arose from misperceptions concerning differences in the English and Māori texts of the Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi, to which both parties were signatories in 1840.[87] Thus, while Māori words and phrases are glossed in the text on their first usage (or where this is helpful), italics are used to remind readers that any translation or explanation of *te reo* that is offered in parenthesis is not exhaustive, and that the difference between *te reo Māori* and *te reo Pākehā* (the English language), and by implication the longstanding and intractable differences between Māori and Pākehā, cannot be simply reduced to a matter of lexical equivalence and thus glossed over. As one who is familiar with certain Māori terms yet is not a *te reo* speaker, I can only offer a limited translation of these concepts; unless otherwise stated, all definitions of Māori words are drawn from the online version of *Te Aka* dictionary.[88] In using italics, then, I am also signifying the linguistic limitations of my own scholarship.

Many places in New Zealand have been officially assigned dual Māori/English names, such as Aoraki/Mount Cook, or alternative (Māori) names, such as the North Island (Te Ika-a-Māui) and the South Island (Te Waipounamu). Alternative or

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[87] For an outline of the issue of *tino rangatiratanga* and other key differences in the Treaty/Te Tiriti texts, see Chapter 2 of Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi Te Tiriti o Waitangi: An Illustrated History* (Wellington: BWB, 2021) ebook; for a more detailed account that incorporates a contemporary Māori perspective of this subject, see Chapter 8 of Anne Salmond, *Tears of Rangi: Experiments Across Worlds* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 2017) ebook; and for a discussion of the immediate implications of these differences for Māori, see Judith Binney, Vincent O'Malley and Alan Ward, 'Rangatiratanga and Kāwangatanga: 1840–1860', in Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington: BWB, 2015) ebook.

[88] John C. Moorfield, *Te Aka: Māori–English, English–Māori Dictionary and Index*, 3rd edn (Auckland: Pearson/Longman, 2011) <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/>.

dual Māori place names have been used where considered historically and/or contextually appropriate, for example, in discussing the landing of Captain William Hobson at Kororāreka (present-day Russell) in 1840, or the cultural politics of contemporary art production in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. Likewise, the Māori names of institutions and organisations have only been used where considered appropriate and/or on first usage so as to avoid increasing the overall word count of the thesis unnecessarily; the most commonly used of these can be found together with their English name in the list of abbreviations above.

Importantly, "Aotearoa", the Māori word that has come to refer to New Zealand as a whole,[89] has not been assigned as an official alternative to the country's English name, although it is now widely used in several ways: either instead of or compounded with "New Zealand" (i.e. "Aotearoa New Zealand"), or as an alternative to "New Zealand" which is separated from it by either parentheses (i.e. "Aotearoa (New Zealand)"), a short dash (i.e. "Aotearoa–New Zealand"), or a forward slash (i.e. "Aotearoa/New Zealand"). In contemporary usage, then, the term "Aotearoa" not only functions as an alternative Māori place name, but, insofar as it is *not* an official name of New Zealand, it also signifies the unfinished project of biculturalism that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s in the context of the country's so-called bicultural turn, which seeks to realise the promise of the Treaty of Waitangi.[90] It is thus, in my view, important to remember that while "Aotearoa"

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[89] Prior to the early period of encounters between Māori and Europeans in the eighteenth century, there was no word in *te reo* that referred to the entire archipelago of New Zealand, just as there was no word for the Māori people as a whole. It was not until the twentieth century that "Aotearoa", which was originally an alternative term for Te Ika-a-Māui, and which is most commonly translated as "land of the long white cloud", became the accepted Māori word for "New Zealand". Philippa Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand*, 2nd edn (New York: Cambridge UP, 2012), p. 9.

[90] The Treaty of Waitangi, an agreement made between representatives of the (then British) Crown and (now Māori) *rangatira* in 1840, played a crucial role in the subsequent annexation of New Zealand by Britain, and although it was recognised by the British as a valid deed of cession under international law in the nineteenth century, it was not acknowledged in New Zealand legislation until the Treaty of Waitangi Act was passed in 1975, and it was not until the Waitangi Tribunal was consequently established as a standing commission of inquiry in 1977 that Māori were able to bring (initially contemporary) claims of alleged Treaty breaches against the Crown. The passage of the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 can thus be understood symbolically as marking the beginning of what has recently been called the '[New Zealand] government's bicultural turn', initiated under Robert Muldoon's National government (1975–84) in response to the Māori activism and protest

may be used in lieu of, or in combination with, "New Zealand" in common parlance, until, and indeed unless, "Aotearoa" is assigned as an official place name of New Zealand, the two are in certain respects not technically interchangeable, and that to conflate either the territory or the state of New Zealand with the nation-space of "Aotearoa" is also, to a certain extent, to use the term ideologically.[91] In saying this, however, I wish to acknowledge the importance of the role that is, and has been, played by those engaged in the general practice of referring to New Zealand as "Aotearoa" in lieu of any official place name change, and indeed the value and significance of the societal, cultural, and political transformation that has already been achieved through the implementation of biculturalism, which in many ways can be regarded as an indirect effect of this politicised practice of calling forth a bicultural nation-state yet to come.

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movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and consolidated during the fourth Labour government (1984–90), which passed the Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985 that thereby extended the Tribunal's mandate to allow it to hear historical claims dating to 1840. The particular form of treaty-centric biculturalism that emerged in the context of this turn aimed not only to address the significant socio-economic issues affecting the country's indigenous population at the time, but also to redress historical injustices suffered by this population. As the primary mode of restitution, the Tribunal consequently became instrumental in the production of a state-sanctioned interpretation of the Treaty, which in turn became widely regarded as the founding document of the postcolonial nation-state of Aotearoa/New Zealand. For an account of how the Treaty became so central to national life, see Mein Smith, pp. 49–55; and for an account of how the Tribunal functions as a platform for the 're-founding of the settler state in terms of indigeneity', see Miranda Johnson, 'Burdens of Belonging: Indigeneity and the Refounding of Aotearoa New Zealand', *NZJH*, 45.1 (2011), 102–12 (p. 103). For a discussion of the 'government's bicultural turn' in the context of mid- to late-twentieth-century Māori political and cultural activism, see Aroha Harris and Melissa Matutina Williams, 'Rights and Revitalisation: 1970–1990', in Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington: BWB, 2015) ebook.

[91] I use the term "nation-space" here with reference to Tony Ballantyne's use of the concept in his 'On Place, Space and Mobility in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, 45.1 (2011), 50–70 (pp. 55–57). In Ballantyne's usage "nation-space" describes the unstable space in and through which the nation-state takes place: an actual space that is constantly in the process of being (re)shaped and (re)produced by myriad (social, cultural, political, legal, economic, material, and aesthetic) practices and technologies, and that is harnessed by a state to consolidate its rule and/or power over a particular territory; and an analytical space that provides a way in which 'to think under […] the nation' (p. 50) in order to destabilise the category of the nation-state. It seems to me that "Aotearoa" names such a (re)productive and disruptive space even if it is not legally entitled to name the territory of New Zealand.

In this thesis, the term "Aotearoa" is not used anachronistically to refer to (pre-colonial, colonial, or early post-colonial) New Zealand prior to the late-twentieth-century period of neoliberal biculturalism that to a certain extent yielded the very social, cultural, and political conditions that have since given rise to popular usage of the term as a name for New Zealand in the contemporary period.[92] Nor is it simply used to refer to contemporary New Zealand since 1975, as to do so would risk conflating a certain nation-space with the totality of (the Realm of) New Zealand. While I do use the appellation "Aotearoa/New Zealand" to loosely refer to contemporary New Zealand, I endeavour to do so in contexts where the cultural politics of the unfinished project of biculturalism mentioned above are at stake and/or in play. My usage of the forward-slash alternative term is intended to connote a sense of the duality and contestation of the relation between "Aotearoa" and "New Zealand" that is in my view elided in the compound term and repressed in the parenthesised alternative term, wherein one of the place names is subjugated in favour of the other. My attempt to use the term "Aotearoa/New Zealand" with a certain historical precision is consistent with the historiographical focus of this thesis, through which I pay particular attention to the specificity and instability of certain key terms.

Also falling within this focus is a concern with the rather slippery term "New Zealand", the appellation that was eventually attached to the main islands of the country in question in the context of European colonial expansion.[93] In general,

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[92] I use the term "yield" here in two senses: to denote the production and/or generation of certain conditions under biculturalism that were less hostile to the country's Māori population, and to suggest that these conditions were not simply produced but conceded by the settler state in response to the demands and political pressure of Māori activism. This concession must be understood in the context of the government's concurrent adoption of neoliberal policies, which to a certain extent mitigated any potentially radical effect of biculturalism. For detail on the paradox of neoliberal biculturalism in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, see Wendy Larner, 'Brokering Citizenship Claims: Neo-Liberalism, Biculturalism and Multiculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand', in *Women, Migration and Citizenship: Making Local, National and Transnational Connections*, ed. by Alexandra Dobrowolsky and Evangelia Tastsaglou (Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2006), 131–48.

[93] "New Zealand" is an anglicisation of the name *Nova Zeelandia*, itself a Latinisation of the Dutch *Nieuw Zeeland*, that was given in 1643 to the land sighted by Abel Tasman on his voyage for the United East Indies Company in 1642, which Tasman had originally called *Staten Landt*. In the nineteenth century, the name *Niu Tīreni*, a transliteration of "New

"New Zealand" is used as a blanket term with multiple referents, and thus could just as easily refer, for example, to an archipelago, a colony, a dominion, a nation, or a realm. Even historians are prone to use "New Zealand" as a catch-all hypernymic term for a multitude of New Zealands, so to speak,[94] in preference to a more historically accurate hyponym, for example, the Colony of New Zealand (1841–1907), the Dominion of New Zealand (1907–47), or the Realm of New Zealand (1983–present).[95] While titles such as these can be used to distinguish between the country's various territorial iterations, it is more difficult to make a distinction between New Zealand as a political and as a geographical unit in the way that one is able to distinguish between, for example, the United Kingdom, Great Britain, and the British Isles, as there is no equivalent vocabulary. This lack of terminology inscribed with(in) the English lexicon is only exacerbated by the absence of an adjective that could be used to describe that which is of or pertains to New Zealand in the way that, for example, "Netherlandish" can be used to

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Zealand" in *te reo Māori*, which can also be spelt *Nu Tīreni* or *Nui Tīreni*, was used by *rangatira* to refer to their country, for example, in the printed text of He Wakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene, the *te reo* version of the Declaration of Independence signed in 1835, and in a letter written to King William IV of Britain and Ireland in 1831. Following Lieutenant-Governor Captain William Hobson's declaration of British sovereignty over the three main islands of "New Zealand" on 21 May 1840, the English name became the country's authoritative title.

[94] For a critical review of the ways in which historians have made uncritical use of the term "New Zealand" in postcolonial scholarship on colonial New Zealand, see Ballantyne, 'On Place', *NZJH*, pp. 54–56.

[95] While the timeframe of the Colony of New Zealand is indisputable, the dates upon which the country ceased to be a Dominion and instead became a Realm are not entirely clear. New Zealand became an independent British Crown colony in May 1841, when it separated from the Colony of New South Wales, which it had effectively been a part of since early 1840, and remained a colony until it was declared a Dominion, along with the other self-governing British colonies, in 1907. Although its Dominion status has never been revoked, it dropped the style of Dominion around 1947, when the Statute of Westminster 1931 was adopted and the New Zealand Parliament thereby became a sovereign parliament with the power to legislate extra-territorially. With the accession of Queen Elizabeth II in 1952, New Zealand became a realm of Her Majesty, however, it was not until 1983 that it was officially declared as such and metropolitan New Zealand became a separate administrative entity of the Realm of New Zealand, which also comprises the self-governing states of the Cook Islands and Niue, and the two dependant territories Tokelau and Ross Dependency. For a concise overview of New Zealand's transition from Dominion to Realm, see for example Andrew Townend, 'The Strange Death of the Realm of New Zealand: The Implications of a New Zealand Republic for the Cook Islands and Niue', *VUW Law Review*, 34 (2003) <http://www.nzlii.org/nz/journals/VUWLawRw/2003/34.html> [accessed 21 April 2021].

describe that which relates to the Netherlands, other than, of course, the noun "New Zealand" itself, which can function as a noun adjunct to form descriptive phrases, such as "New Zealand art", a problematic collocation that I have yet to discuss.

The unqualified use of "New Zealand" should not simply be regarded as a pragmatic practice, whereby a wordy description is substituted with a single noun for the sake of concision, and therefore without ideological implications. Rather, this habit tends on the one hand to inflate the role and significance of the settler nation-state, for example, by routinely using "New Zealand" to refer anachronistically to the Colony, and to the Dominion, of New Zealand, the period of the state's sovereign rule over the country appears, in retrospect, to increase by approximately a century, lending a greater historicity to, and thus naturalising and legitimating, the settler nation-state. On the other hand, it tends to diminish the significance of the New Zealand state as a neocolonial power, for example, by reducing the country's official title, the Realm of New Zealand, to that of the everyday place name of metropolitan New Zealand, the full extent of the territory of the state, and thus of its power, is concealed insofar as it is unstated, and thus the country's past and present imperial and (neo-)colonial relations are also able to be downplayed, if not concealed outright. Of course, these two tendencies are not contradictory but complementary; they operate in tandem to produce a remarkably stable and durable depiction of a benign and bona fide settler nation-state, whose composure (or composition) is only relatively unsettled by the challenge of *tino rangatiratanga*, that is, of indigenous sovereignty, which it has in fact managed to incorporate within its bicultural constitution so as to produce an alter ego that has come to assume the name "Aotearoa".[96]

As both an alias of the settler nation-state and a sign of indigenous self-determination, I would argue that "Aotearoa" names a nation-space that is at once

[96] For a discussion of the constitutional dynamics that define the Māori–Crown partnership and the struggle between the partners over power-sharing and sovereignty, in which the Crown pushes to retain *kāwanatanga* (authority) in response to the pull of Māori self-determination (*rangatiratanga*), see Chapter 4 of Roger Maaka and Augi Fleras, *The Politics of Indigeneity: Challenging the State in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand* (Dunedin: Otago UP, 2005), 97–154.

inside and outside the settler state, and thus does not simply designate a mutually exclusive, but rather a somewhat limited yet vital, alternative to "New Zealand".[97] I would argue furthermore that when "Aotearoa" is used in conjunction with "New Zealand" it not only qualifies the latter term, thereby checking the hegemony of the settler state, but it can also become implicated in the problems associated with the uncritical usage of this term, some of which are outlined above. If, for example, a collocation of "Aotearoa" and "New Zealand" is used to refer to the Colony or the Dominion of New Zealand, then "Aotearoa" is also involved in the anachronistic projection of the nation-state's sovereignty. And if, for example, such a collocation is used informally to refer to contemporary metropolitan New Zealand, then "Aotearoa" is also complicit in the re-inscription of the primacy of the Māori–Pākehā relationship, a version of the Māori–Crown partnership so central to the 'state ideology' of biculturalism,[98] which is dominant in the context of New Zealand's domestic affairs, insofar as it is generally privileged above the government's relation to its other Polynesian populations, and is thereby used, in effect, to justify a certain under-privileging of these indigenous and other minority ethnic communities, that is, of the Realm's other(ed) Others.

This is all to say that, just as the term "Aotearoa" is implicated in the very problematic that it seeks to problematise and is therefore symptomatic of — rather than a straightforward alternative to — the intractable question of the settler state,

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[97] Aotearoa is an arguably limited alternative to New Zealand, insofar as its political efficacy is circumscribed by the extent of the Māori–Crown partnership, and moreover a potentially time-limited alternative insofar as this partnership would be subject to change should the country elect not to remain a constitutional monarchy and/or become a republic; and yet it is a vital alternative, insofar as it is able to disrupt the otherwise capitalist logic of the state and to authorise forms of restitution that are not only beneficial to Māori but also to the nation at large, for example, the significant legal and ecophilosophical innovations of Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement Act) 2017, which recognised the Whanganui River as an indivisible and living whole, and declared the river, Te Awa Tupua, to be a legal person. For a discussion of the moral, philosophical, and political implications of the findings and recommendations of the Waitangi Tribunal inquiry into the Whanganui River claim, see Johnson, 'Burdens of Belonging'.

[98] For a discussion of how biculturalism operates as a 'foundational state ideology' that foregrounds Māori–Pākehā relationships to the exclusion of 'the reality that New Zealand is, and has always been, a society that contains a complex and hybridised mix of racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious communities', see Chapters 2 and 3 of Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: BWB, 2013) ebook.

there is in fact no easy way of getting (our tongue) around the dominant paradigm of the nation-state as it presents itself in and through language. In this thesis I attempt to respond to the imperative to re-articulate the nation frame by qualifying my use of the term "New Zealand" where possible and/or appropriate, for example, by referring to New Zealand as either "the Colony", "the Dominion", "the Realm", or "Aotearoa/New Zealand", and by referring to specific localities rather than the country as a whole. In general, however, I use the term "New Zealand" as shorthand for metropolitan and/or mainland New Zealand, while recognising that it at once comprises and conceals 'a multiplicity of places, peoples, products, practices and histories'.[99]

Finally, I would like to clarify my usage of the phrase "New Zealand art" in light of the distinction that I have made above between New Zealand and Aotearoa/New Zealand before and after the bicultural turn. In art(-historical) discourse, and in this thesis, the collocation "New Zealand art" is frequently used to refer to the national canon of so-called "New Zealand" art: an exclusive category of art that has largely privileged the (landscape) painting of white artist-men since its construction in the 1930s, despite its expansion in the 1990s to include the work of artist-Māori and artist-Pasifika as well as more work by artist-women.[100] Although art critics have

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[99] The quoted phrase is from a discussion of the discursive construction of "New Zealand" in Peter Gibbons, 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History', *NZJH*, 37.1 (2003), 38–49 (p. 39).

[100] I take the terms 'artist-women' and 'artist-men' from Griselda Pollock's two most recent prefaces to Rozsika Parker and Griselda Pollock, 3rd edn, *Old Mistresses: Women, Art and Ideology* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), pp. xx–xxxviii (pp. xxi–xxiv, xxix). In her prefatory reflections on the gendered language of art-historical enquiry, Pollock proposes these terms as alternatives to the seemingly neutral yet gendered term "artist", which in standard art-historical usage implicitly designates the artist as white, heterosexual, and masculine, and the commonly used qualificatory terms "woman artist", "black artist", and "queer artist", which might sound like they describe an artistic identity more precisely than the unqualified term "artist", but which, in Pollock's reading, actively operate to disqualify the woman, black, or queer artist from being regarded as an artist as such. In Pollock's reformulation of these terms, the word "artist" is joined to a second noun that marks the artist's gender, race, or sexuality to form a hyphenated compound noun, for example, "artist-woman", "artist-man", "artist-black", or "artist-queer", thus constructing each art-historical subject as an artist first and foremost, as equally subject to (dis)qualification, and as explicitly gendered, and thereby deconstructing the implicit masculine gendering of the term "artist". I have modelled my own use of the terms "artist-Māori" and "artist-Pasifika" on Pollock's construction. I use these terms here to explicitly challenge the implicit bias particular to the canon of New Zealand art.

repeatedly questioned the identity, role, and even the existence of New Zealand art in the global contemporary and Aotearoa/New Zealand contexts, I contend that the canon of New Zealand art presently persists in an expanded-yet-not-deconstructed form in art(-historical) discourse, which is why it is possible to speak of, and study, as I do here, the continuance (of the discursive construct) of New Zealand art after the bicultural turn and the ostensible 'end of New Zealand art'.[101] In other words, I do not use the phrase "New Zealand art" to refer in general to the modern art produced in New Zealand or by New Zealanders prior to 1975, in contradistinction to the postmodern and contemporary art produced in the context of the re-foundation of Aotearoa/New Zealand, but rather to refer to a particular canon of art that has been constructed across these historical periods.

On the other hand, I use the phrase "the art of New Zealand" and the equivalent expression "the art of Aotearoa/New Zealand" to refer to a broad translocal and transcultural field of artistic and/or aesthetic practice that bears some association with the (Aotearoa/)New Zealand context, whether or not this practice is located inside or outside the physical territory of New Zealand, and whether or not the art is regarded as properly *of* New Zealand, that is, whether it has been recognised by art critics, historians, and institutions as being of a certain (national or cultural) significance and/or is represented in the country's (major) art collections, or whether it is unrecognised, has not (yet) come to prominence or has been ignored or effaced, in this national context. While the two phrases are broadly equivalent, the use of "New Zealand" in the former and "Aotearoa/New Zealand" in the latter does signify a temporal and/or contextual difference between

[101] For a discussion of 'the end of New Zealand art' in a 'post-medium, post-national art world' context, see the edited text of curator Robert Leonard's public lecture 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', published as: Robert Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, ed. by Christina Barton, Gordon H. Brown Lecture Series, 10 (Wellington: VUW, 2012) (pp. 43–45). In his reflections upon how the art scenes of New Zealand have changed since the 1970s, Leonard avers: 'Increasingly, the New Zealand art canon seems irrelevant – not worth fighting for, against, or over' (p. 44). Curator Natasha Conland also questions the relevance of the idea of New Zealand art to contemporary practice, which is increasingly located outside a national context: 'What is or can be New Zealand art in a transitional culture?' asks Conland in her review, 'Passing through: A Base in New Zealand Art', *Broadsheet*, 34.2 (2005), 84–86 (pp. 84 and 86). For a broader discussion of the question of New Zealand art in the global contemporary context, see 'Round Table: The State of Art and Discourse in New Zealand', ed. by Christina Barton, *RR*, 3 (2009), 6–29.

the phrases; the latter expression is another way of referring to the contemporary art of New Zealand.



CUBISM AND THE CUBISTS.

PARIS is perturbed by the Cubism and the Cubists of the Salon d'Automne. The *Figaro* and Mr. William Nicholson, to name but two observers, are distressed, and if you are not in the secret you leave the Salon to find the streets swimming with magenta, and the houses collapsing all about you; Matisse bombards your senses until the world rocks with horrid laughter. Or, perhaps, you come out into the open all-gleeful to have escaped, and, putting aside the nightmare of the galleries, find a new zest in the moderation of the real sky above, the good sense of the solid ground under your feet, and the reasonable anatomy of the people who go by. They seem saintly, because they are so human, and you would like to thank them for it as they pass. But do not be elated. These are the sensations of the uninitiated, after a first visit. Within a week you may rejoice with Picasso, and see all things with the eye of Herbin.

Thus it was when the Post-Impressionists came to London. At first there was nobody to say "Hist!" to the angry critics. For a week derision had its way; for a fortnight it was the fashion to be hilariously contemptuous; for three weeks you could with impunity laugh out loud in the Grafton Galleries; and even at the end of a month you might still smile—behind your hand. And then, you knew not how, you were conscious of certain half-secret understanding: the gorgeous colour of Gauguin, the awkward but momentous rhythms of Van Gogh, the crude but vital brushwork of Cezanne had grown up out of an apparent waste of distortion and eccentricity.

Even the humourists, who had made haste to profit by the occasion, knew in the end that the joke had turned upon them. The artists of Chelsea, planning the overthrow of the whole horrid intrusion, invented Septule and the Racinists, and filled the Chelsea Arts Club with the works of their bogey. A dinner, speeches, and a guest or two made part of the plan. After the speeches the works of Septule were uncovered. Every sort of violence had been done: Chelsea had gone to the task of producing disastrous parodies of Post-Impressionism with such a fine frenzy of contempt that when Mr. Lewis Hind, upon whose conversion from error the clubmen were especially bent, was shown the collection, he could only tell them that they had never painted so well before. They who had grown stale in practice grew young again. There lies the clue to much later-day Post-Impressionism. Men have taken to the rebel brush not necessarily to cast ridicule, but because it seemed to them so easy

Photo. Clovis Sagot.

A FAMILY GROUP, BY AUGUSTE HERBIN.

to do as well as Gauguin or as Van Gogh, to be masters on their own account. Many of the pictures now before us are the fruits of such unripe resolution. Putting aside the question of sincerity—a fool or a lunatic can be sincere—we must judge of the works as they stand.

and Picasso it is a renewal of the battle of the ball and the cross.

"No photographic imitation, that is the chief thing," wrote Van Gogh. Hatred of unemotional plain statement, such as that of the camera, was his only system. "I flog the canvas with irregular strokes and let them stand." Let us follow the sanity of this creed—the creed of an insane painter who stabbed his friend, hacked at his own features with a razor in remorse, preached Christianity at the draughty corners of London streets to the shifting crowd shrill with jeers, killed himself in a lunatic asylum, and had been happy and disconsolate at the same time because he carried a "sun in his head and a hurricane in his heart," and withal knew a frantic desire to express them both in paint. All masters do avoid photographic imitation. The folly of seeking it is obvious in every third-rate painting, in three-quarters of the canvases of every Academy, and at this very moment at the R.B.A. and the R.O.I. Even Manet enslaved his genius to imitation. Look at his famous picture of the barmaid, her bar and her bottles. The red labels are exactly copied; they curve round the black sides of the half-pints of stout with unquestionable reality. There is no doubt of the brand—each one declares the genuine article.

Once admit the righteousness of departure from accuracy as it is understood by the man with a tape measure, and the door is opened to a whole brood of distortions. Yet it is agreed that this divergence from Nature and the Fact is not only permissible, but that it is the essence of art. Not one of us enters the British Museum without accepting the unreal. The winged Bull of Nineveh we take for granted as readily as we do the early Italians of Trafalgar Square. We accept the Japanese manner of depicting water because it is the national and traditional manner.

Whistler seems good to us now because his vision was new; he saw the world as an arrangement in a few colours; the Cubists see it as an arrangement of angles. If you stand on your head the landscape, we believe, puts on a fresh vividness, which may prove the value of the new view. Only standing on the head is uncomfortable, uncomfortable as an interior by Matisse. Even as we write the Cubists are crossing the Channel, and the new school already has an organ in England. *Rhythm* is bent upon the conversion of Great Britain, and its only weakness is that neither the hideous nor the pleasant things it contains are really very new. *Rhythm* does not lighten the difficulties of an obscure theme; one of the few plain things about the Cubists is that Cubists is the wrong name for them.

Photo. Clovis Sagot.

A STUDY OF A WOMAN, BY AUGUSTE HERBIN.

Do they express the emotions, the hidden rhythm of common things, the fierce joys of form and colour? Frankly, Cubism at a first glance adds nothing to the perception of life. It hardly matters whether or not the painter is genuinely anxious to set down his impressions, or only bent on mystification, if his canvas and his purpose lie buried deep under hideous pigment and mannerisms so childish that they are unintelligible. And why Cubist?—which, on inquiry at headquarters, seems to mean only that the artist divides up his patterns into as many angles as he may, and dwells upon the triangles that are to be found in anything, from a face to the lapel of a coat. But angularity is not new: the Egyptians used it in all its forms; the cathedrals of France and mosaics of Byzantium are full of the dignity of rigid composition. A Persian rug contrives to be beautiful, crowded as it is with zig-zagging angles; and all primitive and unspoilt styles, the austere monastic styles of East and West, were learned in straight lines. A reaction found expression in the tossing, tumbling curves and the fat rotundity of Rubens, followed by generations of painters who, like Boucher, fondly lived for softness and the evasion of awkward corners. Who can say what Rubens has brought down on us? As between Peter Paul

Photo. Clovis Sagot.

A STILL-LIFE STUDY, BY PABLO PICASSO.

Photo. Clovis Sagot.

THE WOMAN WITH THE FAN, BY PABLO PICASSO.

Figure 0.1 The article 'Cubism and the Cubists', *Illustrated London News*, 21 October 1911, p. 648, showing reproductions of two paintings by Auguste Herbin (top and centre) and two paintings by Pablo Picasso (bottom left and bottom right), which is referred to in Colin McCahon, 'Beginnings', *Landfall*, 20.4 (1966), 360–64 (p. 361).

Chapter 1

(Re)Turning to (the Question of) an Art History of Contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand Context

More Than Just a Buzzword

In recent years the word "contact" has frequently cropped up in relation to the study and presentation of art in and from Aotearoa/New Zealand. Between 2011 and 2017, the Art History Research Cluster (AHRC) at Victoria University of Wellington (VUW) provided sponsorship for a number of events that related to its singular yet broad research theme of contact, including the 2011 Art Association of Australia and New Zealand (AAANZ) annual conference and its subsequent publication outcome, both of which were simply entitled 'Contact'.[1] In early 2011, the second iteration of the touring exhibition 'Points of Contact: Jim Allen, Len Lye, Hélio Oiticica' opened at Adam Art Gallery Te Pātaka Toi on the main campus of VUW, only one month after the AHRC commenced its activity.[2] And in 2012, the exhibition 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand' was held at the Frankfurter Kunstverein, Frankfurt am Main, to coincide with the annual book fair at which New Zealand was Guest of Honour.[3]

[1] Seven papers responding to the theme of the AAANZ annual conference hosted by VUW in December 2011 were published in a special guest-edited issue of the *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art*: *Contact*, ed. by Geoffrey Batchen and David Maskill (= *ANZJA*, 13 (2013)).

[2] 'Points of Contact', curated by Tyler Cann and Mercedes Vicente, was on display at Govett-Brewster Art Gallery (GB), New Plymouth, 11 December 2010 – 27 February 2011, and then at the Adam, Wellington, 18 March – 22 May 2011. The exhibition was accompanied by the jointly published catalogue *Points of Contact: Jim Allen, Len Lye, Hélio Oiticica*, ed. by Christina Barton, Tyler Cann and Mercedes Vicente (New Plymouth: GB; Wellington: Adam, 2011).

[3] 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', curated by Leonhard Emmerling and Aaron Kreisler, was on display at the Frankfurter Kunstverein (FKV), Frankfurt am Main,

While this list of events and publications associated with and by the word "contact" is not exhaustive, these three distinct yet interrelated art-historical projects stand out, in my view, because each uses contact as a central metaphor in its attempt to at once revise canonical histories of New Zealand art and to rewrite histories of art from *without* the dominant national paradigm of Art History.[4]

Indeed, a certain metaphor of contact comprised the very heart of the AHRC's critical project, which aimed to facilitate 'a newly engaged art history' that could (re)construct and recontextualise histories of New Zealand art from a variety of perspectives hitherto occluded or excluded by and/or from the national frame of New Zealand art and its dominant settler-colonial perspective.[5] Although the AHRC did not explicitly aim to revise New Zealand art history in any programmatic way, its agenda can be understood as revisionist insofar as its proposal for an art history of contact was effectively put

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15 October – 25 November 2012. The exhibition was accompanied by a twelve-page A4-sized bilingual (German and English) guide: Leonhard Emmerling and Aaron Kreisler, *Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand*, ed. by Frankfurter Kunstverein, exhibition guide (Frankfurt a.M: FKV, 2012); and a programme of events that included a lecture by Christina Barton, then Director of the Adam.

[4] In speaking of 'the dominant national paradigm of Art History', I am referring to Matthew Rampley's observation of a contradictory phenomenon in contemporary art-historical practice, which, as Rampley points out, operates on the one hand as a '[site] of transnational intellectual exchange' and 'international collaboration', and yet, on the other hand, 'such border crossings have to contend with the continuing dominance of the national paradigm and with the fact that most scholarship on the history of architecture, art and visual culture continues to be conducted within the framework of the nation state'. Rampley, 'Introduction', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*, ed. by Rampley and others, pp. 1–2. In contradistinction to those (canonical) histories of art that have been written '*within* the framework of the nation state' of New Zealand, the three art-historical projects under discussion attempted to rewrite histories of art from *without* the national framework of the discipline of Art History.

[5] For a detailed statement of the cluster's objectives, including its aims to 'pursue the possibility of a newly engaged art history' and 'enable [the production of] art histories [written] from our perspective in the Pacific', see Batchen, 'Art History Research Cluster', paras 1 and 4 of 24. This text is no longer available online, but an archived copy can be found in Appendix 1 on p. 434. For a restatement of these aims in the more particular context of the Gordon H. Brown Lecture, see for example Geoffrey Batchen, 'Preface', in Ross Gibson, *Aqueous Aesthetics: An Art History of Change*, ed. by Geoffrey Batchen, Gordon H. Brown Lecture Series, 11 (Wellington: VUW, 2013), pp. 5–6, or indeed any of the subsequent prefatorial texts that Batchen wrote as series editor of the Lecture publications, a role he held until 2019.

forward as a corrective to the prevailing national histories of New Zealand art.[6] This is perhaps most evident in the subtle shift in focus of the Gordon H. Brown Lecture that was brought about under the cluster's sponsorship of this annual event between 2012 and 2017. While the lecture retained its original focus on 'an aspect of New Zealand art history' during this six-year period, this focus was redefined in relation to the theme of contact so that the lecture fell more obviously within the cluster's remit.[7] This redefinition of the Lecture's focus was carried out in the hope of 'widening its scope to place New Zealand art history in broader post-nationalist and cross-cultural contexts', an aspiration which, while not an explicit critique, could be read as implying that the purview of New Zealand art history had been until then narrow, nationalistic, and ethnocentric.[8] In the light of this implicit criticism, it would appear that the AHRC posited contact as a lens through which to remedy the undesirable consequences of the national framing of New Zealand art, even if the cluster did not explicitly speak of its research theme as a mode of redress, but rather as a mode of re-engagement, as a means, that is, of '[re-]establishing meaningful

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[6] The revisionist agenda of the AHRC must be largely inferred from the snippets of text (editorials, press releases, web pages etc.) that were published in association with the cluster's activity. Even the cluster's proposal for an art history of contact comprises oral and textual fragments; it was floated orally by the cluster's director, Geoffrey Batchen, during a plenary session at the 2011 AAANZ annual conference and was put forward in writing in several short texts, including the editorial that introduces the special *Contact* issue of the *ANZJA* edited by Batchen and Maskill, which constitutes the most comprehensive statement of the cluster's proposal.

[7] Following the initial two lectures, each on a canonical figure of New Zealand art, the Gordon H. Brown Lecture came to be consistently conceived as an 'occasion for the presentation of new scholarship on an aspect of New Zealand art history', and its programme became less monographic and more topical. See Barton, 'Preface', in Blackley, *A Nation's Portraits*, ed. by Barton, p. 5. The lecture has always retained this original brief. However, while it was sponsored by the AHRC this brief was reinterpreted by Batchen in relation to the theme of contact and in terms of the aims of the AHRC. For this reinterpretation, see any of the prefaces to the Gordon H. Brown Lecture Series written by Batchen in his role as series editor, published between 2013 and 2017.

[8] Writing as editor of the first iteration of the Gordon H. Brown Lecture and, in her role as director of the Adam, an active AHRC member, Christina Barton anticipated that this reinterpretation of the lecture under the auspices of the AHRC would involve 'widening its scope to place New Zealand art history into broader post-nationalist and cross-cultural contexts'. See Christina Barton, 'Preface', in Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, ed. by Barton, p. 6.

contact or connection', according to the *OED* definition of the verb. In my interpretation of the AHRC's critical project, then, the word "contact" can not only be read as nominating the cluster's theme (or subject) but also as a metaphor for its underlying disciplinary objective of opening up the national(ist) history of New Zealand art to a more extensive, less insular, range of concerns.

Likewise, the two exhibitions under discussion made use of the multivalency of contact as a titular metaphor not only for the relationships between the artworks which were exhibited but also for the revision of certain — national, canonical, and (neo)colonial — art-historical narratives and/or frameworks. In both cases, the word "contact" was appropriated from the title of Jim Allen's performance *Contact* (1974), original footage of which featured as a focal point of each show. In the case of 'Points of Contact: Jim Allen, Len Lye, Hélio Oiticica', the title is most obviously, but not only, a metaphor for certain historical and aesthetic connections between Allen's practice and that of two modern contemporaries whose work Allen encountered at what proved to be a pivotal moment in his career.[9] In re-presenting these connections, or points of contact, between the work of Allen, Lye, and Oiticica, the exhibition presented a transnational context for the emergence of both Allen's experimental art practice and the local manifestation of Conceptual art in New Zealand, namely post-object art. In situating the development of (Allen's) post-object art practice both inside and outside New Zealand, the exhibition, which explicitly

[9] As the title suggests, the 'Points of Contact' exhibition presented works by Allen (1922–2023), the New Zealand expatriate Len Lye (1901–80), and the Brazilian Hélio Oiticica (1937–80). Allen had first encountered the work of these two artists while travelling in Europe and the United States during his sabbatical year of 1968, a trip which, as art historians have noted, brought about a significant change in his sculptural practice — a change that contributed in large part to the emergence of experimental — or post-object — art in the New Zealand context. The title 'Points of Contact' could also be read as, for example, a metaphor for the agency of the exhibition itself, which, insofar as it involved the reconstruction and re-presentation of several of Allen's key works produced during the late 1960s and early 1970s, which hitherto had not been possible to view since the time of their production due to the material and temporal ephemerality of their composition, was envisioned by the directors of the galleries in which it was shown, as a platform for the public dissemination of Allen's practice to 'new generations of viewers', in Rhana Devenport and Christina Barton, 'Foreword', in *Points of Contact*, ed. by Barton, Cann and Vicente, pp. 7–8 (pp. 7–8).

sought to 'contribute to the rewriting of art history', rendered the strict national framework of New Zealand art more permeable on the one hand and complicated conventional(ising) Euro-American narratives of the historical development of Conceptual art on the other.[10] The title of the exhibition 'Points of Contact' is thus not only a metaphor for 'a specific set of connections' that can be seen to link the practice of Allen with that of Lye and Oiticica,[11] it can also be read more generally as a metaphor for the intersection of local and global histories of contemporary art, and, moreover, for a methodological approach to the reconstruction of crucial conjunctions in art's histories.[12]

In the case of the exhibition 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', the concept of contact is less a metaphor for 'a specific set of connections' between Allen's practice and that of his contemporary compatriots, and more an expanded metaphor for a certain curatorial reading of the contemporary art scene of Aotearoa/New Zealand and its development since the 1970s. Rather than periodise forty years of contemporary New Zealand art, the exhibition presented the work of artists born in the first half of the twentieth century, including documentation of Allen's seminal performance *Contact* (Figure 1.20), alongside that of subsequent generations of artists. This curatorial approach allowed for a transhistorical and genealogical reading of the contingent connections between early and more recent contemporary New Zealand art practice — that is, of the conceptual and aesthetic resonances between certain works produced at different times but in (relation to) arguably the same (national) context and which defy the canonical and/or patriarchal–patrilineal logic of direct influence.

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[10] '[T]he purpose [of the curatorial project] being to establish an alternative narrative within the mainstream trajectory of 20th-century art […] We believe that such projects add not only to our store of knowledge of New Zealand art, but can also critically contribute to the rewriting of art history as it is currently being undertaken across the globe, under the sway of post-colonial, post-national and post-modern discourses'. Devenport and Barton, 'Foreword', in *Points of Contact*, p. 7.

[11] Ibid., pp. 7–8.

[12] Crucial, because the reconstruction of such conjunctions would allow the concomitant deconstruction of national histories of art to take place from at once within and without the dominant disciplinary paradigm of the nation state.

Not only was contact a metaphor for (the curatorial framing of) transhistorical encounters between the artworks that were exhibited in 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', it was also, and perhaps more obviously, a metaphor for a reading of the national contemporary art scene in question in terms of transcultural dialogue, not only between Māori and Pākehā, that is, indigenous and settler, artists, but also between artists who are not counted among these 'two dominant ethnic groups in bicultural Aotearoa/New Zealand'.[13] Thus, while the exhibition, which was staged in conjunction with the Frankfurter Buchmesse, necessarily shared the book fair's focus on the art of the nation-state of New Zealand, the curatorial framework of contact allowed for a transhistorical and transcultural reading of the contemporary art produced in (relation to) the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, which, in proposing novel associations between artists and artworks, complicated received national — New Zealand *and* German — histories of art.[14]

One such transhistorical and transcultural encounter staged by the exhibition 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand' was presented in a space occupied with the work of four artists whose respective practices are diverse and whose work is thus not usually shown together. In this room, a small abstract expressionist style painting, *A-69* (1994) (Figure 1.4), produced by the relatively unknown and recently re-discovered Barcelona-born artist Alberto García-Alvarez (b. 1928) in the final year of his lectureship at the Elam School of

[13] Emmerling and Kreisler in Frankfurter Kunstverein, *Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand*, leaflet (Frankfurt a.M: FKV, 2012).

[14] For example, in their coauthored leaflet text, ibid., the curators, Emmerling and Kreisler, observe a parallel between works by Philip Dadson and Joseph Beuys, both of whom, unbeknown to each other, conducted performances in 1971 involving a group of people wielding brooms outdoors. While Dadson's action took place on a beach on the west coast of New Zealand, Beuys's action took place in the forest at Krefeld in Germany. Insofar as Dadson's action can be considered comparable but not derivitive of Beuys's action, Dadson's work can be thought of as contemporary with that of Beuys — an idea that challenges a diffusionist model of the development of contemporary art, in which avant-garde practice is thought to have emerged in the metropolitan centres of the West/North and spread to the so-called peripheries of the East/South, and, by extension, challenges national histories of German and New Zealand art, which position the former as central and the latter as peripheral to the development of modern and/or contemporary art.

Fine Arts, Auckland, hung adjacent to five gestural abstract works, paintings and silk-screen prints (Figure 1.5), by García-Alvarez's one time student, Auckland-born, Berlin-based painter Judy Millar (b. 1959), who, together with Francis Upritchard (b. 1976), represented New Zealand at the 2009 Venice Biennale.[15] The presence of *A-69* not only illustrated the connection between García-Alvarez and Millar but was also intended to act as a symbol of 'the long-lasting influence of abstract expressionism on painting in New Zealand', an influence which has notoriously been suppressed in the canonical histories of New Zealand painting in favour of a focus on regionalism.[16] Conversely, the work of both García-Alvarez and Millar functioned as a reminder, for the national New Zealand *and* German audiences, of the ways in which so-called "New Zealand" painting is always already implicated in translocal and transnational networks and is thereby constitutive of global, including European, histories of painting, albeit in a very minor way.

In addition to the concrete, genealogical connection between the work of García-Alvarez and Millar, which had not been discussed in the historiography of New Zealand art until the relationship between these two painters was uncovered, or re-discovered, by Emmerling in the process of curating 'Giraffe-Bottle-Gun', the site-specific installation that Millar produced for La Maddalena, Venice, in 2009, a less direct and more poetic connection was also proposed between their work, that is, the work of García-Alvarez and Millar, and that of Upritchard, whose exhibition 'Save Yourself' was held at the Palazzo Mangilli-Valmarana, a short walk from Millar's exhibition at La Maddalena in the Cannaregio district of Venice, at the 53rd Venice Biennale in 2009. The fluent use of paint in Millar's and especially García-Alvarez's work resonated with the

[15] García-Alvarez graduated from the Escuela Superior de Bellas Artes, Barcelona, in 1951, and relocated to California in 1961, where he taught at the University of California, Berkeley, before taking up a position as Senior Lecturer in painting at Elam School of Fine Arts, Auckland, in 1972, which he held until his retirement in 1995. He is not mentioned in any of the major books on New Zealand Painting; his influence on a generation of painters who were taught by him during their time at Elam has only recently been acknowledged in several publications and exhibitions.

[16] Emmerling and Kreisler, *Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand*, ed. by Frankfurter Kunstverein, exhibition guide (Frankfurt a.M: FKV, 2012).

almost comical paint spill coating Upritchard's sculptural portrait *Untitled* (*c.* 2001–03) (Figure 1.6), one of the three exhibited works by Upritchard that are frequently classified as Pākehā Heads (see also Figures 1.2 and 3.8–3.9), and which, according to the exhibition guide, 'recall the Māori practice of offering European dealers tattooed heads that were embalmed for overseas trade'.[17] A humorous, and indeed joyful, connection can be made between Millar's painted and/or printed images that capture the gesture of removing, or cleaning, paint from a surface, and Upritchard's modelled head, which captures an inverse gesture of liberally applying paint, of spilling and making a mess with paint; although opposed in a sense, both Millar's and Upritchard's works speak of the pleasure of handling paint. And although they have little if anything in common historically, it is difficult not to read *A-69* as a portrait in relation to Upritchard's Pākehā Head *Untitled* (*c*. 2001–03); the wide band of black paint applied across the width of *A-69* takes on the appearance of hair framing a pale pink face below, and the dribble of black on pink paint appears to be an eye. Whereas Upritchard's ironic reversal of the Māori practice of *toi moko* suggests that the viewer should not read the mark making of either Millar or García-Alvarez as earnest or authentic automatic forms of expression,[18] the obviously process-based works of Millar and García-Alvarez provoke the viewer to take seriously Upritchard's engagement with the materials, techniques, processes, and histories of fine art despite her often irreverent use of these resources. In making both an empirical and poetic connection between the work of these three artists who work in (relation to) the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, the exhibition uses the curatorial framework of contact to put forward an argument

[17] Emmerling and Kreisler, *Contact*, ed. by FKV.

[18] According to its definition in *Te Aka*, *toi moko* is a noun that refers at once to the (Māori) art of tattooing and to a (Māori) tattooed preserved head, which were produced 'for two reasons, either to venerate a loved one, or as a trophy of war to ridicule an enemy'. While Upritchard's Pākehā Heads play on the implications of the reversal of Māori and Pākehā heads, which could, and indeed has been, read as transgressive in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, I would argue that they also play on the boundary between veneration and ridicule, attraction and repulsion, humour and disgust.

against an ideological reading of New Zealand art and the idea of a national aesthetic.

Also showcased alongside the work of García-Alvarez, Millar, and Upritchard was the photographic work of Fiona Pardington (b. 1961), an artist of both Māori (Ngāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Kāti Waewae) and Scottish (clan Cameron) descent. Five photographic prints from Pardington's series 'Āhua: A Beautiful Hesitation' (2010), which documents a nineteenth-century collection of *moulage sur nature* (plaster casts taken from life), could be seen, from the perspective of a viewer entering the gallery space, hanging on the wall directly ahead, that is, opposite the gallery entrance, behind five of Upritchard's sculptures, which were installed on plinths on the floor (Figure 1.3).[19] Thus, the exhibition deliberately staged for the viewer an initial confrontation with both Pardington's and Upritchard's work, an encounter, that is, between Upritchard's obviously bogus and grisly anonymous Pākehā Heads (all of which are entitled *Untitled*) and Pardington's startling yet tender photographic portraits of the heads of two Māori men, identified as the Ngāi Tahu chief Takatahara and Matoua Tawai, made by phrenologist Pierre-Marie Dumoutier on his journey across the Pacific between 1837 and 1840 (Figures 1.2–1.3 and 1.7). While the implications of the juxtaposition of these particular works by Pardington and Upritchard are multifarious and far-reaching, at least for the historiography of New Zealand art, and for this reason cannot be discussed any further here, it is worth noting, however, that this encounter, which was staged in the curatorial domain of the global contemporary, did not (only) aim to be transgressive of the cultural politics governing the display of art and objects in Aotearoa/New Zealand, which would most likely have deemed such a juxtaposition as taboo and thus prohibited it. Rather, it (also) sought to highlight the ways in which the nation-state hosting the Frankfurter Buchmesse, namely Germany, has been and still is implicated in the collection, and therefore the production and trade, and more recently in the repatriation, of *toi moko*.

[19] For a detailed examination of Pardington's 'Āhua' series, see Fiona Pardington, *The Pressure of Sunlight Falling*, ed. by Kriselle Baker and Elizabeth Rankin (Dunedin: Otago UP, 2011).

More than just a buzzword, then, the term "contact" seems to be invested with a particular significance in the contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand art (-historical) context. On the one hand, this term appears to signify the possibility of new art histories that could challenge the dominant national framework of "New Zealand art", and thereby begin to redress the symbolic violence enacted by this frame, which has largely excluded the work of the country's indigenous, immigrant, emigrant, and woman artists from the canon and indeed histories of New Zealand art, just as the work of artists included in this national canon have been in turn largely excluded from the Euro-American canon and histories of art. And on the other hand, it appears to be charged with desire for more intradisciplinary connectivity between the historiography of Pacific art (including the art of the indigenous and settler peoples of Australia and New Zealand, as well as Oceanic art) and so-called 'mainstream' (Euro-American) art historiography, which is thought to be largely responsible for marginalising histories of the art of the Pacific, as well as Africa and Asia.[20] In other words, an art history of contact seems to promise a way out of the double bind of the national framework of New Zealand art history, which marginalises

[20] Art historians from Australia and New Zealand have frequently voiced their frustration at the discipline of Art History's widespread disregard for both the art and art-historical scholarship of the Pacific and the global south more broadly. This situation is often expressed in oppositional terms: as the "mainstream"— a dominant position presumed to be occupied by Euro-American artists, scholars, and curators in and of the North (Atlantic) — versus — the ostensibly marginalised and excluded artistic, cultural, and intellectual production of — the global south. For example, in their foreword to the 'Points of Contact' exhibition, Devenport and Barton, the directors of the two galleries which staged the exhibition, make use of the idea of a geopolitical "mainstream" outside of and against which they locate their own curatorial project, which aimed to: 'establish an alternative narrative within the mainstream trajectory of 20th-century art'. Devenport and Barton, 'Foreword', in *Points of Contact*, p. 7. And in commenting upon the recent survey 'Decolonizing Art History', ed. by Catherine Grant and Dorothy Price, *Art History*, 43.1, 2020, pp. 8–66, which 'asked a range [of thirty] art historians, curators and artists to respond to a series of questions that consider some of the recent calls to "decolonize art history"' (pp. 9–10), Nicholas Thomas also makes use of the idea of a "mainstream" disciplinary perspective ouside and against of which he positions his own critique of the *Art History* journal's handling of the decolonisation debate, in his observation that: 'The lack of engagement with a genuinely wider "range" of scholars and practitioners from the global south suggests that, for the mainstream represented by the journal, the work is only just beginning.' Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art, Colonial Culture, Decolonization*, 2nd edn (London: Thames & Hudson, 2022), p. 15.

and excludes as it is itself marginalised and excluded, and to thus do justice to the historicisation of (the work of) both indigenous and settler artists.

Indeed, it is hoped that an empirically-focussed art history of contact would necessarily be inclusive, and — in paying close attention to the ways in which artists and artworks are imbricated in 'webs of connection' that traverse but are not confined to any national space,[21] and thus finding, or (re)discovering, so to speak, the work of otherwise marginalised or excluded artists to have been always already present and/or included historically — would thus avoid repeating certain art-historiographical patterns of exclusion associated with, and instrumental in, canonical forms of colonial, including postcolonial and neocolonial, violence.

While the collective aim or wish of the art-historical projects associated with and by the signifier "contact" in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context is certainly admirable, the broad and almost all-encompassing purpose with which an art history of contact is cumulatively tasked — to redress the historical and ongoing marginalisation and exclusion of the art and artists of the Pacific on all fronts and in all forms — is, however, an ambitious and not unproblematic goal, if not an impossible dream. I cannot help but wonder if, in this context, the term "contact" is somewhat overburdened. Can the undertaking of such a vital and urgent yet immense and endless task be pinned on a single, albeit broad and pliant, concept? How supple is the metaphor of contact? At what point does this metaphor for everything become overloaded, breakdown, and come to be an empty metaphor?[22] And yet, while this core concept of contact is in my view overburdened, it also appears to me to be underexamined, freighted with unquestioned assumptions, which leads me to ask of the art-historical project(s) in question:

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[21] For the 'webs of connection' metaphor, see Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*, p. 11.

[22] As Hélène Cixous points out: 'If everything is metaphor, then nothing is metaphor', in her 1977 essay *La venue à l'écriture*, published in English in, '"Coming to Writing" and Other Essays', ed. by Deborah Jensen, trans. by Sarah Cornell and others (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1991), p. 50.

1. Given that the canonical histories of New Zealand art begin with, and are framed around, images and narratives of the European artist's encounter(s) with previously unknown indigenous peoples and an ostensibly new land, (how) would a 'newly engaged art history' of contact provide an alternative to these twentieth-century national(ist) art histories,[23] or would it simply become a new chapter in the existing historiography of New Zealand art? If nationalism, like colonialism, is not a chronologically constrained phenomenon but an ongoing process, (why) would an art history of contact necessarily engender a 'post-national' history of art?[24] If national(ist) art histories have been written within a contact paradigm, (how) could the concept and/or metaphor of contact be rethought so as to enable histories of art to be rewritten from *without* the national framework of Art History?

2. Given that the post-colonial institution of biculturalism is considered by historians to be a 'foundational state ideology' of Aotearoa/New Zealand,[25] how could an art history of contact account for works of art produced in, against, and through this ideological context, while engendering new narratives and histories of art that do not simply '[echo] state-sponsored visions of history',[26] nor further entrench a colonial hierarchy of race, in which the artistic production of the two Treaty peoples, Māori and Pākehā, is privileged above that of other, especially Pasifika and Asian, artists? If the institution of biculturalism and, by extension, the 'bicultural paradigm of

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[23] For the proposal of the Art History Programme at VUW to develop a 'newly engaged art history', see for example Batchen, 'Preface', in Gibson, *Aqueous Aesthetics*, pp. 5–6 (6). For further detail on this point, see n. 5, p. 65 above.

[24] Devenport and Barton imagine that 'the rewriting of art history', a task to which the 'Points of Contact' exhibition is thought to contribute, is taking place in the global contemporary context 'under the sway of post-colonial, post-national and post-modern discourses', in their co-authored 'Foreword', in *Points of Contact*, p. 7. And elsewhere Barton has described the Gordon H. Brown Lecture's shift in focus, away from New Zealand art and towards an art history of contact, as an attempt 'to place New Zealand art history into broader post-nationalist […] contexts', in her 'Preface' to Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, pp. 5–6 (6). For more detail on the former point, see n. 10, p. 68, and on the latter point, see n. 8, p. 66 of this chapter above.

[25] Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*, p. 65.

[26] Ibid., p. 11.

New Zealand history',[27] do not necessarily lead to decolonisation, of either the country or of the discipline of (Art) History, but in fact preserve a particular national colonial order, what other models of social and cultural life, exchange, and encounter could an art history of contact take up, which might instead engender decolonial, or even uncolonial, histories of art?

3. If an art history of contact is to 'contribute to the rewriting of art history',[28] how should we approach this task of revision — that is, how should we "come to (re)writing", so to speak?[29] And if, as Ashley Thompson avers, '[o]ne cannot write without excluding as one includes and vice versa',[30] (how) could we come to write an art history of contact that includes without excluding, or is at least more inclusive than it is exclusive? If, by writing, one becomes complicit in the patriarchal order through which the canon(s) of Art History — that is, the very technology and device(s) of selection and thus exclusion — are (re)produced, how does one write an art history of contact — of connection and inclusion? (How) could an art history of contact incorporate the spectre of its own exclusion, and also

[27] Ibid., p. 50. In the text from which I have borrowed this phrase, Ballantyne discusses the '"writing out" of Asia and Asians within the bicultural paradigm of New Zealand history', exemplifying the 'active erasure of ethnic identities other than Māori and Pākehā'.

[28] Devenport and Barton, 'Foreword', in *Points of Contact*, p. 7.

[29] In asking how we should come to (re)write an art history of contact, I am, of course, paraphrasing a central concern of Cixous's philosophical and/or critical project, which is put forward in her essay (cited in n. 22, p. 74 above) *La venue à l'écriture*, or 'Coming to Writing', a concern which Ashley Thompson has described as 'one of the great feminist questions of all times' and expounded in two further questions: 'What does it mean for women to seize the patriarchal power of the pen? If assertion of the capacity to write entails subordination to the patriarchal order, how do we negotiate the double bind?', in her book *Engendering the Buddhist State: Territory, Sovereignty, and Sexual Difference in the Inventions of Angkor* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2016), p. 182. I wish to transpose this question of coming to writing, which is also a question of historiography, to the task of (re)writing art histories of contact, even though it might seem more immediately relevant to the task of (re)writing feminist histories of art. As Thompson has expounded, the question of coming to writing challenges the notion that one could simply, by picking up a pen, so to speak, re-write histories of art from without the dominant national paradigm of Art History and write instead from within the ostensibly new and/or alternative disciplinary framework of contact.

[30] Ibid., p. 19.

address what Nicholas Thomas calls the 'non-connection' or '[n]on-[encounter]' of artistic and cross-cultural contact?[31]

4. Is an art history that makes use of a metaphor of contact to (re)position the white male artist (Jim Allen) not only at the centre of a particular movement (post-object art) but also as the single progenitor of a nation's contemporary art, and to thereby relegate the contribution of artist-women (such as Linda Buis, Kim Gray, Maree Horner, Pauline Rhodes, and Eva Yuen) to the margins of art history once again, really any different to the canonical histories of (New Zealand) art that it purports to correct? How could the concept, metaphor and framework of contact be used to engender different histories of post-object art, histories which could in some way recuperate, or at least account for, the pictured but silent and silenced (artist-)women, such as Yuen (Figure 1.25) and the school teacher who assisted Allen in unloading vessels from a kiln in the early 1950s (Figure 1.26), whose images populate the post-object art archive but who are either unnamed or do not speak or whose (art) work is not discussed? Indeed, how could an art history of contact account for the social and/or labour relations between Allen and his peers and/or contemporaries? And finally, how could the concept, metaphor and framework of contact be used to engender new intersectional histories of art, which would privilege neither race nor gender as isolated categories of analysis but would rather redress canonical violence in all of its complexity?

While it is not my intention here to answer the above questions, these concerns do inform and drive my enquiry into the literature and discourse associated with the contemporary (re)turn to an art history of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, which is the subject of this chapter. In my analysis, the three art-historical projects that I have identified above as indicative of this (re)turn, namely, the AHRC and the two exhibitions, 'Points of Contact' and 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', are not treated

[31] Thomas in *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific*, ed. by Nicholas Thomas and Diane Losche (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), pp. xi, 4–5.

individually or even equally. Rather, each is discussed in a much broader historiographical context, which I will briefly introduce below in an outline of the two remaining sections of this chapter.

In the first section, 'No More Distance: A "New Vision" of New Zealand Art (History)', I will explore the project of the AHRC in more detail, examining the cluster's institution at VUW in 2010–11 in the context of the Art History Programme's attempt to institutionalise a 'newly engaged art history',[32] and looking at the literature and discourse which was published in association with the cluster, including its proposal for an art history of contact, which, as I have mentioned above, was put forward in fragmentary form, across texts and in conversation. Following this description of the AHRC, I discuss some of the problems that the cluster's question of an art history of contact raises in my view. However, before I look more closely at the AHRC, I will first attempt to situate it in a much broader context than even that of its institution. To establish this context, I will describe a subtle and fragmentary yet coherent discourse that is concerned with, and defined by, the negation of a certain discourse of distance which is thought to be particular to the historiography of New Zealand art. In my reading, this discursive context is not only indicative of a turn away from a discourse of distance but also premises the (re)turn towards a discourse of contact in the (context of) contemporary art-historical practice in and of Aotearoa/New Zealand, that is, the shift in and through which the AHRC was established, and Allen's 1974 performance *Contact* was re-presented. My reading will thus suggest that although the discourses of distance and contact are considered antagonistic in contemporary New Zealand art historiography, they are in fact interrelated in their opposition.

In the second section, 'The Return of Jim Allen and the Historicisation of Contemporary New Zealand Art', I will examine the two exhibitions mentioned above in the context of the warm critical reception that Allen received following his return to Auckland from Australia in 1998 and the consequent historicisation of his work as contemporary, and not only post-object, art. I will begin by

[32] Batchen, 'Preface', in Gibson, *Aqueous Aesthetics*, pp. 5–6 (p. 6).

looking at how *Contact* has come to be regarded as Allen's seminal work, and, moreover, how the metaphor of contact, drawn from the title of this performance, has become the dominant lens through which his conceptual art practice has been interpreted in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. I will then look closely at the re-construction, re-presentation, and re-collection — or repatriation — of Allen's work in New Zealand, the collective result of several curatorial projects staged since his return, and show how the reinstitution of Allen, not only as the central figure of the post-object art movement but also as the local primogenitor of contemporary art, has been predicated upon the supposed omission of Allen from New Zealand art history — an ostensible lacuna that, I would argue, is itself responsible for (re)producing further omissions under the name of contact.

My main purpose in situating and exploring the three art-historical projects in question in two broader historiographical contexts is to attempt to draw out implicit notions of, and presuppositions about, contact, which might readily appear in the wider discourse associated with them and differ from what is explicitly stated in the literature on the topic of contact.

'No More Distance': A 'New Vision' of New Zealand Art (History)

In 2006, in an article entitled 'State of the Art New Zealand', curator and art historian Christina Barton observed that the local New Zealand art world was no longer conditioned by the country's geographical distance from metropolitan art centres as it had been nearly ten years earlier, when she was involved in writing *New Vision*, a research report commissioned by Creative New Zealand (CNZ) to support its development of a new national strategy — or "new vision" — for the visual arts in New Zealand.[33] Almost a decade on from *New Vision*, Barton describes a 'new more mobile situation' that is characterised by fluidity and permeability, in which artists, curators, and other arts professionals readily

[33] Christina Barton, 'State of the Art New Zealand', *Artlink*, 26 (2006), 32–37. In this article, Barton reflects upon the following independent report commissioned by CNZ and The Chartwell Trust in 1997: McDermott Miller, *New Vision: A Critical View of New Zealand's Visual Arts Infrastructure* (Wellington: CNZ, 1998).

come and go from New Zealand, and those nationals who do leave the country more permanently remain connected, if not to the nation at least to a national context, via a 'far-flung network of New Zealanders' who are working in the visual arts across the globe, no longer confined to the country's traditional (British-world) geography.[34]

Many of the people and institutions chosen by Barton to illustrate this 'fluid situation' are of interest to the enquiry presented in this chapter and/or in later chapters of this thesis.[35] Among those whom Barton mentions as exemplifying the situation are: Mercedes Vicente and Tyler Cann, who curated the 'Points of Contact' exhibition at the Govett-Brewster, discussed above; Robert Leonard, who delivered the tenth Gordon H. Brown lecture, a lecture which, as we shall see, played a crucial role in — at least my interpretation of — the local turn away from a discourse of distance; and the contemporary artist Francis Upritchard, whose practice will be discussed in some depth in Chapter 3. And included among the initiatives that are, according to Barton, 'in keeping with the [*New Vision*] report's recommendations' are the construction and opening of the Adam and the establishment of the Art History Programme at VUW, and the presentation and publication of the Gordon H. Brown Lecture, with which, of course, Barton herself was profoundly involved. Also in keeping with the recommendations of the *New Vision* report, is, I would argue, following Barton's inclusion of the Gordon H. Brown Lecture, the AHRC, which in fact sponsored this Lecture series for a number of years, and which it is thus not difficult to imagine Barton discussing if she had written her article five years later, after the cluster's establishment in 2010. The significant overlap between the subjects discussed by Barton as evidence of a notable shift in (at least the perception of) the New Zealand art world and those which have also arisen independently in the course of my own research into (the circulation of) an art-historical discourse of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context suggests that the 'new more mobile situation' that Barton describes is an important discursive, if

[34] Barton, 'State of the Art', pp. 34–35.
[35] Ibid., p. 36.

not actual or immediate, context for the (re)turn to an art history of contact, which is, of course, the subject of the present chapter.[36]

Notably, Barton's description of the materialisation and embodiment of a free-flowing contact between the local art world(s) in Aotearoa/New Zealand and art worlds located elsewhere is headlined 'No More Distance'.[37] It would thus appear that Barton's view — which, it should be noted, is largely a view from and of the North Island rather than from and of New Zealand as such — of the state of the visual arts in (the North Island of) Aotearoa/New Zealand is not only a vision of the recent, and arguably new, state of artistic connectedness that has resulted from an increase in translocal contact in a rapidly globalising world; it is also a vision of the disappearance, indeed the dematerialisation, of distance and its effects on the local art world(s) as felt in certain provincial centres in New Zealand. And if we read the phrase "no more distance", whereby Barton announces the local results of contact with/in a globalised art world, in the imperative, that is, as expressing a command ("There shall be no more distance"), and not only as an observation ("There is, relatively speaking, no more distance"), then this phrase sounds like a negation of distance. Moreover, if our ears are attuned to the historiography of New Zealand art, it also sounds like the negation of a certain discourse of distance. It is precisely the negation of this discourse of distance that I will argue, in the present and following chapters, is pivotal to the (re)turn to an art history of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context.

Whether the ostensibly new situation described by Barton was brought about by the implementation of CNZ's *New Vision* report or not, Barton's view of the global connectedness of the local art world(s) in Aotearoa/New Zealand certainly differs from the perspective of previous art historians, such as A. H. McLintock and E. H. McCormick, to whom the artist in mid-twentieth-century New Zealand appeared profoundly isolated, not least from the European centres of so-called Western art. Barton's report of two-way traffic flowing

[36] Ibid., p. 35.
[37] Ibid., p. 34.

between the local art scenes and institutions in New Zealand and 'a global art world [which] draws its figures from every quarter' suggests that (at least the perception of) the circulation of the New Zealand art world had indeed improved since McLintock's description in 1940 of the 'most beneficial' effect of newly institutionalised one-way 'channels [through which] post-war theories [of art] slowly flowed' from Britain to the Dominion in the 1920s and 1930s, and 'at last troubled' 'the stagnant waters' of art in New Zealand.[38] And while, in Barton's view, 'distance and location are still at issue',[39] despite her headline pronouncement of the end of distance, her description of the contemporary permeability of certain — national, cultural, linguistic, geopolitical, and economic — boundaries, which have historically enforced a division between the art and artists of the South, including New Zealand, and the North, certainly suggests a different view from that of McCormick, who described the condition of the artist in mid-twentieth-century New Zealand as not only isolated from the European centres of art but also as being divided 'between two hemispheres', that is, in a state of perpetual exile, either from the world of so-called Western art, or, if an artist chose to become an expatriate, from their native country.[40] Indeed, I would argue that it is not necessarily or not only distance itself, which, in announcing its end, Barton wishes to terminate, but rather the predominant interpretation of art in New Zealand, in which the situation is viewed, as McLintock and McCormick have viewed it, primarily through the lens of distance — rather than contact.

Barton's reflections upon the effect of the *New Vision* report on the art world(s) in and of Aotearoa/New Zealand are comparable, in both content and format, with the Australian art historian Terry Smith's observations of the development of the 'provincialism problem', which Smith first described in 1974 from his perspective in New York in a text for which he has since become

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[38] Ibid., p. 34; A. H. McLintock, 'Introduction', in *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940), pp. 7–16 (p. 15).
[39] Barton, 'State of the Art', p. 35.
[40] E. H. McCormick, 'Between Two Hemispheres', in E. H. McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand*, New Zealand Centennial Surveys, 10 (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940), pp. 126–68.

renowned.[41] In an article published in 2006, the year that also saw the publication of Barton's 'State of the Art New Zealand' article, Smith observes:

> Just over thirty years ago I described the international art system as still centred, however precariously and debilitating, on the New York art world. It is inspiring, now, to be able to see that this system, however much it strives to concentrate its power, has been transformed by a larger network of widely dispersed and variously connected sources of creative coping. A less salutary, and even more challenging, aspect of contemporaneity is the world (dis)order in which this productivity subsists.[42]

In lieu of the once world dominant yet provincial New York art world, here Smith describes a recently globalised and decentred, and indeed globalising and decentring, network of art comprised of translocally connected art worlds. Indeed, Barton's description of 'a far-flung network of New Zealander's operating from various centres' sounds, at least initially, reminiscent of the 'network of widely dispersed and variously connected sources of creative coping' described by Smith.[43] I would argue, however, that while Barton's commentary is not entirely triumphant over the recent shifts that she has observed in the case of the New Zealand art world(s), there is no hint in her article that suggests she sees certain aspects of the global context in which these shifts have taken place as unwelcome, or 'less salutary', as Smith explicitly does. Rather, in Barton's description the 'various centres' that comprise a 'far-flung [national] network' sound more like a variety of diverse, interesting, and desirable locations, or destinations, than the 'variously connected sources of creative coping' of Smith's description, which connotes the contemporary difficulties of locatedness conditioned by the uneven flow of global capital. Despite the differences in Barton's and Smith's perceptions, or at least descriptions, of the conditions in and through which contemporary art is

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[41] Terry Smith, 'The Provincialism Problem', *Art Forum*, 13.1 (1974), 54–59 (repr. in *Australian Art Historiography*, ed. by Jaynie Anderson (= *Journal of Art Historiography*) 4 (2011)), 1–14 <http://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2011/05/smith-provincialism-problem-1974.pdf> [accessed 28 September 2013]).

[42] Terry Smith, 'Contemporary Art and Contemporaneity', *Critical Inquiry*, 32.4 (2006), 681–707 (p. 707).

[43] Barton, 'State of the Art', p. 34.

produced across the world, Barton's account of 'a far-flung network' is, however, a testament to the transformation, if not resolution, of the 'provincialism problem' in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context.

Barton's optimistic view of this transformation certainly differs from those expressed in a series of four forums on the topic of the visual arts in New Zealand that was held at the Adam, VUW, in 2001 — only five years before Barton's 'State of the Art' article was published and four years after the publication of *New Vision* — and in which Barton herself participated as one of four chairs. It would seem from the collective perspective of these forums that there is little evidence that 'the traffic' of artists and arts professionals was 'beginning to move both ways', that is, both to and from New Zealand, as Barton was to claim in 2006.[44] Rather, the impression one gathers from reading these discussions is of a significant loss of artists from New Zealand. Indeed, Gregory Burke, who in his role as arts advisor at CNZ 'conceived and led the project' that resulted in the *New Vision* report,[45] offers no real answer to the ongoing problem of expatriation that he highlights upfront in his opening statement:

> New Zealand artists have long sought connections to the forces that fire the visual arts internationally. Frances Hodgkins and Len Lye are early examples. That they felt compelled to leave New Zealand in order to succeed is understandable in the days before air travel, air freighted art magazines, the internet and email. It is easier now to stay connected to international developments, so why, we might ask, are so many of our early to mid-career artists deciding to become expatriates?[46]

Robert Leonard, then director of Artspace, also highlights this problem, listing the names of artists who had left New Zealand to practise elsewhere and who, in his view, comprise an 'entire generation' of expatriates, and pointing out the irony of their departure in the face of the unprecedented flourishing of cultural institutions, if not the whole of the visual arts sector, in New Zealand:

> While the infrastructure metastasizes, our artists and critics are jumping ship. An entire generation is gone or going. Giovanni Intra, Tessa Laird

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[44] Ibid., p. 34.

[45] McDermott Miller, *New Vision*, p. 4.

[46] Gregory Burke and others, 'Out There: New Zealand and the Global Art Reach', in *Art Forum: Series 2001*, ed. by Kate Griffin and Zara Stanhope, pp. 7–14 (p. 8).

and Joyce Campbell went to Los Angeles; Gavin Hipkins and Anne Shelton went to Vancouver; Mike Stevenson and Peter Robinson to Berlin; Ben

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anymore?[47]

While Barton does not deny the contemporary phenomenon of expatriation that Burke and Leonard describe, indeed admitting that '[t]here is a brisk traffic of young artists leaving New Zealand to further their careers', she also observes the inverse, claiming that '[e]qually, a new crop of talented and ambitious foreigners have chosen to come to New Zealand […] to further their careers. This allows Barton to view the expatriation of artists and arts professionals, such as Burke and Leonard, who in 2005 relocated to Toronto and Brisbane respectively to take up directorships in esteemed arts institutions, as 'not so much a loss [but] as a signpost of a new era'.[48] But (how) could the situation of the arts in Aotearoa/New Zealand have changed so rapidly in the five years between the forum in 2001 and the publication of Barton's article in 2006? I would argue that the transformation to which Barton bears witness is as much a shift of interpretation than actual change; that her observation of two-way traffic in fact reflects an increasing scholarly emphasis on the connectivity and reciprocity of situations in which art is produced, exchanged, and displayed — an emphasis, that is, in viewing the objects, subjects, and events of art's histories in terms of contact rather than distance.

If Leonard expresses ambivalence about the contemporary expatriation of New Zealand artists, wondering if they 'have been effectively exported (and we can pat ourselves on the back) or whether they have left due to limited

[47] Robert Leonard, 'Trickle Up', in *Art Forum: Series 2001*, ed. by Kate Griffin and Zara Stanhope (Wellington: Adam, 2002), pp. 34–35 (p. 35).
[48] Barton, 'State of the Art', p. 34.

opportunities', he is certainly unequivocal in declaring the abatement of distance and its effects:

> The quotation originally presented here has been partially removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

anymore: all contemporary art is revalued as provincial and marginal.[49]

Here Leonard makes an important distinction, between the geographical remoteness of New Zealand from metropolitan art centres and the (sociocultural and (geo)political) differences and distances that this remoteness entails, which is thought to have led to the ideological exclusion of (even expatriate) New Zealand artists from Euro-American histories and/or canons of art, and consequently exhibitions and collections, in effect exacerbating the New Zealand artist's geographical isolation. While this disciplinary mode of exclusion can be attributed to the effects of distance, it is, as we can infer from Leonard's statement above, more generally thought of in terms of the provincialism problem. In referencing the New Zealand art historian Francis Pound, who, as we shall see in Chapter 2, spent a large part of his career bemoaning the 'topos of distance and isolation from Europe', which he describes as '[o]ne of the most common themes in twentieth century high culture', including the historiography of New Zealand art,[50] Leonard is implicitly speaking about distance as a discourse and not only something that is, in his own words, 'simply concrete'. It is against this discourse of distance, which, as I will show in Chapter 2, is particular to New Zealand art historiography, that Leonard, in delivering the annual Gordon H. Brown Lecture ten years after he participated in the forum series hosted by the Adam, instead proposed an art history of contact.

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[49] Leonard, 'Trickle Up', p. 35.

[50] Francis Pound, 'Distance Looks our Way', in *Distance Looks our Way: Ten Artists from New Zealand*, ed. by Mary Barr ([Wellington]: Distance Looks our Way Trust, 1992), pp. 21–30 (p. 21).

Before I discuss the content of Leonard's lecture in more detail in the following section of this chapter, I would like to flesh out the relationship between Leonard's contribution to the forum discussion at the Adam in 2001 and the lecture that Leonard delivered under the auspices of the Art History Programme at VUW in 2011. Although (the edited texts of) these discourses are seemingly unrelated in terms of content — the former is a response to the question of the strategic resourcing of development in the visual arts, and the latter is a response to the invitation to speak on 'an aspect of New Zealand art' — in both talks Leonard discusses, or suggests, the end of (a discourse of) distance and the concomitant end of New Zealand art (history).[51] In fact, as Barton points out on the back cover of the lecture publication, the lecture, entitled 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', develops upon research into the history of contemporary New Zealand art that Leonard conducted as a fellow at VUW in 2002, shortly after he participated in the forum. I would argue that some of what Leonard discussed in the forum, in particular his ideas on distance, are preliminary to the subsequent research he conducted during his fellowship at VUW, at least as it is presented in *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, the edited lecture text published in 2012.

In the forum, Leonard raised a key question concerning the identity of New Zealand art, a question which presumably guided his research the following year, and which he followed up on in his lecture ten years later. Moreover, this question is tied, in the texts of both forum and lecture, to the question of distance. Having remarked on the significant number of New Zealand artists and art critics based overseas, who in his view constituted not only 'an entire generation' but also 'the core of our [New Zealand's] contemporary art canon', Leonard asks: 'How do we retain a relationship with New Zealand art when it's not made in New Zealand anymore?'.[52] He also observes that '[o]ur [New Zealand's] relationship to distance has changed', or at least that it is in the

[51] Barton, 'Preface', in Blackley, *A Nation's Portraits*, p. 5.
[52] Leonard, 'Trickle Up', p. 35.

process of changing.[53] In highlighting the shifting nature of "our" relationship with New Zealand art on the one hand and with distance on the other, Leonard points up the paradoxical nature of the relationship between (the production of) New Zealand art and (the effects of) distance.[54] According to Leonard, it would seem that just as the wider world of art started to open up to New Zealand artists, if not New Zealand art (for we must remember that outside of Australasia the discipline of Art History is yet to admit the possibility of New Zealand art as an object of study and has largely ignored its canonical figures), that is, just as the prohibitive effects of distance on the conditions of and for New Zealand art(ists) started to recede, a large cohort of New Zealand artists chose to become 'based offshore',[55] and thus the production of New Zealand art(ists) became distant, distanced, and even alienated from those located

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[53] Ibid., p. 35. Although at first Leonard claims that '[o]ur relationship to distance has changed', he goes on to qualify — or contradict — this assertion by suggesting that '[i]t is […] time to renegotiate our relationship with distance'. Here, just as in Barton's 'State of the Art' article, in which she pronounces that there is no more distance while admitting that distance is still an issue (p. 35), there seems to be some ambiguity as to New Zealand's relationship with distance. Is Leonard saying that 'our relationship to distance *has* changed' [my emphasis] and thus we need 'to renegotiate' — to change the way we think and act about — this relationship? Or is he saying that because our experience of distance has been rapidly transformed under the conditions of neoliberal globalisation, we need to first take stock of our position in relation to the changes that have occurred and then 'to renegotiate our relationship with distance' in light of our altered position?

[54] It is unclear exactly who constitutes the political community that Leonard is referring to when he uses the possessive determiner "our", as in 'our relationship to distance', and the pronoun "we", as in 'we are no longer ideologically excluded', other than himself, of course, and those who participated in and attended the forum, which included artists, art educators, art critics, curators and other arts professionals from (the North Island of) New Zealand and (two major cities in) Australia. I make this point because it pertains to the concern that Leonard expresses in his text regarding the identity of New Zealand art and its audience. Thus, (the reader may have noticed that) when I have made use of quotations in which Leonard uses the word "our" without nominating exactly who he is referring to, I have sometimes substituted the word "New Zealand's" to refer to the broadest possible group of people within the country, thereby holding open the possibility that everyone in New Zealand might have been able to experience what Leonard described in the forum, for example, a transformation in their 'relationship to distance', and even to refer to the country itself, which, from an indigenous or posthumanist perspective, may be considered not as an inanimate entity or an abstraction but rather as lively matter that is shaped by and itself shapes 'our relationship to distance'.

[55] Leonard, 'Trickle Up', p. 35.

within New Zealand who had until this time been much isolated in their privileged consumption of what they were accustomed to calling "New Zealand" art. Ironically, in the relative absence of distance, the identity — the New Zealandness — of New Zealand art was, at least perceived by Leonard to be, at stake, its existence threatened once again by the abatement of the very problem of distance, to which has been attributed the historical exclusion, and indeed denial, of New Zealand art(ists). Thus, it would seem that distance — either the presence or absence thereof — remained problematic.

If in the forum Leonard highlighted the intractable question of (a discourse of) distance that is always already lodged at the origin of (the question of) New Zealand art and suggested practical 'concrete' ways in which to 'renegotiate our relationship with' this problem and thereby turn it to advantage, in the lecture 'Nostalgia for Intimacy' Leonard proposed a more theoretical solution to the problematic New Zealand art-historical discourse of distance. As Barton notes in her introduction to the edited lecture text, Leonard narrates his anecdotal history of contemporary New Zealand art 'using the notion of "intimacy" rather than "distance" as his discursive frame'.[56] Leonard himself mentions this substitution of distance with intimacy, which is, as I will argue in the following section of this chapter, a form or manifestation of, and is thus synonymous with, contact. About to cast aside the familiar New Zealand art historiographical narrative of distance, which he typifies in the opening statement of his lecture,[57] Leonard anticipates the concerns of his audience by voicing a question on their behalf:

> You might ask: why is it even necessary to talk about intimacy, which is a vague idea, when distance, isolation, and smallness are simpler, clearer, more concrete ones? I'm drawn to the intimacy idea because it is about the way these external factors have been internalised — psychologised.[58]

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[56] Barton, 'Preface', in Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, p. 5.

[57] Leonard opens *Nostalgia for Intimacy* by claiming that '[i]t is often said that New Zealand art has been shaped by distance, isolation, and smallness' (p. 9); a claim I will discuss in more detail at the start of Chapter 2.

[58] Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, pp. 9–10.

Leonard thus postulates what Barton, in her introduction, calls the 'discursive frame' of intimacy, or contact, not as a mutually exclusive alternative to that of distance, but as its inverse: as an inside that internalises an outside, that reconstitutes an ostensibly concrete externality most often described in terms of 'distance, isolation, and smallness'. In other words, Leonard attempts to turn the New Zealand art-historical discourse of distance inside out by reframing contemporary New Zealand art history through a particular lens of contact.

The 'Disappearance of Distance' and the Reappearance of Contact

Near the end of 2011, around the time of the AAANZ annual conference, two curators — one renowned locally, the other globally — gave public lectures in Wellington, both of which observed a comparable shift in the conditions of contemporary art production, from distance to proximity, albeit in different (curatorial) contexts, and with different art-historical implications. The first of these talks, entitled 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', was given by Robert Leonard, then director of the Institute of Modern Art, Brisbane, as the tenth annual Gordon H. Brown Lecture, hosted by the capital's City Gallery on the last Saturday of November. The second, entitled 'Intense Proximity: Concerning the Disappearance of Distance', was delivered by Okwui Enwezor, then director of the Haus der Kunst, Munich, as a keynote address at Te Papa during the aforementioned conference less than two weeks later.

In his lecture, entitled 'Intense Proximity', Enwezor addressed the conference theme of contact through a discussion of a major exhibition project that he was in the process of developing, namely 'Intense Proximity', which would open to the public as the third edition of La Triennale, a large-scale contemporary art event held in Paris, in April 2012. The exhibition was organised by the idea of "intense proximity", a phrase coined by Enwezor to describe a set of contemporary social conditions that the exhibition intended to highlight; conditions characterised, in his view, by a certain contiguity of cultures that has come about in the process(es) of globalisation as a result of the dissolution of 'the temporal and spatial distance that previously separated

cultures',[59] and which in turn shape the conditions of much contemporary artistic and curatorial production, the triennial itself included. Intense proximity is, according to Enwezor, 'a form of disturbing nearness that unsettles as much as it exhilarates', a contact zone that is at once intimate and antagonistic, and which arises 'when the distance between the near and the far is on the verge of eradication', and in particular 'when the other threatens to melt the ethnocentric particularism of indigeneity'.[60] Such a collapse of distance, or intensification of cultural contact, is, Enwezor argued, emblematic of the present — the theme of the conference was, he thus affirmed, 'a timely one'.[61] And while intense proximity renders difference and alterity visible, according to Enwezor it also fuels what he calls 'a rising politics of negation', or in other words, 'a rabid form of anti-difference' (p. 86).[62] Enwezor warns: 'This issue is not merely rhetorical, especially if we place it in the context of the cultural politics of Europe today, where indigenes of European countries cry out that their cultures are being invaded and transformed by outsiders'.[63] He thus argues for the urgency of attending to the unfinished business of cultural contact, which he regards as an issue of aesthetics as well as of politics, through the exhibition of contemporary art, which he hopes can contribute to a post-identitarian public discourse. How do Enwezor's concerns transpose into the Aotearoa/New Zealand context?

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[59] Okwui Enwezor, 'The Postcolonial Constellation: Contemporary Art in a State of Permanent Transition', *Research in African Literatures*, 34 (2003), 57–82 (p. 57).

[60] Okwui Enwezor, 'Intense Proximity: Concerning the Disappearance of Distance', in *Fragile Identities*, ed. by Kerstin Stakemeier and Susanne Witzgall (Zurich: Diaphanes, 2017), pp. 79–90 (pp. 82–84) ebook (first publ. in *Intense Proximity: An Anthology of the Near and the Far*, ed. by Okwui Enwezor and others (Paris: Centre National des Arts Plastiques, 2012). It is important to note that Enwezor's concept of intense proximity is indebted to Mary Louise Pratt's concept of the contact zone, as he himself acknowledges.

[61] Okwui Enwezor, 'Intense Proximity: Concerning the Disappearance of Distance', in AAANZ, 'Art Association of Australia and New Zealand 2011 Annual Conference', conference programme, p. 25 <https://aaanz.info/aaanz-home/conferences/past-conferences/conference-2011-contact/> [accessed 20 June 2022].

[62] Enwezor, 'Intense Proximity', in *Fragile Identities*, p. 86.

[63] Ibid., p. 84.

Less than two weeks before Enwezor spoke in Wellington, the then Brisbane-based curator Robert Leonard had also given a public lecture in the capital city in which he too noted a shift in the conditions of contemporary art production, from distance to contact, albeit in a different (curatorial) context. In this lecture, entitled 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', Leonard set out to explicitly challenge the dominant narrative of distance, which is perceived to govern New Zealand art historiography, by narrating his account of New Zealand art, and its demise, through the corrective lens of intimacy, proximity, and contact. 'It is often said', Leonard asserted in opening the lecture, 'that New Zealand art has been shaped by distance, isolation, and smallness.'[64] Inherent in Leonard's opening statement is a tension concerning the end of distance; the distance that supposedly shaped New Zealand art, which Leonard speaks of in the past tense, has passed, but talk of the well-worn theme of distance is still apparently present, even if it is already passé. If one were to take Leonard's words literally, it would seem that the discourse of distance some art historians have considered peculiar to New Zealand art historiography was still a frequent topic of conversation at the time of Leonard's lecture. Leonard's initial report concerning the recurrence of this apparently persistent statement of New Zealand art discourse functioned as a rhetorical device, a convenient point of departure from which Leonard set out to distance his own account of contemporary New Zealand art.

Rather than contend with the dominant New Zealand art historiographical paradigm of distance, Leonard achieved a certain distance from this almost mythical paradigm through the distancing effect of nostalgia, which allowed him to forget about distance in his attempt to recall the intimacy of 'the early days' of contemporary art in New Zealand,[65] which he had experienced at first-hand. Through the lens of nostalgia, Leonard goes on to narrate events, controversies, and debates that had taken place in the contemporary art scene(s) of New Zealand during the 1980s and 1990s, often drawing upon his own first-hand

[64] Ibid., p. 1.
[65] Ibid., p. 10.

experience of these incidents, which he gained initially while studying art history as an undergraduate at the University of Auckland in the early 1980s, and later while working in various curatorial roles in museums across the country over a twenty-year period, between 1985 and 2005. By focussing on personal encounters and exchanges, that is, contact, between artists, critics, art historians, art dealers, and curators in New Zealand during this period, Leonard depicted an intimate art world characterised by an intense familiarity that engendered both friendship and animosity, dialogue and conflict, between subjects.

Leonard's choice of the word "intimacy" as the key term to describe certain conditions of contact that shaped contemporary art production in late twentieth-century New Zealand was, like Enwezor's use of the phrase "intense proximity", derived from a specific curatorial context, namely that of the exhibition 'Headlands: Thinking Through New Zealand Art', which was co-curated by Leonard and Bernice Murphy and held at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, in 1992. Leonard explicitly borrowed the term from Murphy, who had used it, in an essay published in the *Headlands* exhibition catalogue, to distinguish between 'the sociological and cultural contexts in which New Zealand art has been formed', which, in her view, was marked by a certain intimacy, and the contexts that informed art in Australia, 'where events and influences are much more dispersed, stratified or deflected into specific areas', and which therefore lacked the intimacy that Murphy saw as characteristic of New Zealand art.[66] Murphy's appreciation of the intimacy of the various contexts in and out of which New Zealand art was produced led Leonard, in his lecture, to positively re-evaluate this 'inwardly focussed scene in which the proximity of competing claims was especially keenly felt', and to conclude with regret the passing of this late-twentieth-century moment when intimacy was, in his view, a 'distinguishing condition of New Zealand art'.[67]

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[66] Bernice Murphy, 'Figuring Culture: Introduction to Headlands', in *Headlands: Thinking through New Zealand Art*, ed. by Mary Barr (Sydney: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1992), pp. 9–12 (p. 11).

[67] Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, p. 9 and p. 44.

Leonard's lecture marked the end of the initial cycle of Victoria University's annual art history lecture series, which had been devoted to 'the presentation of new scholarship on an aspect of New Zealand art history' since its inception, following Brown's inaugural address, in 2002.[68] The second iteration of the series, which ran from 2012 until 2016 under the auspices of the AHRC, aimed to step outside of the national paradigm that, as Matthew Rampley has pointed out, continues to dominate current art-historical scholarship, by 'widening its scope to place New Zealand art history into broader post-nationalist and cross-cultural contexts'.[69] The discursive framework that was chosen as an alternative to the national framework of the first cycle was, in keeping with the AHRC's objectives, that of contact. Leonard's lecture was thus crucially situated at a turning point in the focus of the lecture series, a change of direction that is itself indicative of a broader turn in contemporary art(-historical) discourse in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context.

This turn that I speak of is at once a turning *away from* a certain canonical history of New Zealand art that is generally regarded as nationalist, and which, as I will attempt to show in Chapter 2, has come to be associated, and even conflated, with a discourse of distance, and a turning *towards* an art history of contact in the hope of redressing, or at least not perpetuating, the particular set of exclusions perpetrated by canonical New Zealand art history. It is this discursive about-turn, this two-fold turning — *away from* a discourse of distance and *towards* a discourse of contact, which constituted, at least in part, what I am calling the (re)turn towards an art history of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context.

The Art History Research Cluster and the Institution of 'a Newly Engaged Art History'

In 2010, the AHRC was set up at VUW under the direction of Geoffrey Batchen, shortly after he took up his appointment as professor and programme director of Art History. The cluster brought together academic art historians with peers

[68] Barton, 'Preface', in Blackley, *A Nation's Portraits*, p. 5.
[69] Barton, 'Preface', in Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, p. 6.

working in the curatorial field to provide a focal point for visual arts research conducted within the now disbanded School of Art History, Classics and Religious Studies.[70] Initially funded for three years, the cluster managed to eke out its seed money beyond this timeframe and to thereby remain active until 2016. During this time, it provided sponsorship for a number of events related to its single yet broad research theme of contact, which was chosen not only because it framed a set of long-standing research interests shared by its members, but also because it was considered to be a highly topical theme. The first significant public event that the cluster sponsored was the aforementioned AAANZ annual conference, which, in effect, launched its activities.

The AHRC generated a small body of literature associated, either directly or indirectly, with the cluster's project. Following on from the conference, Batchen and his colleague David Maskill guest edited, on behalf of the AHRC, a special issue of the *ANZJA*, in which seven articles on the theme of contact were published in 2013.[71] The scholarship produced by the AHRC, or prompted by its call for an art history of contact, is not confined, however, to the papers presented at the conference or published in the special *Contact* issue of the *ANZJA*. There are several other publications in which the AHRC's proposal for a 'newly engaged art history' is put forward and developed. The AHRC also

[70] The AHRC comprised scholars employed in both the Art History and the Museum and Heritage Studies programmes as well as staff of the Adam, an institution that has always been closely associated with the Art History programme since it was established to manage the university's art collection in 2007.

[71] Caroline Jordan, 'Cultural Exchange in the Midst of Chaos: Theodore Sizer's Exhibition "Art of Australia 1788–1941"', in *Contact*, ed. by Batchen and Maskill (= *ANZJA*, 13 (2013)), 25–51; Amanda Peacock, 'Reflections and Shadows: Picturing William "Murrangurk" Buckley', in *Contact*, ed. by Batchen and Maskill (= *ANZJA*, 13 (2013)), 53–69; Ian McLean, 'Mysterious Correspondences between Charles Baudelaire and Tommy McRae: Reimagining Modernism in Australia as a Contact Zone', in *Contact*, ed. by Batchen and Maskill (= *ANZJA*, 13 (2013)), 71–89; Linda Tyler, 'Art, Science, and Photography: New Zealand Illustrator John Buchanan', in *Contact*, ed. by Batchen and Maskill (= *ANZJA*, 13 (2013)), 91–103; Caroline Vercoe, 'I Am my Other, I Am my Self: Encounters with Gauguin in Polynesia', in *Contact*, ed. by Batchen and Maskill (= *ANZJA*, 13 (2013)), 105–25; Christine Nicholls, 'Mission Accomplished: The Hermannsburg Potters', in *Contact*, ed. by Batchen and Maskill (= *ANZJA*, 13 (2013)), 127–45; Susan Cochrane, 'Inter-Animation of Kastom and Contemporary Culture: Papua New Guinean Art at the Asia Pacific Triennials', in *Contact*, ed. by Batchen and Maskill (= *ANZJA*, 13 (2013)), 147–67.

organised and published the second iteration of the annual Gordon H. Brown Lecture series, which was held at the City Gallery, Wellington, between 2012 and 2016. Rather than present 'new scholarship on an aspect of New Zealand art history', which had been the aim of the series since it began in 2002, the five scholars who delivered these lectures were invited by the AHRC to speak instead about 'the nature and effects of the artistic encounter of two or more cultures'.[72] These lectures and the special issue of *ANZJA* comprise a small yet significant body of literature that was produced in direct response to the AHRC's question of an art history of contact.[73]

The sixth issue of *Reading Room*, entitled 'Elective Proximities', and published, like Batchen and Maskill's special *Contact* issue, in 2013, can be read in part as an indirect response to the 2011 AAANZ annual conference, and in particular to the concept of intense proximity aired at the conference by the delegate Okwui Enwezor in his keynote lecture 'Intense Proximity: Concerning the Disappearance of Distance'. Two members of the AHRC were involved in the production of the 'Elective Proximities' edition of *Reading Room*; not only was Barton one of the journal's three editors, Barton and her colleague Peter Brunt each contributed an article to the journal, which also included texts written by and about Jim Allen and post-object art.[74] A reproduction of a black

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[72] Batchen, 'Art History Research Cluster', para. 24 of 24. (See the final paragraph of Appendix 1, p. 436).

[73] The published texts of the second iteration of the Gordon H. Brown Lectures are, in chronological order: Gibson, *Aqueous Aesthetics*; Deirdre Brown, Ngarino Ellis and Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, *Does Māori Art History Matter?*, ed. by Geoffrey Batchen, Gordon H. Brown Lecture Series, 12 (Wellington: VUW, 2014); Nicholas Thomas, *A Critique of the Natural Artefact: Anthropology, Art and Museology*, ed. by Geoffrey Batchen, Gordon H. Brown Series, 13 (Wellington: VUW, 2015); Rebecca Rice, *Unsettling: Art and the New Zealand Wars*, ed. by Roger Blackley, Gordon H. Brown Series, 14 (Wellington: VUW, 2016); and Damian Skinner, *London: Calling: Artistic Decolonisation and the New Commonwealth Internationalism*, ed. by Geoffrey Batchen, Gordon H. Brown Series, 15 (Wellington: VUW, 2017).

[74] Listed here are ten of the thirteen articles, including Barton's and Brunt's contributions, that were published in 'Elective Proximities', and which I consider most pertinent to the theme of contact, in the order that they appeared in the publication itself: J. G. A. Pocock, 'Deconstructing Europe', *RR*, 6 (2013), 8–27 (first publ. in *London Review of Books*, 13.24 (December 1991), 6–10); Anna Parlane, 'Goes Almost Anywhere: The Vehicle as Motif in the Art of Michael Stevenson', *RR*, 6 (2013), 28–45; Phil Dadson, 'Sound Stories', *RR*, 6 (2013), 46–61; Christina Barton, 'Together/Apart:

and white photograph of Nicolaï Michoutouchkine and Aloï Pilioko in Red Square, Moscow, in 1980 illustrates not only Brunt's article on these two artists, subtitled 'Perpetual Travellers', but also the 'Elective Proximities' issue of *Reading Room* in which it was published.[75] This image was also circulated in an advertisement for the journal *Reading Room* published in the special *Contact* issue of the *ANZJA* (Figure 1.9).

In the prefatory texts of the literature described above, and in the ephemera associated with the cluster, the proposal for an art history of contact put forward by Batchen in the conference plenary is reiterated if not developed. Although less than seven hundred words, Batchen and Maskill's editorial is arguably the most comprehensive statement of the cluster's proposal. In this short text, the editors, in elaborating upon the call for conference papers, challenge '[art historians] who live in New Zealand […] to develop an art history that' can not only measure up to the nation's complex and diverse forms of political, social, and cultural life, but that 'might well have something to teach the rest of the world'.[76] In a much shorter statement of the cluster's aims, it is envisioned that this 'newly engaged art history' will be written from the regional vantage point of the Pacific and will be postcolonial, transnational, attentive to the context(s) of decolonisation, and able to effectively 'articulate the relationship of indigenous and settler visual cultures'.[77] In attending to the

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Regional Networks in a Global Age: Imagining the Pacific in New Zealand, 1976', *RR*, 6 (2013), 70–85; Peter Brunt, 'Nicolai Michoutouchkine and Alio Pilioko: The Perpetual Travellers', *RR*, 6 (2013), 86–103; 'Where I'm Calling from: A Roundtable on Location and Region', ed. by Lee Weng Choy, *RR*, 6 (2013), 104–23; Jim Allen, 'Mildura Sculpture Triennials, Australia', *RR*, 6 (2013), 124–29; Eric Riddler, 'Sculpture in Sunraysia: New Zealand Artists at the Mildura Sculpture Triennial', *RR*, 6 (2013), 130–40; Charlotte Huddleston, 'A Little Knowledge Let Loose on an Untrained Mind: Jim Allen as Educator', *RR*, 6 (2013), 158–67; Tom Irwin, '"He Ain't Heavy, He's my Brother": *Reading Room* Presents a Record of New Zealand Artists Exhibiting in Australasian Networks', *RR*, 6 (2013), 178–183.

[75] Brunt's article, cited in n. 74 immediately above, has since been developed and published as Peter Brunt, 'Falling into the World: The Global Art World of Aloï Pilioko and Nicolaï Michoutouchkine', in *Mapping Modernisms: Art, Indigeneity, Colonialism*, ed. by Elizabeth Harney and Ruth B. Phillips (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2018), pp. 283–303.

[76] Batchen and Maskill, 'Editorial', in *Contact*, ed. by Batchen and Maskill, p. 21.

[77] Batchen, 'Art History Research Cluster', paras 1 and 3 of 24.

specificity of local histories of art in the (Asia) Pacific with an eye to the ways in which they are entangled with other local, national, and global histories of art, it is hoped that such art histories will help to broaden the disciplinary interests of Art History 'beyond its traditional concern with the cultures of Europe and North America'.

Published alongside Batchen and Maskill's editorial is an image chosen because it was thought to be 'emblematic of the complexity of "contact"'.[78] This much-quoted allegorical image, which is indeed considered by art historians as 'an icon of encounter imagery',[79] is a full bleed black and white reproduction of a watercolour now known to have been painted by the Ra'iātean priest and navigator Tupaia in Uawa, on the east coast of Te Ika-a-Māui, or the North Island of Aotearoa/New Zealand, in October 1769, while voyaging on board the *Endeavour* commanded by Captain James Cook. The watercolour depicts a local (Māori) man dressed in a feather cape exchanging a crayfish for white — most probably Tahitian bark — cloth with the botanist Joseph Banks, who was also sailing with Cook and to whom the work, now held in the British Library, was originally attributed (Figure 1.8). As anthropologist Anne Salmond has pointed out, it was only in 1997 that this image and several other works by the same hand were attributed to Tupaia based on the discovery of a passage in Banks's correspondence in which Banks describes the scene depicted in the watercolour and explicitly states Tupaia as its author.[80] Of this image Batchen and Maskill aver that '[c]ontact is here represented as a moment of exchange, of *utu* (reciprocal payment), an exchange between equals rather than aggressors', and conclude that '[t]his marvelously resonant image […] has much to teach us about contact'.[81] Tupaia's watercolour is thus rendered by Batchen and Maskill as a pedagogical object, an object through which the AHRC might fulfil its aspiration of bringing about 'an art history that […] might well

[78] Batchen and Maskill, p. 21.
[79] Nicholas Thomas, 'European Incursions 1765–1880', in *Art in Oceania: A New History*, ed. by Peter Brunt, Nicholas Thomas and others (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), pp. 270–91 (p. 274).
[80] Salmond, *Tears of Rangi*, pp. 7–8.
[81] Batchen and Maskill, pp. 21–22.

have something to teach the rest of the world'.[82] It is not Batchen and Maskill, however, but Nicholas Thomas who discusses for the first time and in depth the lesson that art historians have learned from the collection of watercolour drawings now attributed to Tupaia, in the book *Art in Oceania*, which was published in 2012, shortly before the publication of the special *Contact* issue of the *ANZJA*, and edited by Brunt, a colleague of Batchen and Maskill and fellow member of the AHRC.[83]

The AHRC's proposal can be understood in the broader context of the attempt by the Art History Programme at VUW to 'build a research culture for art history in New Zealand'.[84] Central to this effort was the Gordon H. Brown Lecture series, which began in 2002 with Brown's lecture on the art of the now canonical twentieth-century painter Colin McCahon, which was discussed at some length in the Introduction of this thesis. For the first decade, the lecture series aimed to 'provide the occasion for the presentation of new scholarship on an aspect of New Zealand art history'.[85] However, between 2012 and 2017, when the AHRC was responsible for the organisation and publication of the series, scholars were invited to speak about 'more specific concerns with the nature and effects of the artistic encounter of two or more cultures' rather than an aspect of *New Zealand* art per se.[86] The AHRC's administration of the lecture series thus instigated a shift in scholarly focus, designed 'to place New Zealand art history into broader post-nationalist and cross-cultural contexts'.[87] In effect, the Art History programme sought to replace the national disciplinary paradigm that has dominated the study of art in the twentieth century with the new

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[82] Ibid., p. 21.
[83] Thomas, 'European Incursions 1765–1880', in *Art in Oceania*, pp. 270–91 (p. 271–75).
[84] Barton, 'Preface', in Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, p. 6.
[85] Christina Barton, 'Preface', in Leonard Bell, *In Transit: Questions of Home & Belonging in New Zealand Art*, ed. by Christina Barton, Gordon H. Brown Lecture Series, 5 (Wellington: VUW, 2007), p. 5 (p. 5).
[86] Batchen, 'Art History Research Cluster', para. 24 of 24.
[87] Barton, 'Preface', in Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, p. 6.

scholarly paradigm of contact.[88] This raises the question: (how) would an art history of contact necessarily avoid the pitfalls of national(ist) art histories?

Set against the apparent absence of an art-historical research culture in New Zealand, the focussed activity of the AHRC appears to be of national significance. This strategic discursive positioning of the AHRC within a national frame of reference could be viewed, on the one hand, as a cynical act of territorialism, that is, as an attempt to assume (or reclaim) centre stage in the historiography of New Zealand art on the part of an institution that is geographically located in the country's capital city, the historical seat of state-sponsored histories (of art), and thus symbolically located at the heart of foundational histories of New Zealand (art). This would be an ironic move, insofar as it advocates the construction of post-nationalist histories of art to secure its national place. On the other hand, the initiatives of the AHRC, and thus its call for an art history of contact, do figure prominently in the field of current art-historical practice in New Zealand. This is because, in comparison to the relative ubiquity of art history research clusters in, for example, the United Kingdom, the United States, or even Australia, the singularity of the AHRC in the New Zealand context throws its pursuits into sharp relief. This national context not only affords the AHRC and the theme of contact an undeniable national visibility, it also extends a certain (ideological) weight to Batchen's enquiry and to the cluster's activity.

The AAANZ conference and its publication outcome hold a somewhat privileged position in the AHRC programme, insofar as they can be understood together to have inaugurated the AHRC at once literally (or practically) and theoretically. While the conference was not the first event held under the auspices of the AHRC, it was the first significant public event that the cluster sponsored and it thus in effect launched its activities. As I have hinted at above, the discourse produced in the course of the event, that is, in the process of

[88] For a discussion of the national paradigm that governs the discipline of art history see Matthew Rampley, 'The Construction of National Art Histories and the "New" Europe', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*, ed. by Rampley and others, pp. 231–46; see also Rampley's introduction to this same volume, as referred to above at n. 4, p. 65 of this chapter.

hosting the conference and guest editing the *ANZJA*, was then re-incorporated into the cluster's official agenda. For example, the wording of the text on the AHRC web page, which was updated in September 2013 (following the publication of the special 'Contact' issue of the *ANZJA*), is comparable to that of Batchen and Maskill's editorial statement, which, as the editors themselves point out, in turn reiterates 'the thought behind [their] call for papers'.[89] A significant portion of this mission statement has since become the set text that is reproduced by the AHRC to describe its undertaking. The event in its totality was thus formative, in the sense that it shaped the AHRC policy which gave rise to it. Furthermore, the ways in which the trace of this event is folded into the very identity of the AHRC itself means that it was integral to the cluster's institutional practice.

Although the conference and publication have provided a crucial public platform from which to propose an art history of contact, I would argue however that the scope of this proposal, and to a lesser extent the art-historical project that it has generated, remains largely circumscribed by (the circumstances of) this inaugural event. The recycling of text is indicative in this regard. While the proposal has been reiterated in several (con)texts, because these texts literally repeat statements originally written as calls for papers, the language of the proposal remains very much embedded within the rhetoric of the event, which is overly positive more than critical. By positive, I mean that the proposal seeks to establish an art history upon the present fact(s) of contact, that is, it assumes that there is something actually identifiable in the world to which the word "contact" refers and that experience of this reality presupposes the act of writing a history of art. Moreover, unlike comparable art-historical propositions initially put forward and/or tried in a conference setting and subsequently developed through publication, for example, Jill Casid and Arena D'Souza's proposition for an 'exploded art history without borders', which began as a conference held at the Clark Art Institute, Massachusetts, in November 2011 and resulted in the edited volume *Art History in the Wake of*

[89] Batchen and Maskill, p. 21.

the Global Turn published in 2014,[90] the AHRC's proposal for an art history of contact lacks the disciplinary rigour that it seeks to foster.

Calling into Question an Art History of Contact

In December 2011, at the plenary session that concluded the AAANZ annual conference, hosted by the Art History programme at VUW, Geoffrey Batchen enquired of a panel of delegates: 'Is there the possibility of developing a distinctive art history out of the specificity of our experience of contact?'[91] This polar question was posed in order to facilitate reflection upon the theme of contact, which had been under consideration over the course of three days. The theme of the conference had been chosen by its institutional host for its ostensible relevance to both the location of the event and to the regional arts sector of Australasia,[92] from which it expected to draw the majority of conference participants (speakers and audience). In opening the plenary, however, Batchen pointed out the universal appeal of the theme, which he imagined could be 'put forward at a conference almost anywhere in the world'.[93] Yet no sooner had he challenged the convenors' assumption that the theme would naturally be of local interest than he sought to verify the local specificity of the theme by inviting the delegates to consider what they had learnt about the particularity of contact in 'the Antipodes' during their short conference stay in Wellington, and it was towards this issue that the panel's

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[90] *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn*, ed. by Jill H. Casid and Arena D'Souza (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2014). See also Arena D'Souza, 'In the Wake of "In the Wake of the Global Turn"', *ARTMargins*, 1 (2012), 176–85.

[91] Batchen was in conversation with Okwui Enwezor, then director of the Haus de Kunst, Munich, Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, Professor of History of Art at the University of California, and Ann Stephen, then AAANZ president. Batchen quoted in Batchen and others, *Reflecting on the Theme of "Contact"*.

[92] 'The title of this year's conference, "Contact", seemed a natural one when we started to think about a theme that would engage art historians, artists and arts professionals working in this region.' David Maskill and Sarah Caylor, 'Welcome', in 'Art Association of Australia and New Zealand 2011 Annual Conference', conference programme, AAANZ, 2011 <http://aaanz.info/aaanz-home/conferences/past-conferences/conference-2011-contact/> [accessed 11 April 2018].

[93] Batchen and others, *A Conversation with Delegates.*

attention was directed for the remainder of the session. Thus, while the delegates made perceptive observations about the temporality and spatiality of contact(s) in the region, Batchen's question concerning the potential of an *art history* of contact, reported above, went largely unanswered.

While I do not attempt to answer this polar question, I will consider this question here in order to tease out what are, in my view, some of the (political and social) implications of this question for an art history of contact. I would argue that a certain realism structures not only this question, but also the proposition for 'a distinctive art history' as a whole, and, moreover, that such realism is also evident in the proposal for "elective proximity". I would suggest that this realism, which in both cases is framed as a response to globalism or the global, can be understood in terms of a pervasive, long-standing realism in the historiography of New Zealand art, which has posed the geographical distance between New Zealand and centres of the art world (London, New York and, to a lesser extent, Paris) as a real obstacle to the inclusion of New Zealand art in so called mainstream art history. My point is that it is less the real conditions in which art historians (and artists) have worked and must work in New Zealand and more this very realism that in fact leads to the neglect of properly and strategically formulated disciplinary projects which could effectively counter not only the hegemony of mainstream art history but also that of the discourse of New Zealand art, which works within New Zealand to exclude artists of certain ethnicities and women artists in particular.

Batchen's question also raises issues to do with appropriation. His use of the first-person possessive determiner "our" leads me to ask, for example: who is included, and who is thus excluded, when "we" speak of "our" experience of contact? This is not only a social question, but also a political question. Here I make recourse to J. G. A. Pocock, who asks: 'what are the political conditions under which we can associate to say "we" and narrate histories that are "ours"?'[94] My turn to Pocock is strategic, insofar as it counters a move made by

[94] J. G. A. Pocock, 'Deconstructing Europe', *RR*, 6 (2013), 8–27 (first publ. in *London Review of Books*, 13.24 (December 1991), 6–10).

the editors of 'Elective Proximity' who republished Pocock's essay 'Deconstructing Europe', which originally appeared in the *London Review of Books* in 1991 and was instrumental in what is called the "new British history". My aim here is to redirect their critique, which effectively looks outward from small, subordinate New Zealand and points the finger towards dominant Europe, inward in order to suggest the task of deconstructing the history and historiography of New Zealand art, and more immediately the national framework inherent in the proposition for an art history of contact as it has been formulated by the AHRC.

With reference to Derrida, via Ashley Thompson, I would like to question the assumption that "our" experience is ever simply our own. If, like language, experience 'is never simply ours' and 'we are fated to appropriate "our" own [experience]', is it even possible to re-appropriate 'our experience of contact' for the purposes of writing art history?[95] If Batchen's question is considered in conjunction with the opening statement of the editorial that he co-edited with Maskill, it is clear that an idea of cultural contact is privileged. If, as Thompson asserts in her reading of Derrida, 'that which we call culture is always, by definition, universally, originarily, colonial', then does Batchen's question in fact suggest an act of cultural appropriation that is essentially colonial?[96] Can a certain colonialism be located at the foundation of the AHRC project, which explicitly aimed to 'enable and produce post-colonial' art histories?[97] There is also a question of distinctiveness here, an issue which Batchen also raised in two articles published in the early years of his directorship of the AHRC:[98] If a notion of the distinctiveness — or New Zealandness — of art underpins

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[95] Ashley Thompson, 'Post-Cosmopolitical Theories: Sexual Difference, Vernacularisation and Art after Angkor', *Transeuropéennes: International Journal of Critical Thought* (2010) <http://www.transeuropeennes.org/en/articles/237/Post_cosmopolitical_Theories_Sexual_Difference_Vernacularisation_and_Art_after_Angkor.html> [accessed 11 March 2017].

[96] Ibid., Thompson, 'Post-Cosmopolitical Theories'.

[97] Batchen, 'Art History Research Cluster'. See the first paragraph (1 of 24) of Appendix 1, p. 434.

[98] Geoffrey Batchen, 'Australian Ways of Seeing', *Journal of Visual Culture*, 11 (2012), 154–57; Geoffrey Batchen, 'Guest Editorial: Local Modernisms', *World Art*, 4 (2014), 7–15.

national(ist) histories of New Zealand art, (how) would an art history of contact that is also avowedly underpinned by a notion of distinctiveness be any different to a national New Zealand art history?

The Return of Jim Allen and the Historicisation of Contemporary New Zealand Art

The recurrence, and indeed prominence, of the word "contact" in contemporary New Zealand art discourse can be associated with renewed interest in the practice of sculptor Jim Allen (1922–2023), now widely acclaimed as a central figure in the emergence and development of post-object art in New Zealand in the late 1960s and 1970s. Since Allen returned from Australia to reside in Auckland in 1998, following a hiatus of more than twenty years, his career as an artist and educator has become the subject of art-historical concern, notably in the curatorial field. Interest in Allen has coincided with, and perhaps even spurred, a re-evaluation of local legacies of post-object art and their significance to the history of art (in New Zealand) more generally. In October 1998, shortly after Allen's return to Auckland, the first in a series of exhibitions entitled 'Action Replay: Post-Object Art' was held at Artspace, Auckland,[99] for which Allen recreated the site-specific installation *Arumpo Road* (1975), originally exhibited at the sixth Mildura Sculpture Triennial in Victoria, Australia. Subsequently, a string of exhibitions held in venues across New Zealand have reconstructed and/or restaged works that Allen made between 1969 and 1976, while employed as Head of Sculpture and Associate Professor at Elam School of Fine Arts, University of Auckland. Of Allen's performance works from this period, the three-part performance *Contact* (1974) has been restaged

[99] The 'Action Replay' series comprised five exhibitions, which were held at Artspace, GB, and AAG respectively between October 1998 and January 1999. For further details, see *Action Replay: Post-Script*, ed. by Stella Brennan, Robert Leonard and Hanna Scott, (Auckland: Artspace; New Plymouth: GB, 2002).

more than any other, and, in the process of its restaging, has come to be considered his 'seminal performance'.[100]

Originally performed at Auckland City Art Gallery during the 1974 Auckland Arts Festival (Figures 1.10–1.18),[101] *Contact* has been restaged in several contemporary art venues across the North Island since it was first restaged at the opening of the 'Points of Contact' exhibition at the Govett-Brewster, New Plymouth, in 2010 (Figure 1.21). It was restaged again at Artspace over three evenings during the 2011 Auckland Arts Festival (Figure 1.22). These latter performances were broadcast live on the Te Aro campus of VUW, located in downtown Wellington, shortly before 'Points of Contact' opened at the Adam on the university's main campus. Alongside these contemporary re-presentations of *Contact*, documentation of the 1974 performance has been widely circulated in exhibition and in print (see for example Figures 1.19 and 1.23–1.24). Consequently, the word "contact" and (still and moving) images of the original and contemporary performances of *Contact* have achieved wide circulation in New Zealand (art discourse).

In this most recent and ongoing episode in the reception of Allen's work, his practice has increasingly been reconsidered through the lens of contact. This can be traced to an interview entitled 'Contact: Jim Allen Talks to Wystan Curnow and Robert Leonard', which was published in *Art New Zealand*, the country's principal art publication, in mid-2000, shortly before the first public screening of the original video footage of *Contact* took place at Artspace. As the title of the interview, the word "contact" functions as a metaphor in several ways in order to draw the readers' attention to the interviewers' concerns. On the one hand, contact is used (almost oxymoronically) as a metaphor to effectively announce Allen's arrival on the Auckland art scene and his physical presence in New Zealand. On the other hand, contact is used as an analogy for the way in which Allen, who is described here as 'a tireless facilitator', is

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[100] Tyler Cann and Mercedes Vicente, 'Points of Contact', in *Points of Contact*, ed. by Barton, Cann and Vicente, pp. 10–18 (p. 11).

[101] The performance took place as part of the 'Four Men in a Boat' exhibition at the ACAG, which also included performances by Philip Dadson and Kieran Lyons.

thought to have made contact between artists possible in his teaching role at Elam, by, for example, bringing visiting artists to New Zealand and enabling his students to exhibit internationally. Since the publication of this interview, the word "contact" has often been used less literally to refer to *Contact* as an individual artwork and more metaphorically. This is certainly the case in the 'Points of Contact' exhibition, which uses the expanded metaphor "points of contact" to depict the actual and notional connections between Allen's work and that of the other two artists in the show, namely Len Lye and Hélio Oiticica. And again, in the case of the 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand' exhibition held in Frankfurt in 2012, in which the title of Allen's performance was transposed to that of the exhibition, contact also functioned as an expanded metaphor, in this case for the connections between the works of the New Zealand artists on show, but more specifically for the interrelationship between the works of indigenous and settler artists, thus signifying an apparent transcultural dimension of New Zealand art.

The Return of a Contemporary

Allen's presence on the Auckland art scene seems to have highlighted the absence of his installations, which are generally considered his major works, from public collections in New Zealand. This has prompted acquisitions by several major national institutions. In 2006, Auckland Art Gallery purchased Allen's installation work *O-AR Part I* (1975), which was first exhibited at Barry Lett Gallery, Auckland, in July 1975.[102] Prior to this acquisition, only one of Allen's installation works was held in a public collection in New Zealand, namely *New Zealand Environment No.5* (1969), purchased by Govett-Brewster in 1970. When *O-AR Part I* entered the contemporary art collection of the Auckland Art Gallery, it was in need of much care, owing to its material degradation. Following the work's material reconstruction,[103] *O-AR Part I* was exhibited at ST

[102] *O-AR Part II* was exhibited at ACAG in November 1975. Parts one and two are documented in Jim Allen, *O-AR: Jim Allen: Recent Work* (Auckland: ACAG, 1975).
[103] For a discussion of the recent purchase and ensuing reconstruction of *O-AR*, see Serena Bentley, 'Jim Allen's O-AR Part I', *RR*, 1 (2007), 170–74.

PAUL St, Auckland, in 2007 (Figure 1.19). In 2011, Te Papa purchased five of Allen's works dating from 1969, all of which had been reconstructed for the exhibition 'Points of Contact'. These were the first of Allen's works to enter the national collection. The re-presentation of Allen's performance works for a New Zealand audience is also ongoing. For example, *Poetry for Chainsaws* (1976) was performed for the first time in New Zealand in 2006, at Michael Lett, Auckland, and again in 2007, at ST PAUL St, Auckland. And in 2014, Allen performed *News* (1976) at Michael Lett, his dealer gallery, which was the first time the piece had ever been performed in New Zealand.[104]

Interest in Allen has been spurred by, or at least coincided with, the re-evaluation of local legacies of post-object art and their significance to the history of art (in New Zealand) more generally. In October 1998, shortly after Allen's return to Auckland, the first in a series of exhibitions entitled 'Action Replay: Post-Object Art' was held at Artspace, Auckland, for which Allen recreated the installation *Arumpo Road* (1975), originally exhibited at the sixth Mildura Sculpture Triennial in Victoria, Australia. This exhibition series, which is described in the resulting publication as an 'examination of contemporary art's recent past',[105] was the first curatorial attempt to historicise post-object art for a New Zealand audience. Following 'Action Replay', the second such attempt was the exhibition 'Intervention: Post-Object and Performance Art in New Zealand in 1970 and Beyond', held at the Robert McDougall Contemporary Art Annex, Christchurch, as part of the citywide multi-media arts event 'Colloquium' staged in 2000. Both exhibition projects emphasised the paucity of post-object works in the country's art collections and the omission of post-object art from histories of art in New Zealand.[106] In fact, the amount of artworks that had to

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[104] The video of Jim Allen's performance *News* (1976) is available to watch at <http://michaellett.com/exhibition/jim-allen-news/> [accessed 26 May 2016].

[105] Gregory Burke and Robert Leonard, 'Foreword', in *Action Replay*, ed. by Brennan, Leonard and Scott, p. 4.

[106] '*Action Replay* revisited a time and a milieu of radical art practice without parallel in this country's art history. 1970s post-object art broke with painting and sculpture as it had been practised and set precedents for much of the art which followed. And yet the works are largely unknown due to the poor representation of post-object art in public collections and its inadequate coverage in the history books.' Wystan Curnow and

be either sourced from artists or recreated especially for the 'Action Replay' exhibitions led the curators to claim that the series had 'recovered a crucial chapter in the history of contemporary New Zealand art'.[107]

A rationale of redress and recuperation also informed more recent exhibitions of Allen's work. The 2010–11 exhibition 'Points of Contact' is based upon the curatorial claim that Allen's work is relatively unknown both locally and internationally in comparison to the work of Len Lye and Hélio Oiticica, the two other artists whose work was included in the exhibition. In their foreword, the curators maintain:

> Jim Allen […] is not as well known as he should be, even in his own country. *Points of Contact* has been conceived to redress this by providing resources and an occasion for some of his most significant works to be seen for the first time since they were originally presented.[108]

The particular wording of this statement positions Allen within, or at least in relation to, the historiography of the expatriate New Zealand artist, who is thought to have been overlooked.[109] More recently, the curators of the 2018–19 exhibition 'Groundswell: Avant-Garde Auckland 1971–1979' at Auckland Art Gallery (Figures 1.23–1.24), while they used the terms 'experimental' and 'avant-garde' rather than "post-object" to refer to the art on display, described the period in which Jim Allen and his associates were working as a 'largely

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others, 'Introduction', in *Action Replay*, ed. by Brennan, Leonard and Scott, p. 9. '*Action Replay* and *Intervention* are two such exhibitions that have looked at the material disparately existing in archives around the country, and have attempted to readdress the invisibility of post-object work in the accounts of New Zealand art history.' Jennifer Hay, 'Trans-Marginal: New Zealand Performance Art 1970–1985', in McDougall Art Annex, *Intervention: Post-Object and Performance Art in New Zealand in 1970 and Beyond* (Christchurch: Robert McDougall Art Gallery & Annex, 2000), pp. 5–25 (p.23).

[107] Curnow and others, 'Introduction', in *Action Replay*, ed. by Brennan, Leonard and Scott, p. 9.

[108] Barton and Devenport, 'Foreword', in *Points of Contact*, ed. by Barton, Cann and Vicente, pp. 8–9 (p. 7).

[109] The phrase 'in his own country' echoes a comparable description of the obscurity of expatriate New Zealand artist Len Lye, who was referred to as a 'prophet without honour in his own country' by a New Zealand journalist in a 1973 report. Roger Horrocks, 'In and Out of History: A Century of Len Lye', *ANZ*, 101 (2001), 52–61 (p. 52).

forgotten era'.[110] The apparent art-historical omission upon which these exhibitions of post-object art have been predicated has thus been well established as fact in a curatorial context, so much so that it seems this narrative of absence and neglect is on the brink of becoming institutionalised as fait accompli, despite the fact that the veracity of this ostensible lacuna is yet to be established by art historians working in an academic context.

Although there is evidence, in the form of publications and exhibitions, that interest in Allen's practice has demonstrably increased since his return to Auckland in 1998, in parallel with the increasing significance attributed to post-object art as a local precursor of contemporary art, his practice arguably received continuous, albeit less, attention from artists, critics and art historians in the New Zealand context during the period of his permanent residency in Australia (1976–1998). In the mid- to late 1970s his work was often mentioned in reviews in *Art New Zealand*, the main periodical for the country's visual arts, in publication since 1976.[111] In 1976, Allen's work featured alongside that of seven other artists in the book *New Art: Some Recent New Zealand Sculpture and Post-Object Art*, which he edited together with art critic Wystan Curnow.[112] In 1987, barely more than a decade after he left Auckland for Sydney, Allen's practice was treated at length in Barton's unpublished thesis, which remains the most comprehensive text on post-object art in New Zealand,[113] and his sculptural contribution to John Scott's Futuna Chapel (1961) was discussed in its architectural context.[114] In 1992, Barton wrote exclusively on a single work by Allen,[115] and Green discussed his influence on New Zealand art in an essay that

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[110] AAG, 'Groundswell: Avant-Garde Auckland 1971–79' <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/whats-on/exhibition/groundswell-avant-garde-auckland-1971-79> [accessed April 2019].

[111] See for example Anthony Green, 'A Map of New Zealand Sculpture', *ANZ*, 5 (1977), 29–30; and Wystan Curnow, 'Art Spaces: The Sydney Biennale', *ANZ*, 13 (1979), 22–23.

[112] *New Art: Some Recent New Zealand Sculpture and Post-Object Art*, ed. by Jim Allen and Wystan Curnow (Auckland: Heinemann, 1976).

[113] Christina Barton, 'Post-Object Art in New Zealand, 1969–1979' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, 1987).

[114] Russell Walden, *Voices of Silence: New Zealand's Chapel of Futuna* (Wellington: Victoria UP, 1987).

[115] Christina Barton, 'The Last Small World: Jim Allen's *New Zealand Environment No.5*', *Midwest*, 1 (1992), 29–30.

charts the historical development of art in New Zealand in modernist terms, published in the widely-read book-length catalogue that accompanied the notorious exhibition 'Headlands' at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney.[116] This same year Allen's collaborative performance piece *Autopsy* was presented at Artspace, Auckland, which suggests that interest in his practice never entirely waned in the context of the local art scene. Thus, while it may be that, as Devenport and Barton claim, Allen 'is not as well known as he should be, even in his own country',[117] I would also argue that Allen has not in fact been overlooked, either in person or, as Curnow and others have put it, 'in the history books'.[118]

Rather, I would suggest that if historical accounts of post-object art have been, and are still, lacking, this may well be symptomatic of certain broader trends in the discipline of Art History rather than of conditions peculiar to the practice of art history in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. Until very recently, and certainly during the period in question, Art History as a discipline was predisposed to neglect what is now referred to as the history of the contemporary, preferring to write about the art of deceased rather than practising artists.[119] It would therefore not have been unusual for art historians working in any national context in the 1970s to privilege what they perceived as historical rather than contemporary subjects. A more general lack of 'history

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[116] Anthony Green, 'Modernism and Modernization', in *Headlands: Thinking through New Zealand Art*, ed. by Mary Barr (Sydney: MCA, 1992), pp. 147–59 (pp. 156–57).

[117] Barton and Devenport, 'Foreword', in *Points of Contact*, p. 7. The phrase 'in his own country' echoes a comparable description of the obscurity of Len Lye, who was referred to as a 'prophet without honour in his own country', by a journalist in a 1973 report. Horrocks, 'In and Out of History', p. 52.

[118] Curnow and others, 'Introduction', in *Action Replay*, p. 9.

[119] Perhaps the most vivid illustration of Art History's aversion to the living artist can be found in Richard Meyer's account of how North American art critic Rosalind Krauss arrived at her thesis topic following a radio announcement of the death of David Smith, whose sculptures she subsequently gained approval to write about from her Harvard supervisors on the condition that her dissertation be accompanied by a catalogue raisonné. Meyer writes: 'Death here delivers the artist into history, or at least into the history of art. Sealed off from the possibility of new works, stylistic shifts, imaginative breakthroughs, or creative disappointments, Smith's artistic output could at last be scrutinized, interpreted and catalogued by the art historian. Krauss could now write a thesis on David Smith – but only, and almost literally, over his dead body.' Richard Meyer, *What Was Contemporary Art?* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013), p. 2.

books' on the subject of New Zealand art could be itself indicative of the relatively small scale of academic art-historical practice in New Zealand rather than wholehearted ignorance on the part of art historians.[120]

Jim Allen at the Centre

Since his return to Auckland in 1998, Allen has been hailed as the leading figure of the country's post-object art movement. In their interview with the artist published in 2000, Curnow and Leonard introduce Allen as 'the prime mover in the development of post object art in New Zealand in the 1970s'.[121] In her 2007 article, Barton repeats and elaborates upon Curnow and Leonards' description of Allen, introducing him as 'the prime mover behind the emergence of new — multi-media, time-based, site-specific, performative, and installation — modes of sculptural practice that galvanised artists in the 1970s.'[122] While Curnow and Leonard claim that Allen's practice had a national reach beyond the Auckland region in which he lived and taught in the 1960s and 1970s, Barton further claims that Allen's influence on New Zealand art goes beyond the objectives and timeframe of the post-object art movement itself, and extends to those modes of practice that we have come to associate with contemporary art, thus implying that Allen's practice is a precedent for the development of contemporary art in New Zealand more broadly. This latter claim has been made explicit in Curnow's more recent criticism. In the foreword to a compendium of interviews with the artist, which was published in 2014, Curnow observes that Allen is 'being recognised as *the* local precedent for present day art practices' in New Zealand.[123] Moreover, Curnow not only posits Allen as 'a

[120] I presume that the implicit target of the anonymous criticism that Curnow and others directed towards 'the history books' is art history as practised by academic art historians, as opposed to those making art history in the curatorial field.
[121] Jim Allen, Wystan Curnow and Robert Leonard, 'Contact: Jim Allen Talks to Wystan Curnow and Robert Leonard', *ANZ*, 95 (2000), 48–55, 99 (p. 48).
[122] Christina Barton, 'Jim Allen: Now', *Artlink*, 27.2 (2007), 24–27 (p. 24).
[123] Wystan Curnow, 'Foreword: Jim Allen, Contemporary', in *Jim Allen: The Skin of Years*, ed. by Gwynneth Porter (Auckland: Clouds, 2014), pp. 8–11 (p. 8).

truly seminal figure in [New Zealand's] art history' but suggests that 'we should now be saying' that Allen is 'our first contemporary artist'.[124]

It is worth noting that there is a certain circularity in the discourse surrounding Allen's recent reception in New Zealand that presupposes Allen's prominence. For example, while Barton's student, Thomasin Sleigh, has noted 'the centrality of Jim Allen', who consistently appears at the centre of 'all the narratives of post-object art in New Zealand', Sleigh offers no further insight into or analysis of the historiography of post-object art, and in fact inadvertently falls into the very narrative pattern that she foregrounds, in comments such as: 'Stimulated and challenged by the artistic developments he had seen overseas, Jim Allen became a centre of energy at the art school'; and 'work was being made by a coterie of young artists predominantly centred around the Elam School of Fine Arts as led by Jim Allen'.[125] It is perhaps telling that Barton, as Sleigh's supervisor, did not pick up on, and thus by default endorsed, Sleigh's reiteration of Allen's centrality, which is in fact a reiteration of Curnow's positioning of Allen at the centre of the post-object movement, which can in turn be understood to be modelled on Curnow's positioning of himself in his phenomenological accounts of Allen's works as, in Sleigh's own words, 'the privileged viewing subject […] a stable and stabilising centre of [his] text'.[126] Barton herself repeats the phrase 'prime mover' without reference to the authors Curnow and Leonard, who previously used the phrase in reference to Allen. This slippage shows just how easily the rhetoric of contemporary art criticism has entered art-historical accounts of post-object art. It also raises questions concerning the politics of the recent historiography of post-object art. What is at stake in the recent re-evaluation of Allen's practice as contemporary rather than, or as well as, post-object art? Why is it so crucial that Allen take centre stage?

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[124] Curnow, 'Jim Allen, Contemporary', in *The Skin of Years*, ed. by Porter, p. 8.
[125] Thomasin Sleigh, 'Neither Here nor There: The Writing of Wystan Curnow, 1961–1984' (unpublished master's thesis, VUW, 2010), pp. 43–44.
[126] Sleigh, p. 70.

Blair French is one of the few to challenge, or to at least question, Allen's centrality in accounts of the post-object art movement in New Zealand. He points out that while Allen's contribution to post-object art is of 'undoubted importance', a lack of scholarship on lesser known post-object artists makes it difficult to gain an accurate depiction of the movement, its actors and their agency, or, in French's words, to 'discriminate myth from actuality'.[127] He observes that, in comparison with Allen's Australian reception, 'it is only in New Zealand' that Allen is 'inscribed in the folklore of contemporary art'. In pointing out the mythologising of Allen's practice, French is perhaps alluding to Curnow and Leonard's interview, which explicitly engages in a discourse of myth making by opening with the sentence: 'Legend would have it that Jim Allen was the prime mover'.[128]

In reconsidering what has come to be considered a crucial phase in Allen's career, French has also questioned the particularity of Allen's work as "New Zealand" art. This period (1969–76) is defined by Allen's return to Auckland from sabbatical — during which he visited Europe, the United States, and Mexico — and his departure for Adelaide to take up his position as artist in residence at the Experimental Arts Foundation (EAF). During this period, Allen's art practice is understood to have taken new directions following his experience of art overseas. However, French has critiqued the recent emphasis placed on this particular period of Allen's career in New Zealand, which is strictly defined by Allen's presence in New Zealand, by suggesting that while on the one hand the works Allen made during his year as artist-in-residence at EAF are a departure from those that Allen was making in New Zealand, on the other hand they are also continuous with these works. French observes that 'certain concerns […] trace back at least as far as [Allen's] 1969 exhibition *Small Worlds*'. French thus exposes the arbitrariness of the national framing of Allen's career.

While much subsequent research on less prominent figures has taken place since French's article was published, Gwynneth Porter has suggested more

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[127] Blair French, 'Jim Allen: From Elam to the Experimental Art Foundation', in McDougall Art Annex, *Intervention*, pp. 35–46 (p. 35).
[128] Allen, Curnow and Leonard, p. 48.

recently that there is still in fact a paucity of archived documentation of activity that took place outside Auckland, that is, outside Allen's immediate sphere of influence.[129] If this is indeed the case, it could in part explain Allen's prominence in historical accounts of post-object art in New Zealand. At least it suggests the partiality of these accounts. My point here is not to question Allen's role in the post-object movement, but rather to point out that the recent focus on Allen as the movement's key figure rests upon certain occlusions and omissions just as it claims that Allen himself has been omitted from art-historical accounts of New Zealand art, and also to acknowledge that these in turn position my own study of Allen to a certain extent.

The Re-Presentation of *Contact*

Prior to the 'Points of Contact' exhibition and the 2010–11 restaging of *Contact*, visual documentation of Allen's 1974 performance was not widely available in the public domain. Since its publication in 1976, the book *New Art: Some Recent New Zealand Sculpture and Post-Object Art*, edited by Allen and Curnow, has been, and indeed remains, the main source of original *Contact* imagery. It contains reproductions of thirty-eight colour photographs taken by Bryony Dalefield, which were selected and arranged by Allen,[130] and presented alongside two texts.[131] While three of Dalefield's images of *Body Articulation/Imprint* were reprinted in Anthony Green's review of the book that

[129] Gwynneth Porter, 'Rosemary Johnson's Cloud Works (1975–1976): The Opposite of Neglect', *Natural Selection*, 2010, pp. 21.1–21.7 (p. 21.5).

[130] In the (unpaginated) editorial text of *New Art*, the third paragraph is devoted to an explanation of the rationale behind the selection of works and texts published, which concludes that: 'Essentially […] each artist conceived and planned his own section of the book'. As artist and editor, Allen was thus doubly involved in the selection and presentation of the documentation of his work.

[131] The first text is Allen's own description of each of the performance's three parts plus a comment on how they work as a whole; the second is an annotated response to the work written by artist Guy von Sturmer, who was present during the performance. See Guy von Sturmer, 'The Boundless Arena: Notes on Contact, A Work in Three Parts by Jim Allen', in *New Art*, ed. by Allen and Curnow.

was published the following year,[132] it was more than twenty years before any of Dalefield's photographs of *Contact* were reproduced again.[133]

In the *Points of Contact* catalogue, all thirty-eight of Dalefield's images are reprinted in largely the same format as they appear in *New Art*, albeit on a smaller scale and against a black background, as if they were photographic prints in an album. Measuring roughly three and a half centimetres by five centimetres,[134] the images reproduced in *Points of Contact* are too small and lacking in definition to replace *New Art* as the primary visual reference source on *Contact*. Rather, the explicit re-presentation of these images as original documents serves to signal their historicity in contrast to those of the contemporary restaging, which are presented in a separate section of the catalogue, unframed and at least twice as large, they bleed to the page edge. While an original (Figure 1.10) and a contemporary image of *Computer Dance* are juxtaposed on the catalogue cover, the catalogue itself keeps the original and contemporary imagery separate — or in other words, at a distance from each other.

Following the 2011 restaging at Artspace, several of Allen's *New Art* pages were also reproduced in the journal that for a short time documented the space's activity, alongside images of the 2011 performance.[135] Indeed, images

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[132] Anthony Green, 'Book Review: *New Art: Some Recent New Zealand Sculpture and Post-Object Art*', *ANZ*, 5 (1977), 29–30.

[133] A few reproductions of Dalefield's photographs of *Contact* can also be found in: the exhibition catalogue McDougall Art Annex, *Intervention*; Allen, Curnow and Leonard, 'Contact: Jim Allen Talks'; and Andrew Clifford, 'Interdisciplinary Moments: A History in Glimpses', in *The Aotearoa Digital Arts Reader*, ed. by Stella Brennan and Su Ballard (Auckland: Aotearoa Digital Arts and Clouds, 2008) pp. 114–35 (p. 125).

[134] This measurement pertains to all except six of the thirty-eight images, however, of these six only two are in fact larger in size, measuring eleven centimetres by sixteen centimetres; the other four are presented in portrait format, and measure roughly five centimetres by three and a half centimetres.

[135] Eighteen images of *Parangolé Capes*, the second part of *Contact*, were reprinted exactly as they originally appeared in *New Art*, alongside Guy von Sturmer's 'The Boundless Arena', both in *Artspace: Volume 2*, ed. by Emma Bugden and Gwynneth Porter (Auckland: Clouds, 2011), pp. 32–37. A single image of a video still of the 2011 restaging of *Computer Dance*, the first part of *Contact*, taken from footage by Daniel Strang, illustrated Tahi Moore's account of his experience of the restaging of *Contact*, which in some respects mirrors von Sturmer's response reprinted after Moore's in the same publication. See Tahi Moore, 'On the Re-Performance of Jim Allen's *Contact*

of the 2010–11 restaging of *Contact* were published widely at the time.[136] It was not until 2013, however, that hitherto unpublished images of *Contact* came into circulation when approximately fifty silver gelatin prints of the 1974 performance taken by Dalefield were exhibited at Michael Lett, Allen's Auckland dealer gallery. These were promptly purchased by Auckland Art Gallery and can now be viewed via the gallery's online collection database.[137]

Unlike Dalefield's photographic documentation of *Contact*, the original video footage of the performance, filmed by Allen's student and fellow post-object artist Bruce Barber, has been largely out of circulation until recently. While a viewing copy of *Computer Dance* was made available at the New Zealand Film Archive (NZFA) in 1989, it was another ten years before footage of *Parangolé Capes* and *Body Articulation/Imprint* entered the archive's collection, and it was not until 2006 that copies of all three parts of the performance could be viewed in the archive's Auckland and Wellington offices. It was Allen himself who deposited the footage of *Contact* in the NZFA collection in 1999, the year in which he collaborated with Alice Carstensen on moving image projects that documented both his recent and past work, including *Contact*. Their collaboration gave rise to the first public screening of video footage of *Contact* to be shown in New Zealand since the performance was recorded by Barber in 1974. This took place in conjunction with a screening of Carstensen's documentaries at Artspace in November 2000. The footage was immediately shown again as part of the video programme that accompanied the exhibition 'Intervention', which opened in Christchurch nine days after the Artspace screening. And in 2006, footage of *Contact* was shown in Auckland for a second time, alongside other recently preserved experimental film and video work by

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(1974) – *Computer Dance, Parangolé Capes* and *Body Articulation/Imprint* – Artspace, March 2011', in *Artspace: Volume 2*, ed. by Bugden and Porter, pp. 30–31.

[136] See for example Jim Allen and David Cross, 'Instilling Insight: Jim Allen and David Cross in Conversation', *ANZ*, 138 (2011), 38–42, 86, 87, 89; and Kate Brettkelly-Chalmers, 'Jim Allen Performances', <http://eyecontactsite.com/2011/04/jim-allen-performances> [accessed 17 April 2014].

[137] To view Dalefield's black and white images of *Contact* search for works by Jim Allen using the online database at <http://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/advanced-collection-search> [accessed 26 June 2022].

New Zealand artists, at a public screening hosted by the NZFA at Elam School of Fine Arts. While these screenings made it possible for audiences who had not witnessed the performance of *Contact* in 1974 to view the work, these three public screenings were relatively exclusive events insofar as they were one-off screenings held in only two of the country's approximately fifteen urban areas.

Since 2006, when copies of the entire performance became available through the NZFA, video footage of *Contact* has been shown more frequently, both inside and outside of New Zealand, and for longer periods of time. In 2008, footage of *Contact* was shown in Heidelberg and Copenhagen as part of an exhibition of video works by New Zealand artists that was curated by the then director of Auckland University of Technology's ST PAUL St Gallery, Leonhard Emmerling, who went on to showcase *Contact* in the exhibition 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand' that he co-curated with Aaron Kreisler at the Frankfurter Kunstverein in 2012. Emmerling and Kreisler placed Allen's 1974 performance at the heart of the exhibition, conceptually and literally, by playing a continuous loop of *Contact* footage on a boxy television placed atop a plinth positioned opposite the gallery's main entrance and in front of the spiral staircase that constituted the very core of the gallery building (Figure 1.20). In the 'Points of Contact' exhibitions held in New Plymouth and Wellington in 2010–11, footage of both the 1974 and the 2010 performances of *Contact* were played alternately on three monitors that were mounted on the wall above DVD players for the duration of the exhibition. In contrast to Emmerling and Kreisler's installation of the footage at the Frankfurter Kunstverein, which had a period feel due to the model of the television it was shown on, the television's boxy-ness resembling to some extent the monitors that had been used to replay footage during the original performance of *Contact* (Figures 1.17–1.18), the curators of 'Points of Contact' made no pretence to present the footage as an original object, showing it instead on a widescreen monitor. In 2012, visitors to the Adam were able to view footage of *Computer Dance* for a second time during the exhibition 'Peripheral Relations: Marcel Duchamp and New Zealand Art'. Allen's *Computer Dance* was included because the performance was specifically informed by Allen's reading of

Duchamp's *The Green Box* (1934), which he encountered in Philadelphia in 1969 — another "point of contact" between Allen and the wider world of art. The inclusion of video footage of *Contact* in each of these contemporary art exhibitions has enabled audiences to view Allen's 1974 performance in contexts broader than that of post-object art alone. Installing the footage in an exhibition context, rather than screening the footage as an event, also raises questions concerning representation and the status of documentation in relation to that of the artwork.

Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to make sense of the appearance and prominence of the word "contact" in the vocabulary of contemporary art(-historical) discourse produced in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. In analysing three interrelated contemporary art-historical projects which each adopted contact as its theme, it has shown that the word "contact" is invested with a particular significance in this discursive field. Indeed, my reading of the literature associated with these projects has shown how the word "contact" has come to signify a collective disciplinary desire: to move away from the construction and re-presentation of national histories of New Zealand art and its canon of largely white male painters, that is, canonical histories which, as I hope to show in more detail in Chapter 2, have most often, and perhaps unfairly, been associated with a certain discourse of distance, and to move instead towards the task of (re)writing more inclusive and connective unnational histories of art, from *without*, rather than within, the framework of the nation state of New Zealand and its dominant settler-colonial perspective. In considering this literature together, as indicative of a broader phenomenon, namely a discursive (re)turn to an art history of contact, rather than as texts issuing from isolated individual projects, this chapter has drawn together — from utterances, sound bites, snippets, press releases, forewords and essays — an otherwise fragmentary discourse, to identify and describe for the first time what amounts to an ambitious collective proposal for an art history of contact. The modest yet innovative description of the statements, texts, contexts, events and

institutions which, as this chapter has shown, are associated not only with the word “contact” but more importantly with a disciplinary turn towards a discourse of contact, constitutes a new, hitherto unacknowledged, object of study in the field of Art History, and thus comprises an original contribution of this thesis to the historiography of both contemporary and New Zealand art.

In situating and exploring the three projects associated with and by the theme of contact in relation to two broader historiographical contexts, that is, in reading beyond the confines of the art-historical texts which I have identified as concerned explicitly with contact, this chapter has shown how a disavowal of a discourse of distance was pivotal to the contemporary (re)turn to a discourse of contact in the art-historical practice of Aotearoa/New Zealand. My comparative reading of two lectures delivered in association with the AHRC has shown that whereas the apparent disappearance of geographical and thus cultural distance is regarded, from a certain global contemporary standpoint, as inevitably giving, or having given, way to an intensification of transcultural contact in Euro-American metropolitan (art) centres, from a certain local (Wellingtonian if not New Zealand) perspective however, distance is the name of something — not only a geographical condition but also a melancholic art-historical discourse and the baggage of a twentieth-century national(ist), albeit post-colonial, historiography of art — still seemingly so close and/or overbearing that it must be actively shunned in order to move towards an art history of contact. And in carefully linking several statements together — Leonard’s assertion of the relativity of distance and Barton’s declaration of the (relative) end of distance for the arts and artists in early twenty-first-century New Zealand with the opening statement of Leonard’s ‘Nostalgia for Intimacy’, the earlier of the two lectures mentioned above, in which Leonard effectively attempts to debunk, if not put to bed, the poetico-mythical figure of distance that haunts the historiography of New Zealand art — I have traced a genealogy of the repudiation of the New Zealand art-historical discourse of distance to show that this disavowal both predates and is instrumental in the (re)turn to an art history of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context.

Supporting this reading of the negation of distance in the name of contact, which I will develop more fully in Chapter 2, is, perhaps less obviously, a conclusion that can be drawn from my account of the recent historicisation of Jim Allen's practice. As I have shown above, since his return to Auckland in 1998, after living, teaching, and practising art for more than two decades in Australia, Allen has been received as a contemporary rather than an expatriate New Zealand artist, unlike Francis Upritchard, who, as we shall see in Chapter 3, has frequently been referred to as an expatriate since her relocation from Auckland to London in 1998, despite the fact that she returns regularly — almost annually — to make and exhibit work in New Zealand. I would like to suggest that the critical embrace of Jim Allen as 'our [New Zealand's] first contemporary artist',[138] and the institutional recuperation of his work as contemporary rather than postmodern art, that is, the widespread insistence on Allen as an artist of the present more than the past, and of the nation more than elsewhere, is in fact indicative of a collective, if unconscious, refusal, not only to distance Allen, temporally or spatially, but, moreover, to engage with the discourse of distance particular to New Zealand art historiography, of which the figure of the expatriate artist is at once symptomatic and representative.

In highlighting this disavowal of a discourse of distance, this chapter has thus identified a dynamic peculiar to the (re)turn to an art history of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. It is precisely this dynamic of negation, which, as I will argue in the following chapter, is in fact a dynamic of repression that has led to the polarisation of the discourses of distance and contact in New Zealand art historiography, that I would suggest must be addressed if we are to develop (an historical consciousness of) an art history of contact distinctive to Aotearoa/New Zealand.[139] Indeed, the following chapter's enquiry into the discourse of contact in the archive of New Zealand art history is carried out with the view to developing such an historical consciousness, and thereby

[138] Curnow, 'Jim Allen, Contemporary', in *The Skin of Years*, ed. by Porter, p. 8.
[139] Here I am responding to the question: 'Is there the possibility of developing a distinctive art history out of the specificity of our experience of contact?', posed by Batchen in Batchen and others, *A Conversation with Delegates*.

challenging the notion, implicit in the neglect on the part of the AHRC to set forth any precedents for its proposed art history of contact, that contact is necessarily a contemporary discourse and that a contemporary art history of contact would thus be without a history or historiography. In addition to tracing the interrelation between the discourses of contact and distance in these sources, in Chapter 2 I will also pay particular attention to the ways in which a discourse of contact is entangled with imperial, national, and international discourses, in order to question certain assumptions which I have identified in the first section of this chapter, namely: that an art history of contact would necessarily be post-national and postcolonial; and, conversely, that the histories of (New Zealand) art which have come to be associated with a discourse of distance are necessarily or only national(ist) art histories.

My exploration of the wider contemporary art(-historical) discourse on Allen's practice, beyond the literature strictly associated with the exhibitions 'Points of Contact' and 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', has also highlighted an unconscious yet prominent image, or representation, of contact that not only differs significantly from the model of contact embodied in Allen's performance *Contact* (1974), which was re-presented in these two exhibitions, but also contradicts the collective imaginary of the academic and curatorial project for an art history of contact in question here, thus undermining it to some extent. I would like to end the present chapter with a discussion of this example in order to draw out several points which were not made explicit in the main discussion above but which I consider relevant to the central concerns of this thesis and to its subsequent chapters.

Flickering in the many descriptions of Allen's centrality to the post-object art movement is an image that is not immediately obvious on the surface of the text. It is not signified literally or metaphorically in a single statement, that is, it is not an author(is)ed image intended for the reader to picture, but rather forms as we read, over and over, in the discourse that circulated around Allen's return, statements that portray Allen as a centred and privileged (celestial if not divine) subject; as, for example, 'the prime mover' and 'a centre of energy', or

star, around which artists grouped.[140] In the process of reading these portrayals of Allen with our '*Gestalt* perception' an impression emerges:[141] of 'a truly seminal figure' located at the heart of an artistic circle, the Vitruvian man at the hub of a movement which thus revolved around him, the local(ised) *primum movens* (prime or unmoved mover) from which both post-object and contemporary art is supposed to have originated and/or radiated in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context.[142] And while the titular metaphor of the 'Points of Contact' exhibition sounds at first like it might contradict this orderly, 'stable and stabilising' image of a founding father,[143] insofar as it recalls the knotty tangle of geographically dispersed social, cultural, material, and corporeal interrelations that comprised Allen's sabbatical year, and is indeed reminiscent of Barton's decentred and decentring 'far-flung network',[144] it is not necessarily a contradiction. Rather, the metaphor could instead be read more classically, in terms of Euclidean geometry, as a depiction of the tangential relations between Allen, who is arguably the central subject of the 'Points of Contact' exhibition, and Lye and Oiticica, whose practice intersected with and thus demarcates the periphery of Allen's own (sphere of) practice; the

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[140] For descriptions of Allen as 'the prime mover', see Allen, Curnow and Leonard, 'Contact', p. 48; Barton, 'Jim Allen: Now', p. 24; and for Allen as 'a centre of energy' and other such descriptions of Allen's centrality, see Sleigh, pp. 43–44.

[141] In his book *The Master and his Emissary: The Divided Brain and the Making of the Western World* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2019), Iain McGilchrist explains the 'process of *Gestalt* perception' in which an image that initially appears to be a 'mass of dots and splashes' 'suddenly emerges'; 'The process is not a gradual putting together of bits of information, but an "aha!" phenomenon — it comes all at once' (pp. 46–47); according to McGilchrist, *Gestalt* perception is how 'a child comes to understand the world, to learn about it, by seeing the shapes — both literally, the visuospatial shapes, and metaphorically, the structures — that stand forward in its experience' (p. 171). Following McGilchrist, I am simply saying that in my experience of reading the contemporary art(-historical) discourse on Jim Allen, a particular mental image of Allen has emerged in my peripheral vision.

[142] Curnow, 'Jim Allen, Contemporary', in *The Skin of Years*, ed. by Porter, p. 8.

[143] Sleigh, p. 70. Here I am appropriating (a snippet of) Sleigh's description of Curnow's positioning of himself as the author of criticism on Allen, that is, as 'the privileged viewing subject' and 'a stable and stabilising centre of [his] text', and applying it to the image of Allen as a privileged artistic subject, an image authored in part by Curnow's description of Allen as a prime mover. For further detail on (the validity of) this transposition, see pp. 112–13 of this chapter.

[144] Barton, 'State of the Art', p. 34.

metaphor could be read, that is, as constructing an image of a circle with Allen at its centre. It is this more classical depiction of the "points of contact" metaphor which, I would argue, not only underlies and supports the idea of Allen as prime mover but also constructs a new centre — of contemporary New Zealand art — and thus a new periphery.

In my reading, the "points of contact" metaphor is thus paradoxical. Just as the curatorial project 'Points of Contact' used this metaphor to evoke a tangled web of relations connecting Allen's practice with Conceptual and contemporary art practice across the globe, and to thus delocalise the development of (Allen's) post-object art practice, and effectively deconstruct (the idea of) a geographically-bounded national history of post-object art in New Zealand, the more classical image of Allen at the heart of an artistic circle or movement, which is also evoked by this metaphor, in fact works to reconstruct the very centre–periphery model that the 'Points of Contact' exhibition surely set out to redress in aiming to 'contribute to the re-writing of art history' from a certain disciplinary margin.[145] Indeed, this latter evocation undermines the presupposition that an art history of contact would necessarily provide an alternative — more globalised, provincialised, or even localised — account of the development of modern and contemporary art to those based on a centre–periphery model of cultural diffusion. The inherent paradoxicality of the "points of contact" metaphor thus captures the potentially double-edged nature of any attempt to write an art history of contact, raising pertinent questions regarding the role that deconstruction and historiography might play in such an attempt.

[145] Devenport and Barton, 'Foreword', in *Points of Contact*, p. 7.



Figure 1.1 Poster advertising the exhibition 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2012, featuring an image of Jim Allen's performance *Contact: Body Articulation/Imprint*, 1974, reproduced from a photograph taken by Bryony Dalefield, Jim Allen Archive, E H McCormick Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.



Figure 1.2 Francis Upritchard*, Untitled*, *c*. 2001–03, mixed media, installation view, 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2012, showing works by Fiona Pardington (on the wall behind).



Figure 1.3 Installation view of 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2012, showing works by Francis Upritchard (on plinths in the foreground) and Fiona Pardington (on the wall behind).



Figure 1.4 Alberto García-Alvarez, *A-69*, 1994, installation view, 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2012.



Figure 1.5 Installation view of 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2012, showing works by Francis Upritchard (on plinths), Judy Millar (on the right-hand wall), and Alberto García-Alvarez (to the left of the entranceway).



Figure 1.6 Francis Upritchard, *Untitled*, *c*. 2001–03, mixed media, private collection, installation view, 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2012.

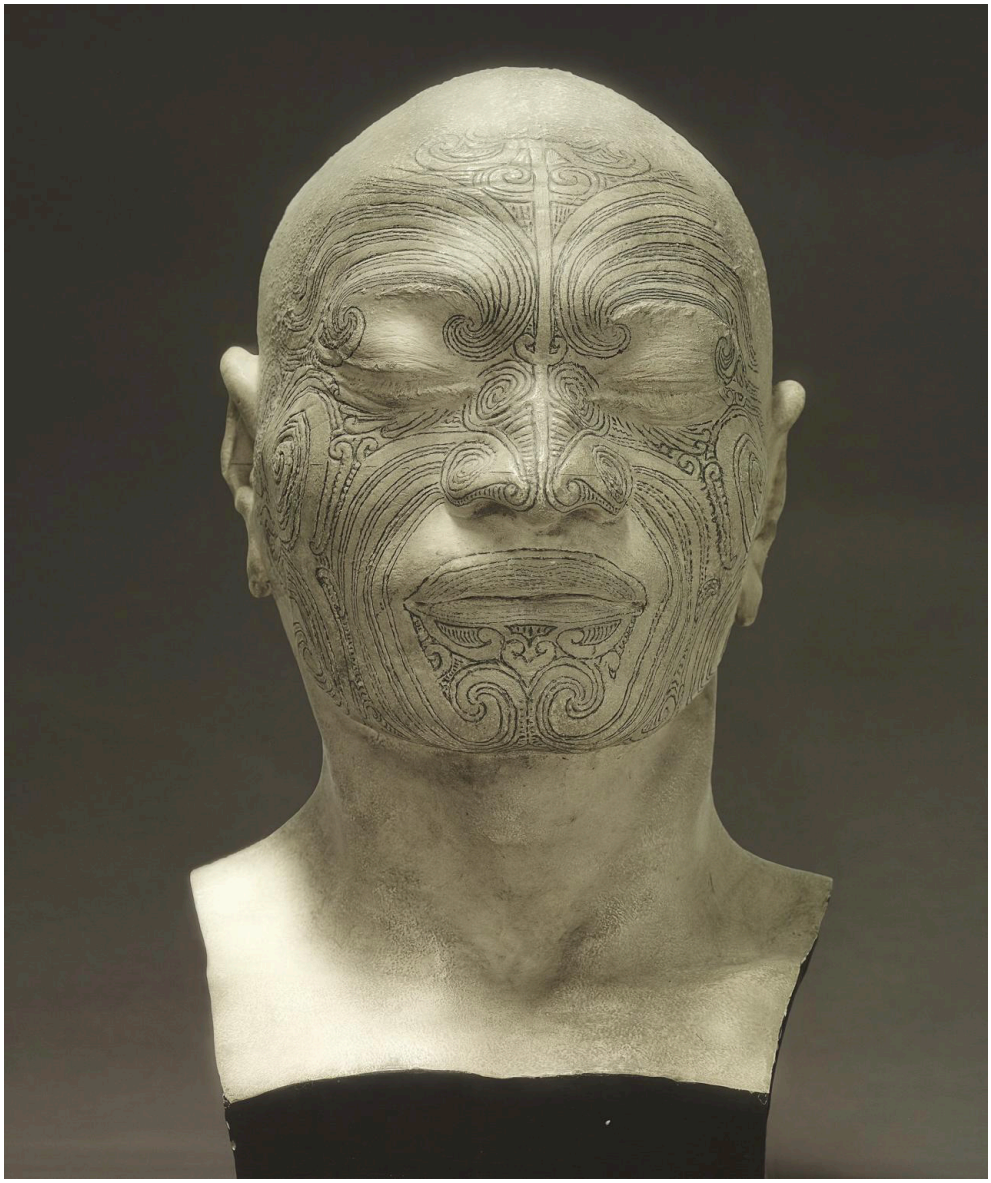


Figure 1.7 Fiona Pardington, *Portrait of a Life Cast of Matoua Tawai, Aotearoa New Zealand*, 2010, inkjet print, 1450 × 1088 mm, ed. 10/10, National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.

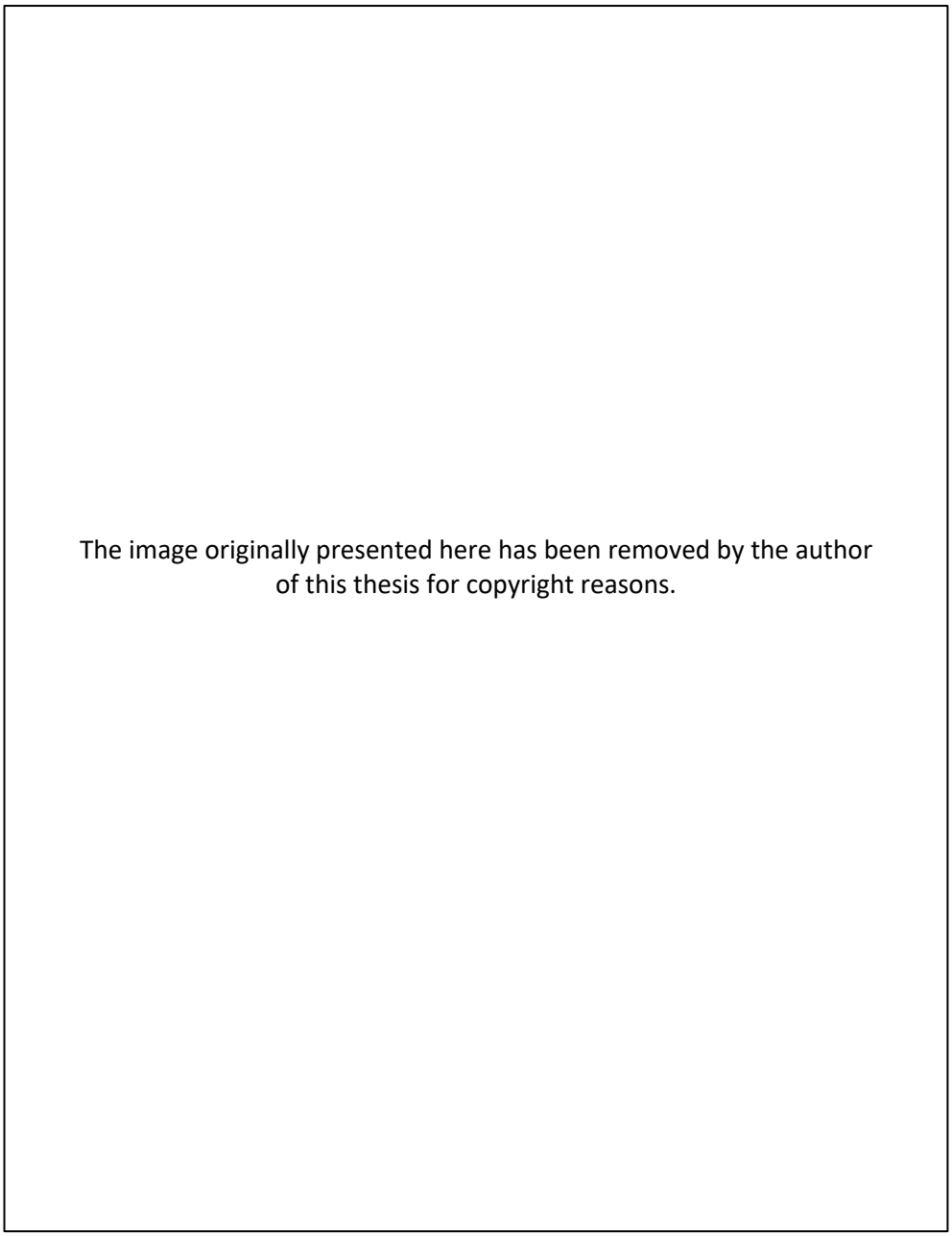


Figure 1.8 Tupaia, *Māori trading a crayfish with Joseph Banks*, *c*. 1769, watercolour on paper, 270 × 210 mm, British Library.

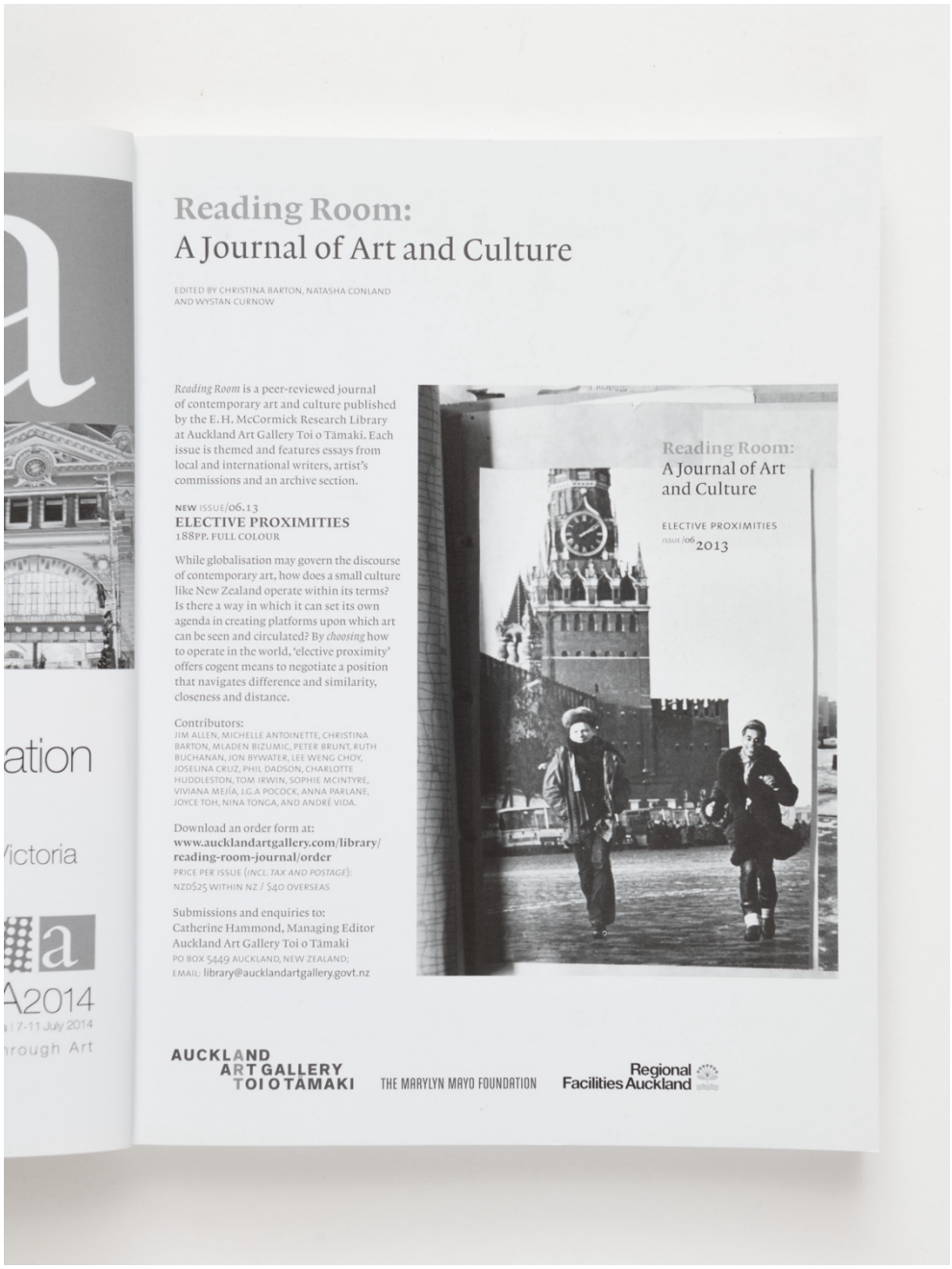


Figure 1.9 Advertisement for the Elective Proximities issue of *Reading Room*, which appeared in *Contact*, ed. by Batchen and Maskill (= *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art*, 13 (2013)), p. 3, picturing the cover image of the new issue, which features a black and white photo of (L–R) Nicolaï Michoutouchkine and Aloï Pilioko in Red Square Moscow, 1980, from Peter Brunt's photograph of the pages of Michoutouchkine's USSR photo album, which illustrates Brunt's article 'Nicolai Michoutouchkine and Aloi Pilioko: The Perpetual Travellers', *Reading Room*, 6 (2013), 86–103, as well as Brunt's chapter 'Falling into the World', in *Mapping Modernisms*, ed. by Harney and Phillips (2018), pp. 282–303 (p. 299).



Figure 1.10 Jim Allen, *Contact: Computer Dance*, 1974, performance, Auckland City Art Gallery, photograph by Bryony Dalefield, Jim Allen Archive, E H McCormick Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.



Figure 1.11 Jim Allen, *Contact: Parangolé Capes*, 1974, performance, Auckland City Art Gallery, photograph by Bryony Dalefield, Jim Allen Archive, E H McCormick Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.



Figure 1.12 Jim Allen, *Contact: Computer Dance 6*, 1974, performance, Auckland City Art Gallery, photograph by Bryony Dalefield, showing eight performers in action inside a tubular steel structure in front of a seated audience, silver gelatin print, 160 × 238 mm, 2013/35/1/6, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 2013.



Figure 1.13 Jim Allen, *Contact: Computer Dance 5*, 1974, performance, Auckland City Art Gallery, photograph by Bryony Dalefield, showing a gendered emitter/receiver pair making contact via handheld infrared beams, silver gelatin print, 160 × 238 mm, 2013/35/1/5, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 2013.



Figure 1.14 Jim Allen, *Contact: Parangole Capes 23*, 1974, performance, Auckland City Art Gallery, photograph by Bryony Dalefield, showing performers attempting to untie strings securing garments which are inhibiting their movement, silver gelatin print, 160 × 238 mm, 2013/35/2/23, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 2013.



Figure 1.15 Jim Allen, *Contact: Parangole Capes 7*, 1974, performance, Auckland City Art Gallery, photograph by Bryony Dalefield, showing performers removing their final calico cape in order to complete the action, silver gelatin print, 160 × 238 mm, 2013/35/2/7, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 2013.



Figure 1.16 Jim Allen, *Contact: Body Articulation/Imprint 5*, 1974, performance, Auckland City Art Gallery, photograph by Bryony Dalefield, showing a performer coated in paint lying on his back on a sheet spread across the gallery floor, silver gelatin print, 238 × 160 mm, 2013/35/3/5, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 2013.



Figure 1.17 Jim Allen, *Contact: Computer Dance 8*, 1974, performance, Auckland City Art Gallery, photograph by Bryony Dalefield, showing video footage of *Computer Dance* and *Parangolé Capes* being replayed on monitors to a seated audience, silver gelatin print, 160 × 238 mm, 2013/35/1/8, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 2013.



Figure 1.18 Jim Allen, *Contact: Parangole Capes 11*, 1974, performance, Auckland City Art Gallery, photograph by Bryony Dalefield, showing video footage of *Computer Dance* being replayed on a monitor during the performance of *Parangolé Capes*, silver gelatin print, 238 × 160 mm, 2013/35/2/11, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 2013.

The image originally presented here has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 1.19 Installation view of Jim Allen, 'O-AR', ST PAUL St Gallery, 2007, showing the presentation of video documentation of three of Jim Allen's performances, including (on the left-hand screen) *Contact*, 1974.



Figure 1.20 Installation view of 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2012, showing video footage of Jim Allen's performance *Contact*, 1974, being played on a monitor in the exhibition foyer.

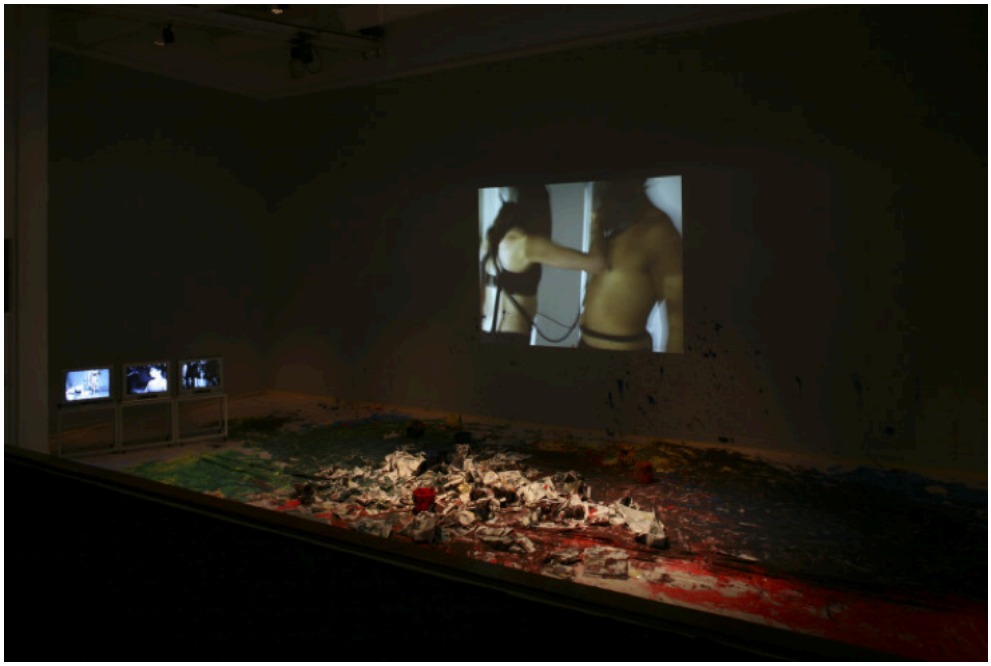


Figure 1.21 Installation view of 'Points of Contact: Jim Allen, Len Lye, Hélio Oiticica', Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, 2010–11, showing video footage and material remains of the restaging of Jim Allen's performance *Contact*, 1974.

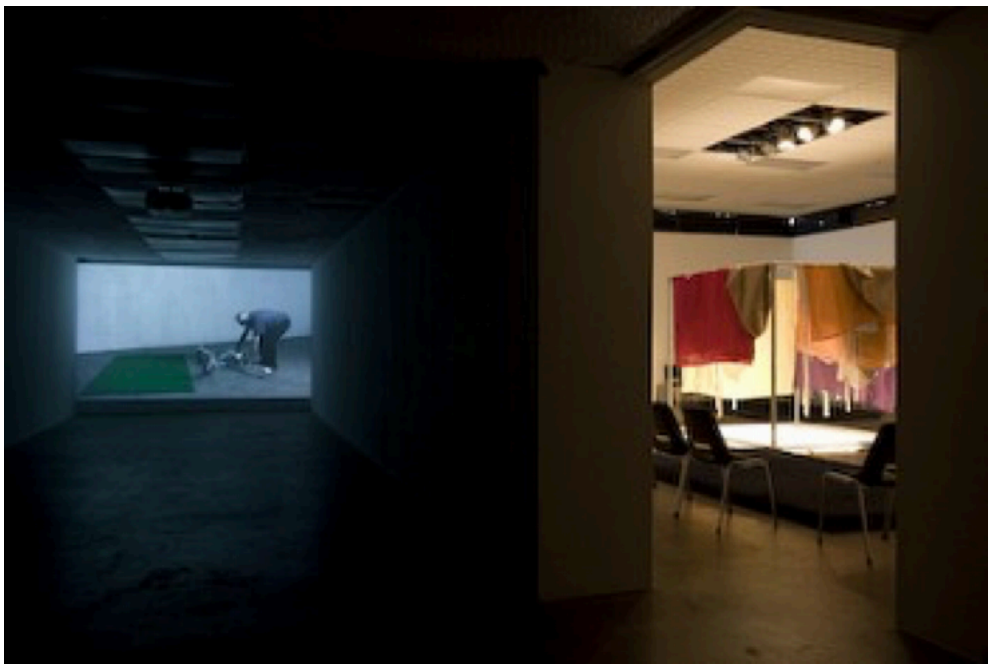


Figure 1.22 Installation view of Jim Allen, 'Contact: 2011', Artspace NZ, 2011, showing (in the right-hand gallery) material remains of the restaging of *Parangolé Capes*, the second part of Jim Allen's performance *Contact*, 1974.



Figure 1.23 Visitors viewing photographic documentation of Jim Allen's performance *Contact*, 1974, which was reproduced from Ian Macdonald's original 35 mm negatives using the latest digital technology, (hanging on the right-hand wall) in the exhibition 'Groundswell: Avant-Garde Auckland 1971–79', Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2018–19.



Figure 1.24 Ian Macdonald using a mobile phone to take a picture of his own photographic documentation of Jim Allen's performance *Contact*, 1974, during the opening night of the exhibition 'Groundswell: Avant-Garde Auckland 1971–79', Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, December 2018.

The image originally presented here has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 1.25 Artists Eva Yuen (left) and Pauline Rhodes (right) sitting on a couch in Sydney at the time of the third Biennale of Sydney, as published in Wystan Curnow, 'Art Spaces: The Sydney Biennale', *Art New Zealand*, 13 (1979), 22–23 (p. 23).



Figure 1.26 Full-bleed digital print of Jim Allen with kiln, *c*. 1953, black and white photograph, Jim Allen Archive, E H McCormick Research Library, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, as published in Charlotte Huddleston, 'A Little Knowledge Let Loose on an Untrained Mind: Jim Allen as Educator', *Reading Room*, 6 (2013), 158–67 (p. 158).

Chapter 2

Tracing a Discourse of Contact in the Archive of New Zealand Art History

> One of the most common themes in twentieth century New Zealand high culture has been that of "islands" and "landfalls" — topos of distance and isolation from Europe.
>
> Francis Pound[1]

In the essay 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', which is the publication of the tenth Gordon H. Brown Lecture and, as I have noted in Chapter 1, a pivotal text insofar as it marks a certain (re)turn to an art-historical discourse of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, Robert Leonard opens by observing the recurrence of a seemingly typical statement of New Zealand art historiography: 'It is often said', Leonard reports, 'that New Zealand art has been shaped by distance, isolation, and smallness.'[2] Although this claim is made without reference to any source, and could thus sound to a scholarly audience like mere hearsay, to those of us with an ear attuned to the phrases and phrasing of New Zealand art discourse, Leonard's report resounds as a familiar refrain, both in the general sense of a repeated line and, as we shall see, in the more particular sense of a frequent complaint. Indeed, this statement echoes previous comments that appear throughout the texts which constitute the archive of New Zealand art history. Consider, for example, the similarity between the statement that I have associated above with the author called Leonard and

[1] Francis Pound, 'Distance Looks our Way', in *Distance Looks our Way: Ten Artists from New Zealand*, ed. by Mary Barr ([Wellington]: Distance Looks our Way Trust, 1992), pp. 21–30 (p. 21).

[2] Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, p. 9.

another by Anne Kirker, who opens her 1983 article on the art (prints and drawings) of 1930s' New Zealand by telling us that: 'In the past the observation has frequently been made that the majority of New Zealand's population has been deprived through geographical remoteness of seeing European art in the original.'[3] And, moreover, between Kirker's statement and that of Hamish Keith, who, in his 1969 account of painting in mid-twentieth-century New Zealand, notes that: 'Much has been made of the New Zealand painter's isolation from the mainstreams of contemporary art.'[4] Beyond the obvious rhetorical and grammatical parallels between these three statements, there are, in my view, actual circumstances connecting these authors and their texts which suggest that they have drawn from each other, at least in the case of Kirker and Leonard, even if this debt remains unacknowledged.[5]

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[3] Anne Kirker, 'T. A. McCormack: A New Talent to Emerge in the Nineteen-Thirties', *ANZ*, 27 (1983), 34–99 (p. 34).

[4] Keith, 'Contemporary Developments', in Brown and Keith, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1967*, p. 167.

[5] Each of these syntactically similar statements opens by reporting and thereby emphasising the frequency of a certain art-historiographical narrative; in framing this recurrent narrative as a consensus view, the rhetorical effect, if not aim, is to persuade the reader of the substance of this narrative in lieu of its substantiation. I hear the resonance of Keith's 'Much has been made' in Kirker's 'In the past the observation has frequently been made'; the latter phrase qualifies the former phrase's "much" as a frequent observation. Although Keith's statement was made in 1969, it was republished in the second edition of Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith's *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1980*, rev. edn (Auckland: David Bateman/Collins, 1982), p. 169, shortly before the publication of Kirker's article. While the release of a new edition may have refreshed her interest in Brown and Keith's text, Kirker would have undoubtedly been familiar with the first edition of Brown and Keith's *Introduction*, which was published shortly before her appointment in 1970 as Curator of Prints and Drawings at the ACAG, where Keith and Brown were also currently employed. When it was first published, this *Introduction* was the most comprehensive historicisation of New Zealand painting and thus a text of note and required reading for an arts professional in New Zealand like Kirker. Kirker's article was published in *Art New Zealand* in 1983, during the time of her employment as curator at the NAG, and shortly before Leonard himself took up a curatorial position at this same institution in 1985. Again, as the country's only national art magazine, *Art New Zealand* would have been required reading for an arts professional like Leonard. Although Leonard does not cite Kirker's article in 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', there are some remarkable and perhaps telling similarities between these two texts. Most obvious is the similarity between the statements of Leonard and Kirker cited in the main text above; I hear the resonance of Kirker's statement, which begins 'In the past the observation has frequently been made', in Leonard's statement, which begins 'It is often said', not because these first phrases sound the same, and not only because they go on to make

These clearly associated statements are, in my reading, indicative of a dominant New Zealand art historiographical tradition that not only recalls and archives a certain discourse, but also represses (this) discourse.[6] In the first instance, these statements remember and record, that is, archive, what has been said and/or 'made' about distance, isolation, and remoteness in the New Zealand art-historical literature, and in doing so repress this discourse of distance.[7] Moreover, in recalling (or archiving) the narrative theme of distance,

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a similar point about New Zealand art historiography, but also because each of these statements appears as the very first sentence of their respective texts, and thus the rhetorical gesture of each author is comparable insofar as they set their own text against the same discursive context. While the resemblance between these two statements may be entirely coincidental, it is certainly curious that against the discourse of distance, isolation, and remoteness of (the) New Zealand art(/ist), both Kirker and Leonard discuss New Zealand art in terms of "intimacy" and "nostalgia". In the second paragraph of her article, Kirker observes an 'inverted nostalgia' amongst New Zealand-born artists who exhibited 'from 1890 until the nineteen-thirties a compulsive drive […] to make up for their remoteness by travelling abroad' (p. 34); such nostalgia is, in Kirker's view, exemplified by commentary such as that of A. D. Carbery, who is cited by Kirker as stating (in the Foreword to the catalogue that accompanied the 'Exhibition of Contemporary British Art' brought to Wellington in 1928 by Edwin Murray Fuller) that: 'we in New Zealand should be brought more frequently into intimacy with the best contemporary work of the British Schools' (p. 34). By the end of this paragraph, but very near the start of her article, Kirker has thus set forth (from the outset) a certain historical relationship between nostalgia and intimacy, which is legible, at least in Kirker's reading, in certain texts that comprise the New Zealand art-historical archive, and which anticipates Leonard's much later formulation 'Nostalgia for Intimacy'. This begs the question: in writing 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', did Leonard in fact draw these two keywords — or the relationship between nostalgia and intimacy — from Kirker's text, even though he cites another source for his (conscious) use of the term "intimacy"? It would seem that Kirker herself draws the notion of 'inverted nostalgia' from Peter Tomory, 'The Visual Arts', in *Distance Looks our Way: The Effects of Remoteness on New Zealand*, ed. by Keith Sinclair, University of Auckland Winter Lectures, 1960 (Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade/University of Auckland, 1961), pp. 63–78 (p. 71).

[6] As Jacques Derrida points out, there is no necessary 'contradiction between the act of memory or archivization on the one hand and repression on the other': 'As if one could not, precisely, recall and archive the very thing one represses, archive it while repressing it (because repression is an archivization), that is to say, to archive *otherwise*, to repress the archive while archiving the repression'. Jacques Derrida and Eric Prenowitz, 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression', *Diacritics*, 25.2 (1995), 9–63 (p. 43).

[7] In lieu of an overarching (Derridean or psychoanalytic) analysis of (the archiving of) the discourse of distance in New Zealand art historiography, here I am simply saying that the three statements under discussion each act in all of the ways listed in Derrida's description cited in n. 6 immediately above, that is, to recall, to archive, and to repress. Of these actions, the statements' performance of the latter is perhaps the least evident

this tradition — if it can be called that — does not remember that these sources equally speak of contact. In this chapter, I will show that a discourse of contact is also legible throughout the archive of New Zealand art history, even if it is not often said to be the case.

The litany of comment outlined above, which in reporting repeats, and thereby reinforces, what has apparently been said many times already, arguably demonstrates a certain consciousness of New Zealand art historiography. Indeed, the tabulated study presented in this chapter attests to the many occurrences of the 'topos of distance and isolation from Europe' in the literature of New Zealand art history. That '[m]uch has been made of the New Zealand painter's isolation from the mainstreams of contemporary art' is undeniable. However, I would argue that these metastatements, in simply pointing to an ostensibly traditional narrative without citing or critically evaluating sources, and thus reporting this narrative wholesale as received truth, serve only to reinforce, and are thus constitutive of, the very narrative tradition that they feign to observe. In other words, this tradition of commentary has made even more of this already ingrained and seemingly indigestible theme.[8]

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in my discussion thus far. Leaving aside the psychoanalytic connotations of the term "repress" for now, to speak of repression in an everyday sense of 'the restraint, prevention, or inhibition of ['the expression or development of something']', to blend the *OED* definitions of "repress" and "repression", it is yet possible to say that our authors, Keith, Kirker, Pound, and Leonard, are each variously invested in repressing a discourse of distance. For example, all attempt to restrain the aforesaid discourse by assigning it to a particular period of New Zealand art history: in Keith's reading it dissipates in the 1950s; and in Kirker's it is associated with the late colonial period, from 1890 through the 1930s; Pound historicises this discourse as nationalist and assigns it to what he calls 'the Nationalist time', which in his reading lasted from 1930 until 1970 (for more detail, see n. 9, pp. 145–46 of this chapter below); and Leonard ascribes to Pound's periodisation of this discourse. Moreover, these time restraints are highly motivated, at least in the case of Keith and Pound, who inhibit its extent for the purpose of writing a national history of art and a post-national history of art respectively.

[8] In calling this commentary a "tradition", I mean to refer to the way in which a certain view of New Zealand art historiography (that it is characterised by the theme of distance and isolation) has been accepted and passed on without question from one generation of art historians to the next, for example, from Keith to Kirker to Pound and Leonard. The word "tradition" seems a suitable word to use here because it conveys a certain awareness of the transmission of this view, evident in the self-referential aspect

At the very heart of this art-historiographical tradition, lies, at least in my reading of it here, a statement of a different order made by the academic art historian Francis Pound, cited in exergue to this chapter. In his 1992 catalogue essay 'Distance Looks our Way', written two decades prior to the publication of Leonard's essay 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', Pound sets out to excavate the theme of distance and isolation in 'twentieth century New Zealand high culture', that is, in the (art-historical) literature and criticism produced in New Zealand from the 1930s until the 1970s, a period that Pound not only associates with a certain cultural nationalism but elsewhere categorically defines as 'the Nationalist time'.[9] Pound's 'brief archaeology' aims to at once contextualise the titular

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of the metastatements discussed in the main text above, which, in pointing to such a view, pass on this tradition themselves; it also captures the sense of an "oral tradition" being incorporated into a "written tradition", that is, being written into history — an impression given especially by the opening statement of Leonard's essay, which is framed as reported speech. What I have framed here as a problem of tradition could also be productively thought of in terms of the archivization of the archive. In purporting to tell us what is in the archive, these metastatements are actively archiving the archive; however, in registering (the frequent expression of) the theme of distance and isolation, which is in fact only one aspect of an historical dilemma perceived to be particular to (the) New Zealand art(/ist), it represses other impressions of the archive and thus delimits not only what is passed on but also the very conditions of the archive's reproducibility.

[9] In 'Distance Looks our Way', Pound largely implies that a cultural nationalist discourse is legible in the art and letters produced in New Zealand during the mid-twentieth century; the only explicit reference to such nationalism is in his description of the 'isolating sea' as a 'stock nationalist element' of Charles Brasch's poetry (p. 23); that Pound regards the cultural production of New Zealand during this period as nationalist can be inferred negatively, in contrast to 'the still occasionally expressed desire for a non-regionalist, non-nationalist culture' (p. 21). In concluding his study, Pound clearly states the forty-year period of literary and cultural production under discussion: 'So that art in which, from the 1930s to the 1970s, a New Zealand was triumphantly invented, is, in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, made itself to seem a distance.' (pp. 28–29). It is this very period that in his 2009 book, *The Invention of New Zealand: Art and National Identity, 1930–1970*, Pound identifies as 'the Nationalist time': 'If we were to attempt a preliminary definition, Nationalist New Zealand art might be defined as that body of art and letters which, between *c*. 1930 and *c*. 1970, set out to uncover the essence of New Zealand, and, in so doing, to invent a specifically New Zealand high culture.' (pp. xviii–xix). In the main text above, I refer to the sources and/or subject of the study presented in 'Distance Looks our Way' as 'the (art-historical) literature and criticism produced in New Zealand from the 1930s until the 1970s'; here I have parenthesised the adjective "art-historical" because although Pound's essay was published in a contemporary art context, and can thus be considered as contemporary art(-historical) discourse, Pound largely discusses what we would usually refer to in an academic context as "English" literature and criticism, or

metaphor of his essay and of the exhibition, and to 'undo the truth of [this] locally famous figure of speech' by exposing it as an (art-)historical construction — or, to use his preferred term, as an 'invention'.[10] In opening this essay, Pound asserts that the 'topos of distance and isolation' is in fact '[o]ne of the most common themes' in the (art-historical) literature and criticism of mid-twentieth-century New Zealand; in the broader context of Pound's critical project, moreover, distance and isolation should not only be regarded as 'common themes', but as the theme par excellence, of Pound's Nationalist period. Insofar as it is Pound himself who observes the theme's frequency, his

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more specifically as poetry (four of the seven sources that Pound cites in the list of references are to poetry books or criticism), although he does discuss two canonical essays of New Zealand art history, namely A. R. D. Fairburn's 'Some Aspects of N. Z. Art and Letters', *AiNZ*, 6.4 (1934), 213–18, and Peter Tomory's 'Imaginary Reefs and Floating Islands: The Romantic Image in New Zealand Painting', *Ascent*, 1.2 (1968), 5–19, as well as the book, *Distance Looks our Way: The Effects of Remoteness on New Zealand*, ed. by Keith Sinclair, University of Auckland Winter Lectures, 1960 (Auckland: Paul's Book Arcade for the University of Auckland, 1961), which includes the edited text of lectures delivered by Tomory and the art historian E. H. McCormick.

[10] Pound opens 'Distance Looks our Way' by stating: 'My purpose here is simple. It is to offer a brief archaeology of the metaphor which grants the present exhibition its title. And why? Because the travelling show, *Distance Looks Our Way*, is no more than an attempt to undo the truth of a locally famous figure of speech — a melancholy figure which proclaims that New Zealand is cut off from the rest of the world by a "great, unrelenting mesh" of ocean.' (p. 21). The titular metaphor is derived from lines in Charles Brasch's poem 'The Islands', first published in his second book of poems, *Disputed Ground: Poems 1939–45* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1948). Both the exhibition 'Distance Looks our Way: Ten Artists from New Zealand' and Pound's essay share this titular metaphor with the University of Auckland Winter Lecture series of 1960 and the subsequent publication of these lectures, edited by Keith Sinclair and entitled *Distance Looks our Way: The Effects of Remoteness on New Zealand*, which is discussed by Pound in his essay of the same name, as I have mentioned in n. 9 immediately above. Strictly speaking, Pound uses the term "invention" to refer to the cultural construction of a certain New Zealand in the literature, criticism, and painting of mid-twentieth-century New Zealand. In 'Distance Looks our Way', he speaks of an 'invented New Zealand' (p. 22 and p. 29), which he also describes as 'a productive invention, a period truth, a literary and painterly topos' (p. 28); in Pound's view, such an invention was engendered by 'an island mentality [that] provided a way of thinking in which, by seeming to refuse or lack the foreign, a true and unique New Zealand might be invented' (p. 21). Pound in fact appropriates the term "invention" from the poet Allen Curnow and the painter Colin McCahon, as he himself tells us in his tome, *The Invention of New Zealand*, p. xviii. For more detail on Pound's appropriation, see n. 41, pp. 323–24 of Chapter 3. In saying that the figure of distance itself is an (art-) historically constructed 'invention', I acknowledge that I am using this term slightly differently, although not antithetically, to the way in which Pound uses it.

assertion differs from the statements, cited above, of Keith, Kirker, and Leonard, who instead report the frequent observation of this theme. In other words, Pound authors the observation that is only reported by these other commentators, who withhold their authorship. Supported by ten pages of excavation, Pound's assertion functions discursively to retrospectively affirm both Keith and Kirker's earlier observations and to lend substance to Leonard's subsequent report. With the support of Pound's essay, this tradition of commentary has thus become accepted as the definitive interpretation of a vast swathe of the New Zealand art-historical literature. Insofar as it can be said to have bolstered the very discourse that it explicitly set out to invalidate, Pound's statement can be situated somewhat strangely at the very heart of this tradition.[11] Indeed, his critical project can also be situated somewhat strangely at the very heart of the contemporary (re)turn to an art-historical discourse of contact.[12]

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[11] The point that I have made above concerning a single statement in Pound's essay 'Distance Looks our Way' can equally be said of the essay itself, of his magnum opus *The Invention of New Zealand*, and of his critical project as a whole — that is, Pound's scholarship does not ultimately deconstruct the nationalist discourse that it set out to undo, as art historians have already pointed out: 'what is notable about Pound's book [*The Invention of New Zealand*] is that, for all of his criticism of the rhetorics of nationalism, he is unable to present a positive alternative; if he ends with a "post-national" situation for New Zealand art, he is precisely unable to write the history of this post-nationalism.' Rex Butler and A. D. S. Donaldson, 'Cities within Cities: Australian and New Zealand Art in the 20th Century', *Australian Art Historiography*, ed. by Jaynie Anderson (= *Journal of Art Historiography*) 4 (2011)), 1–15 (p. 11) <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2011/05/butler.pdf> [accessed 14 August 2013]. In the preface to *The Invention of New Zealand*, Pound himself expresses his own suspicion that, against his wish, he has been unable 'to master Nationalist high culture' due to the 'unavoidable contagion' of such culture, which 'infects all commentary about it' (p. xxi); and expresses his doubt, wondering if 'perhaps I do no more than echo again the Nationalists' isolated island complaint — infected by the very rhetoric I had thought detachedly to analyse' (p. xiv).

[12] Although Pound's scholarship clearly informs the argument that Leonard puts forward in his essay 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', which, as I have noted in the man text above (at the start of the first paragraph of this chapter), marks this art-historical (re)turn to a discourse of contact, Pound's scholarship is not acknowledged by Leonard, who in this essay speaks of Pound as an adversary rather than a colleague while appropriating him without citation. Leonard's appropriation of Pound is evident in the first sentence of 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', which bears a distinct resemblance to the statement Pound made twenty years earlier in his essay 'Distance Looks our Way', cited in exergue to this chapter; it is also conspicuous in a subsequent paragraph in

Counter to the dominant interpretation that has characterised the canonical literature of New Zealand art history as being excessively concerned about the New Zealand artist's 'distance and isolation from Europe',[13] this chapter sets out to say something that is *not* often said about New Zealand art historiography: that there is in fact a double discourse of distance *and* contact at play in the canonical literature. My aim here in tracing a discourse of contact in the archive of New Zealand art history is in part a deconstructive one. Unlike Pound, however, I am not attempting 'to undo the truth of' this art-historical discourse of distance, as if by simply revealing a certain literary representation, such as the figure of distance, to be an illegitimate reflection of reality and thus a mere cultural construct, or invention, we could lessen its imaginative purchase on us and simply put an ailing (melancholic) discourse to rest.[14] Rather, this

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which Leonard fleshes out his first statement, and in doing so paraphrases Pound. Consider the similarity between Leonard's description: 'New Zealand art was largely made in New Zealand, by New Zealand artists, for New Zealand audiences.' (p. 10); and Pound's prior assertion, put forward in the third chapter of his book *The Invention of New Zealand*, entitled 'Of New Zealand, by New Zealanders, for New Zealanders': 'Painting, it was thought, should be painted *of* New Zealand, *by* New Zealanders, *for* New Zealanders.' (p. 61). Pound's influence on Leonard's idea that 'New Zealand art has been shaped by distance, isolation, and smallness' is made explicit in a much earlier text in which Leonard claims of New Zealand: 'Our relationship to distance has changed. While we remain physically distant from the centers of the art world, we are no longer ideologically excluded. What Francis Pound called "the tyranny of distance" has gone. Distance is no longer absolute; it has lost its sublime flavour. Now distance is simply concrete and banal.' (Robert Leonard, 'Trickle Up', in *Art Forum: Series 2001*, ed. by Kate Griffin and Zara Stanhope (Wellington: Adam, 2002), pp. 34–35 (p. 35).) Here Pound is strangely misremembered by Leonard; although it was in fact Geoffrey Blainey who coined the phrase "the tyranny of distance" in his book, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1966), surely Leonard is alluding to 'Distance Looks our Way', in which Pound discusses the recession of the theme of distance, a theme he repeatedly associates with the sublime (see pp. 22–23, p. 25, and p. 26), in conjunction with a transformation of the quotidian experience of relative (inter)national distances: 'So, with the advent of the aeroplane, and of telecommunications, countries which once seemed in a different world from New Zealand may become its neighbours in a landscape whose dimensions are shrunk.' (p. 28).

[13] Pound, 'Distance Looks our Way', p. 21.

[14] Pound opens his catalogue essay 'Distance Looks our Way' by stating that the aim of the exhibition 'Distance Looks our Way' is 'to undo the truth of a locally famous figure of speech — a melancholy figure' (p. 21), namely, the figure 'distance looks our way', which derives from Charles Brasch's poem 'The Islands', first published in 1948. For further detail, see n. 10, p. 146 above. Elsewhere in this essay, Pound reiterates his

chapter attempts to at least begin to deconstruct the binary opposition of a discourse of distance, which has come to be associated with a national(ist) and colonial past, and a discourse of contact, which has come to be associated with a post-national(ist) and postcolonial present and even a decolonised or decolonial future. Thus, unlike Leonard, who turns toward (his own personal experience of) the contemporary in order to speak of intimate contact, in this chapter I turn back towards the archive, to the historical sources which have largely been used to write a national history of New Zealand art, to take a closer look at what has already been said, and yet remains unsaid and thus sayable, about contact.[15]

Rereading an Archive for Unnational Histories of Art

The research presented in Table 1 and Table 2 below (see pages 164 to 205) shows that it is possible to trace a discourse of contact in the texts that comprise the archive of New Zealand art history. By documenting the

initial interpretation of the 'topos of distance and isolation from Europe' as a melancholic discourse (see pp. 27 and 29).

[15] Here I am (skim) reading Giorgio Agamben reading Michel Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1972), in Agamben's, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, trans. by Daniel Heller-Roazen (New York: Zone Books, 2002), pp. 138–46, in which Agamben defines the archive as 'the unsaid or sayable inscribed in everything said by virtue of being enunciated', and as 'the system of relations between the unsaid and the said in every act of speech, between the enunciative function and the discourse in which it exerts itself' (p. 144); here Agamben takes enunciation to refer 'not to a text but to a pure event of language […] not to something said but to the sayable that remains unsaid in it' (p. 139). In borrowing Agamben's vocabulary, namely, the "said" or "already-said", and the "unsaid" or "sayable", I want to say that although the literature of New Zealand art history speaks of (a discourse of) contact, insofar as the word "contact" and related terms are in fact printed in certain texts, so that contact can be said to have been "said", or to be "already-said" on the one hand; on the other hand, because it is *not* often said that these sources speak of contact, a discourse of contact is as yet "unsaid", which for Agamben denotes the condition of speech, that is, the "sayable". In taking recourse to Agamben (on Foucault), and indeed to Derrida at the start of this chapter, I wish to problematise any straightforward sense of the "archive" as simply a (concrete) collection of historical documents; however, I do not take a particular theoretical (Derridean, Agambenian, or Foucauldian) approach to the archive. In lieu of a systematic and/or rationalised methodological approach, I offer instead insertions like this one as placeholders to indicate possible directions for future research.

appearance of the word "contact" in select New Zealand art historiographical sources published between 1928 and 2009, a period of approximately eighty years, which covers the majority of the twentieth century including the forty years that Pound calls 'the Nationalist time',[16] these tables show that a discourse of contact is a recurrent and long-standing concern of New Zealand art historiography. In these texts, a concern with contact is not only evident throughout the so-called Nationalist period of New Zealand art history, that is, between 1930 and 1970, which has come to be associated with a discourse of distance, but evidently predates and post-dates this period, and is indeed apparent in certain contemporary sources.

At first glance, the historical reach of this concern with contact suggests several initial conclusions. It would seem that in the New Zealand art historiographical context a discourse of contact is on the one hand not necessarily a nationalist discourse insofar as it exceeds 'the Nationalist time'; or if it can be understood on the other hand as a nationalist discourse, insofar as it appears in the texts that have come to be closely associated with a national(ist) history of New Zealand art, it would seem that this nationalist discourse of contact, and by extension any other discourse of cultural nationalism apparent in these texts, is not necessarily confined to the period of mid-twentieth-century New Zealand art(-historical) discourse and/or practice to which it is assigned by Pound. Indeed, it would rather seem that in the New Zealand art historiographical context, contact can be understood, at least in my reading, as at once a nationalist and an unnational(ist) art-historical discourse — that is, as a paradoxical discourse that can engender both national and unnational histories of (New Zealand) art. Moreover, as an unnational(ist) discourse, contact is thus potentially deconstructive of, and not necessarily constructive of, national(ist) histories of art.[17]

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[16] Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand*, p. xviii.

[17] Here I am borrowing and/or adapting the term "unnational" from Rex Butler and A. D. S. Donaldson's project 'to write a non-national or what [they] have called an "UnAustralian" history of Australian art', as they describe it in their 'Cities Within Cities', p. 3. For an early iteration of this project, see for example Rex Butler and A. D. S. Donaldson, 'Stay, Go, or Come: A History of UnAustralian Art, 1920–40', *ANZJA*, 9.1

Not only do the findings of the research presented in the tabulated study below challenge the time frame of Pound's Nationalist period and indeed the periodisation of nationalist (New Zealand) art-historical discourse itself, and by implication the assumption that a post-national(ist) historiography of (New Zealand) art would naturally follow the Nationalist period, they also challenge the entailed partition of a discourse of distance and a discourse of contact and their respective positioning on opposite sides of the nationalist/post-national(ist) divide, whereby distance is regarded as the Nationalist theme par excellence and contact as a postcolonial and/or decolonial discourse of the global contemporary. As the tables show, these two discourses are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, they are not only contemporaneous with each other, but there is also a strong correlation between them, insofar as many of the texts in which the word "contact" appears also speak of the distance, isolation, and remoteness of (the) New Zealand art(ist). This suggests that in fact there is a double discourse of distance *and* contact at play in these texts, and moreover that a discourse of distance does not necessarily preclude a discourse of contact, just as a discourse of contact does not necessarily preclude nationalist discourse. The broad findings of this research thus challenge the characterisation of the Nationalist period as necessarily nationalist and as excessively concerned with distance — at least it can also be said that during the so-called 'Nationalist time' a concern with contact is as

(2008), 119–43; and for the most recent iteration and/or culmination of the project, see Butler and Donaldson, *UnAustralian Art*. In 'Stay, Go, or Come', Butler and Donaldson state that the aim of their UnAustralian art history project is 'to write a *complementary* and *parallel* account of Australian art, a history of what has been excluded', namely, the history of 'emigrant and immigrant artists' (p. 120). In 'Cities within Cities', Butler and Donaldson apply their notion of the unnational to the New Zealand art-historical context: 'in our UnAustralian history we reverse the perspective of the usual national histories, which are always written from the inside out, and write instead from the outside in. We ask not how other places seem from here but how we might appear from other places. And thus to write a history of New Zealand art from the point of view of Australia is also to write an UnNew Zealand history of art from the point of view of New Zealand.' (pp. 3–4). My use of the term "unnational" differs from that of Butler and Donaldson, insofar as I am using it to designate a discourse of contact as that which has been excluded by the excessive focus on a discourse of distance in New Zealand art historiography, and which could thus potentially be used to construct an unnational history of (New Zealand) art.

evident in the literature of New Zealand art history as the much remarked upon concern with distance.

These are the major findings of the research presented in the tabulated study below. Before these initial conclusions can be discussed in any detail or further interpretation of the study can be developed, it is necessary to turn our attention to the constitution of the archive in question — its methodology and its tabulation — so that the reader is equipped with the prerequisite information to read and understand the tables for themselves. In the following description of the archive, I identify three periods or moments in the historiography of New Zealand art, which are meant to provide a guide to reading the tables as well as a critical context for the three close readings of the tabulated sources that constitute the rest of the present chapter.

Tabulating an Archive of the Word "Contact"

The information presented in Table 1 and Table 2 is the result of research into the occurrence of the word "contact" in New Zealand art historiographical sources published between 1928 and 2009. The time frame of this study, which covers a period of approximately eighty years between the mid-twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, is largely determined by the publication dates of the canonical and/or primary sources that can be said to constitute (the archive of) New Zealand art history, which are the focus of the study. By defining the sources of the study as those that constitute (the archive of) New Zealand art history, I mean those publications that have been used to write and/or are themselves widely considered to be national histories of New Zealand art, and which at once constitute a material archive of New Zealand art-historical texts and a canon of New Zealand art. In the relatively small field of New Zealand art history, the texts that constitute what is widely considered to be New Zealand art history are in fact most often histories of painting. In this context of a dearth of scholarship, the history of New Zealand painting functions as somewhat of a metonym for the history of New Zealand art as such. Thus, many of the texts surveyed in the present study are concerned with the history of New Zealand painting. In surveying these texts for instances of the word

"contact", I have also taken the opportunity to record instances of the words "distance" and "isolation", terms which signify the supposedly melancholic theme of the nationalist discourse for which these sources are so renowned, in an attempt to gauge the relative frequency of a discourse of contact in comparison to a discourse of distance in this archive.

The study begins in 1928, the year which saw the first issue of *Art in New Zealand*, and ends in 2009, with the publication of Pound's *The Invention of New Zealand*. It covers three significant periods or moments in the historiography of New Zealand painting and/or art. The first is that of the interwar Dominion, which, as I have mentioned above, saw the publication of *Art in New Zealand*, the first periodical devoted exclusively to the arts in and of the Dominion, as well as the opening of the National Art Gallery (NAG) in the Dominion's capital in 1936. This formative moment in the historiography of New Zealand art culminated in 1940 with the publication of two texts in conjunction with the New Zealand Centennial, namely, E. H. McCormick's *Letters and Art in New Zealand* and A. H. McLintock's introduction to the *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* catalogue, which can be considered together as the first significant attempt to historicise New Zealand art.[18] The publication of these two national histories of art and the establishment of a national art journal and a national art gallery were instrumental in the formation and institutionalisation of a national canon of New Zealand art. While a discourse of contact is evident in *Art in New Zealand* articles, it is less so in McCormick's and McLintock's centennial histories. Thus, in the close reading of these sources that follows in the subsequent sections of the present chapter, the centennial texts are treated separately from the art writing published in *Art in New Zealand*.

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[18] E. H. McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand*, New Zealand Centennial Surveys, 10 (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940); A. H. McLintock, 'Introduction', in *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940), pp. 7–16. Both texts have subsequently come to be considered foundational texts of New Zealand art history. For further detail on the historicisation of these texts as foundational, see n. 155, pp. 252–53 and pp. 262–63 of this chapter below.

Whereas the literature of this first art-historiographical period was largely produced in association with social, cultural, and institutional activity centred in and around the Dominion's capital, Wellington, that of the second and third periods was largely produced in association with activity centred in Auckland, the country's largest urban area and increasingly dominant financial centre. The second moment turns around scholarship that can be understood to have emerged in and/or out of the context of 'the rise of the Auckland City Art Gallery', which can be attributed in part to art historian Peter Tomory's tenure of the directorship of ACAG between 1956 and 1964, and the 'ascendency […] of Auckland as the leading centre for visual arts' in New Zealand more broadly.[19] Of primary interest here are the post-colonial settler-national(ist) histories of New Zealand painting written by Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith, namely their co-authored book *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting*, the first edition of which was published in 1969, when both Brown and Keith held positions at ACAG, and the second updated edition in 1982, as well as Brown's subsequent series of three catalogue essays on the history of twentieth-century New Zealand painting, published between 1972 and 1981.[20] While these

[19] According to Gordon H. Brown, who, it should be noted, was an ACAG employee in the 1960s, 'the rise of the Auckland City Art Gallery as the country's most progressive art gallery' was a significant factor in 'the gradual ascendancy throughout the 1950s of Auckland as the leading centre for visual arts' in New Zealand and the concomitant 'loss of dominance in New Zealand painting that had been associated with Christchurch', in his, *New Zealand Painting 1940–1960: Conformity and Dissension* (Wellington: Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand, 1981), p. 89. The ostensible 'rise of the Auckland City Art Gallery' can also be attributed to Eric Westbrook's previous tenure of the directorship of ACAG between 1951 and 1955. Westbrook was the first trained museum professional to be appointed director of a public art gallery in New Zealand, and Tomory was the second. Tomory also contributed more broadly to the 'ascendancy […] of Auckland as the leading centre for visual arts' in his subsequent role as senior lecturer in Art History at the University of Auckland's School of Fine Arts, a position he held between 1965 and 1968.

[20] Hamish Keith was employed in a curatorial capacity as Student Assistant, Assistant Keeper, and Keeper at ACAG between 1958 and 1970. Gordon H. Brown was Librarian-in-charge at the University of Auckland's School of Fine Arts in the mid-1960s, while Tomory was lecturing at the school, however, Brown, like Keith, was in the employment of ACAG, as a research librarian, when their coauthored *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting* was first published in 1969. Brown subsequently published a series of three long catalogue essays that cover the history of painting in twentieth-century New Zealand in more detail than in the coauthored *Introduction*, namely: *New Zealand Painting 1900–1920: Traditions and Departures* (Wellington: Queen Elizabeth II

histories draw upon McCormick's and McLintock's centennial histories, and to a lesser extent the art writing of the interwar Dominion, they build more directly upon Tomory's scholarship and are renowned for reinforcing 'the new canon' centred around the painters Rita Angus (1908–70), M. T. Woollaston (1910–98), and Colin McCahon (1919–87),[21] the latter of whom worked alongside Brown and Keith at the ACAG where he was employed in a variety of capacities between 1953 and 1964.[22] A particular discourse of contact is evident in these histories, which are remarkable for their striking concern with the mediation of

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Arts Council of New Zealand, 1972); *New Zealand Painting 1920–1940: Adaptation and Nationalism* (Wellington: Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand, 1975); and *New Zealand Painting 1940–1960: Conformity and Dissension*. A second updated edition of Brown and Keith's *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting* was published in 1982.

[21] In his catalogue essay 'The Words and the Art: New Zealand Art Criticism *c*. 1950 – *c*. 1990', in *Headlands: Thinking through New Zealand Art*, ed. by Mary Barr (Sydney, MCA: 1992), pp. 185–202 (pp. 190–92), Pound identifies 'the new canon' that Tomory's 'view and his position of institutional power had helped to achieve' in the context of his call for '[a] new professionalism' in art criticism, as distinct from an earlier canon of twentieth-century New Zealand painting constituted in and through the ostensibly '"amateur criticism"' associated with the journal *Landfall*, in print since 1947, and literary critics such as A. R. D. Fairburn and Charles Brasch, and the cultural and art historian E. H. McCormick. According to Pound, '[t]he Auckland City Art Gallery, under Tomory, in its exhibitions, catalogues, essays and booklets, picks out for special attention Angus, Woollaston and McCahon, and thus makes of them a standard, accepted, and authoritative trio […] Working under Tomory, Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith pick out the same three; and they keep it up for some time after.' For a more recent discussion of Tomory's canon and especially his canonisation of Angus, Woollaston, and McCahon, see Courtney Johnston, 'Peter Tomory: The New Zealand Years, 1956–1968' (unpublished master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2004), pp. 123–27.

[22] In 1953 Colin McCahon moved from Christchurch to Auckland to take up a part-time position as a cleaner at ACAG; he was subsequently employed as an attendant, and in 1956 he was promoted by Tomory to the position of Keeper. In 1964 he resigned from ACAG in order to take up a teaching position at the University of Auckland's School of Fine Arts, where he lectured in painting until his retirement in 1971. As Keeper, McCahon was the immediate colleague of Keith, who was employed as Assistant Keeper for the approximately seven-year period that McCahon's employment at the gallery overlapped with his own. For Keith's perspective on this period in McCahon's career as a time of transformation in his art practice, see the exhibition catalogue Hamish Keith, *Towards Auckland: Colin McCahon, the Gallery Years*, ed. by Jane Davidson (Auckland: AAG, 2006). McCahon's role in the formation of 'the new canon', in which McCahon is positioned as one of three dominant figures, has received attention and criticism from artists as well as art historians. See for example Michael Stevenson's comic strip *Super Stormy Saves the Artworld*, 1995, published in Leonard, 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', p. 12.

contact — that is, with whether contact between artists and artworks is direct or indirect, first-hand, second-hand, or third-hand. This particular post-colonial settler-national(ist) discourse of contact is explored in a close reading of texts by Brown and Keith in the final section of the present chapter.

The third historiographical moment does not have a focal point in the way that the first and second moments can be understood to revolve around the activity of certain institutions and the publication of certain definitive texts. If these earlier moments are characterised by a concern with the inscription of a national art history and the formation of a national canon, this latter moment can be characterised by a revisionist concern with the expansion, if not deconstruction, of the national(ist) canon of New Zealand art to include the work of abstract painters, artist-Māori, artist-Pasifika, and, to a lesser extent, artist-Asians, as well as more work by artist-women. This moment, which spans the last two decades of the twentieth century, could be characterised as postmodern and postcolonial, and has indeed been described as a 'post-Nationalist time'.[23] The art discourse of this moment comprises texts written by some of the first art historians to be awarded a doctorate in Art History from a New Zealand university, such as Michael Dunn, Leonard Bell, and Francis Pound, as well as many books and articles written by women, many of whom also hold academic qualifications in Art History, such as Ann Kirker and Ann Calhoun. In its admittance of a wider range of voices, this latter moment thus differs from the preceding moment. There is, however, an obvious overlap and/or a certain continuity between the art discourse of these two Auckland-centric historiographical moments, due in part to the '"living on"' of Brown and Keith's *Introduction* in its updated form,[24] which can be seen to have influenced a

[23] In his 1989 essay 'Walters and the Canon', and elsewhere as I have noted above, Pound maintains that '[t]he Nationalist period, [which] begun in the 1930s, came to an end in the 1970s', and refers to the time 'since the Nationalist time', that is, his own time and that of his contemporaries, as 'our post-Nationalist time', from which he explicitly excludes Brown and Keith. See Francis Pound, 'Walters and the Canon', in *Gordon Walters: Order and Intuition*, ed. by James Ross and Laurence Simmons (Walters Publication: Auckland, 1989), pp. 51–70 (pp. 58–61).

[24] In 'Walters and the Canon' Pound discusses the ways in which a canon of art lives on beyond the time of its formation, and exemplifies the afterlife of a canon with the

discourse of contact in Dunn's histories of New Zealand painting published between 1991 and 2003.[25] This moment, and the tabulated study, ends with Pound's book *The Invention of New Zealand*, which might appear at first as an outlier because it was not published until 2009, but in fact it did emerge out of this moment.[26] Although a close reading of the late-twentieth-century texts presented in the tabulated study is beyond the scope of this chapter, the information gathered from these texts concerning the appearance of the word "contact" does attest to the continuation of a discourse of contact in the historiography of New Zealand art into the present.

In addition to histories of New Zealand painting, the present study surveys four major periodicals as well as several miscellaneous articles and exhibition catalogues. The survey roughly covers the first ten years of the quarterly magazine *Art in New Zealand*, which, as the first national forum devoted entirely to the discussion of New Zealand art and the country's only art periodical while it was in print between September 1928 and June 1944, is now considered as having 'laid the foundations of [New Zealand] art history'.[27] While I was only able to randomly sample *Art in New Zealand*,[28] I have been

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republication of Brown and Keith's book: 'A nicely material example of this "living on" might be the fact that Brown and Keith's *Introduction to New Zealand Painting* […] has been reissued for the eighties. So a canon formed by Nationalist principles, and issued in 1969 as the Nationalist period's final and most resplendent monument, is re-issued in 1982, substantially unchanged, into our post-Nationalist time.' (p. 60).

[25] For example, Dunn's discussion of Woollaston's relations with Flora Scales is discussed in terms of contact, in Dunn (1991), pp. 103–04, and Dunn (2003), p. 109, just as it is described by Brown and Keith (1969), pp. 152–53, and Brown (1975), p. 67.

[26] In 'Walters and the Canon', Pound refers the reader to his 'forthcoming' book, entitled *The Invention of New Zealand: A Nationalist Mythology of Landscape 1930–1970*, on p. 70, n. 17; and in the Notes on Contributers, on p. 112 of *Gordon Walters: Order and Intuition*, ed. by Ross and Simmons, this same book is described as having been 'just completed' and 'currently in press'. When it was finally published in 2009, with a different subtitle to that advertised in his 1989 essay, Pound did address 'the matter of the apparently excessive time taken in completing this book', in the final paragraph of the Preface, on p. xxi.

[27] R. D. J. Collins, 'Preface', in *A Journal of their Own: An Index to Art in New Zealand, 1928–1946*, ed. by Richard Dingwall, Rosemary Entwisle and Lois Robertson (= *BNZAH*, Special Series, 2 (1997)), 5–6 (p. 5). From December 1944, *Art in New Zealand* was published as *The Arts in New Zealand* and was no longer issued quarterly but bimonthly until January 1946.

[28] I have been unable to systematically survey the *AiNZ* archive in person; moreover, this journal has not been digitised and is thus not available online. However, I have had

able to survey all five issues of the short-lived but recently digitised journal *Ascent: A Journal of the Arts in New Zealand*, which again was the only journal dedicated solely to the country's visual arts while it was in print between November 1967 and December 1969.[29] I have also surveyed the majority of the first ten volumes of the *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, which was the country's only publication outlet intended specifically for art-historical research when it was first issued in 1972, at a time of the professionalisation of Art History in New Zealand.[30] And finally, in the case of the quarterly magazine *Art New Zealand*, which has become the country's longest-running and arguably most well-known visual art publication since it first came into print in August

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access to scanned copies of thirty-nine articles which I made while conducting preliminary doctoral research at the British Library for more general purposes than those entailed by a survey of a particular word. The articles that I have been able to read cover a fairly representative range (eight years) of issues over approximately the first decade (1928–38) of the publication, with only two years (1932 and 1935) not represented. Of the thirty-nine articles surveyed, fourteen instances of the word "contact" were found in seven texts which were published over six of the eleven years surveyed, roughly every second year. No instances were found in articles from 1928, 1930, or 1937, in addition to the two years of publications not represented in the survey at all; however, instances were found in two exhibition catalogues dating from 1928 and 1935, which suggests that a discourse of contact is widespread in the New Zealand art context during this time. To conduct this survey of *AiNZ*, it was necessary to read the articles in their entirety as it was not possible to digitally search the scanned copies for a keyword, thus certain instances could have been accidentally overlooked.

[29] Numbers one to five of the first and only volume of *Ascent* are availiable to download as PDF files from the online archive of Christchurch Art Gallery, which can be found at <https://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/about/library/ascent> [accessed 4 September 2022]. Three instances of the word "contact" were found in the third and fifth issues of *Ascent*, both published in 1969. Although these issues have been digitised, it was not possible to digitally search the PDF files for a keyword and was thus necessary to read each article in its entirety, as in the case of *AiNZ*, which means that certain instances could have been accidentally overlooked.

[30] For comment upon the bulletin's status in the context of the national art publishing landscape at the time, and the historical moment of the professionalisation of Art History, from the perspective of the bulletin's editorial staff, see Anthony Green, 'Editorial', *BNZAH*, 1 (1972), i. I have not had access to library holdings of this journal and have had to rely upon copies available for resale; thus, I have only been able to survey eight of the first ten volumes of the *BNZAH*: volume 1 (1972); volume 2 (1974); volume 3 (1975); volume 4 (1976); volume 5 (1977); volume 6 (1978); volume 9 (1985); and volume 10 (1989). Only three instances of the word "contact" were found in these eight issues (in volumes 3, 6, and 10), which were surveyed by reading each article in its entirety, which means, as in the cases of *AiNZ* and *Ascent*, that certain instances could have been accidentally overlooked.

1976, I have, however, been able to systematically survey issues one to thirty-three, originally published between 1976 and 1984, which have recently been digitised.[31] By surveying the appearance of the word "contact" in these four art journals and other miscellaneous sources, it is not only possible to read the ways in which a discourse of contact circulated beyond the texts of an individual author, but also to trace the ways in which this wider discourse has informed the historiography of certain national histories of New Zealand art, and vice versa.

Table 1

Table 1 (see pages 164 to 197) presents instances of the word "contact" in select New Zealand art historiographical sources published between 1928 and 2009. Each instance is quoted in the context of the sentence in which it appears and is entered under the heading of the source from which it is extracted; each source comprises a single entry. The quotation of each instance is followed by a reference (given in brackets) to the page number(s) of the source in which it can be found, and where relevant any cross-references to texts in which the quotation is cited. For ease of reference, the word "contact", or a neighbouring term (namely "intimacy" and "encounter", which here are considered respectively as an elision of the expression "intimate contact" and a synonym of "contact"), is highlighted in bold within each quotation; in many cases, a noun phrase that includes the word "contact", such as "direct contact" or "first-hand contact", is highlighted. If a source contains an instance of a noun phrase which includes the word "contact" and is considered to be a recurrent phrase in the context of the present study, and thus a type of contact, a record of the type(s) of contact (indicated by a relevant keyword) can be found in the right-hand

[31] By systematically survey I mean that I have been able to download all articles in issues one to thirty-three of the magazine as PDF files and digitally search these files for a keyword. These articles are availiable to read online at the *Art New Zealand* website <https://art-newzealand.com/previous-issues/page/5/> [accessed 4 September 2022]. Thirty-six instances of the word "contact" were found in twenty-three *ANZ* articles published between 1976 and 1984, with an instance found to occur at least once in every year except 1981.

column to the left of the quotation(s). Some entries/sources contain more than one instance of the word “contact”; the total number of instances is given in bold in the right-hand column at the top of each entry. The entries are presented in chronological order according to the publication date of each source; however, if there is more than one source with the same publication date, these entries are listed alphabetically. For each source, references are given in an abbreviated yet easily identifiable form; full references are given in the bibliography. While certain publication details are omitted, the page span is given for book chapters and articles, and the number of pages is given for books and catalogues, so that the reader can relate the quantity of instances in each source to the length of the text and thereby gain some sense of the scale of this relation if not an exact calculation of the relative frequency of each instance in the context of its publication.

If a source also contains any instance(s) of the word “distance” or a neighbouring term (namely “isolation”, “remoteness”, or “smallness”), or a word that could be considered a synonym of either of these four key words, a record of each instance can be found at the bottom of each entry, below a dotted line which separates it from the quotation(s) above. Such a record is comprised of a reference to the page number(s) on which each instance of the word “distance” or a neighbouring term or synonym can be located in the source document, but unlike instances of the word “contact”, instances of the word “distance” are not quoted in full. However, if any instance(s) of the word “distance” or a neighbouring term or synonym appear in the quotations that contain instances of the word “contact”, each instance is highlighted in bold for ease of reference. Some entries/sources contain more than one instance of the word “distance”; the total number of instances is given in the right-hand column at the bottom of each entry, below a dotted line.

Table 2

Table 2 (see pages 198 to 205) indexes the occurrence of the words “contact” and “distance” and their neighbouring terms and synonyms in the sources presented in Table 1. Each source comprises a single entry. The

entries/sources are indexed in chronological rather than alphabetical order; if there is more than one source with the same publication date, however, these sources are listed alphabetically. For ease of cross-reference, sources are thus listed in the same order as they appear in Table 1. The total number of instances of the word "contact" (and its neighbouring terms) and the word "distance" (and its neighbouring terms) are given for each source in the first two columns to the right of those containing the reference details of each source; for ease of reference, the column concerning the word "distance" is shaded. It is thus easy to compare the frequency of these words both within a text, by scanning the table from left to right, and across sources, by scanning these columns from top to bottom. We can quickly see, for example, that in the case of each source published in the first twenty years of the present survey, that is, between 1928 and 1948, the word "contact" features more often than the word "distance", with three exceptions — two of which are notable.[32]

To the right of the two columns containing the total number of instances of the words "contact" and "distance" are six unshaded columns containing more specific information about the word "contact" and the five most recurrent types of contact, namely: intimate contact; first-hand, second-hand, and third-hand contact; direct and indirect contact; Māori and European contact; and principal contact. While all of these five types of contact are derived from recurrent noun phrases that include the word "contact", in the case of Māori–European contact, this exact phrase is used only once by Bell (1984), however, this type of contact is often referred to using a variety of expressions; for example, Brown

[32] The three exceptions are: Carbery (1928), in which there are equal references to the words "contact" and "distance"; McCormick (1940), in which there are only two references to the word "contact" but twenty-eight to the word "distance" and neighbouring terms; and McLintock (1940), in which there are also two references to the word "contact" and five references to the word "distance". The latter two exceptions are notable insofar as they both occur in texts that were published in association with the New Zealand Centennial and have come to be considered foundational texts. This seemingly unprecedented and disproportionate focus on the role of distance and isolation in New Zealand art history in these centennial texts suggests that the event of the centennial was somehow instrumental in establishing the discourse of distance that has since come to be considered a foundational discourse of New Zealand art historiography.

and Keith (1969) speak of 'first European contact' while Docking (1971) speaks of 'racial contact', and elsewhere Bell (1977) speaks more loosely of the absence of 'meaningful contact […] between Polynesian and European'; all of these examples are considered as cases of Māori–European contact. The first (leftmost) of these six columns records all instances of the word "contact" using a bullet point to indicate the presence of the term. In entries where there is no bullet point in this column, for example, in Carbery (1928) or McLintock (1966), this means that instead of the word "contact" a neighbouring term is used — "intimacy" in the case of Carbery, and "direct contact" in the case of McLintock.

The five columns that use bullet points to record the presence of instances of the most recurrent types of contact in the sources surveyed are not organised alphabetically but rather chronologically from left to right in order of first appearance. Thus, the first of these five columns is that which records all instances of "intimate contact" because this type of contact appears in the earliest source and very first entry in the table. The chronological ordering of the types of contact means that by scanning these columns from left to right as we read down the table we can quickly see that the second type of contact to occur in these sources is "1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand contact" in Auvergne Boxall (1931), and by referring to the appropriate quotation in Table 1 we can see that in his text Auvergne Boxall speaks of "first-hand contact". We can thus associate the introduction of a specific type of contact with either a specific text or (period of) time. There appears to be, for example, a strong correlation between the third type of contact and the texts published between 1939 and 1940, that is, at the time of the New Zealand Centennial; the term "direct contact" appears in three out of four of these sources.

To the right of the six unshaded columns concerning (types of) contact are four shaded columns containing more specific information about the word "distance" and its neighbouring terms. Again, a bullet point is used in these columns to record the presence of the terms "distance", "isolation", "remoteness", and "smallness" respectively. Unlike the five columns that record instances of recurrent types of contact, these columns are not organised chronologically but rather alphabetically from left to right, an ordering which

roughly coincides with a certain hierarchy of terms in New Zealand art (-historical) discourse and their frequency in the texts surveyed here.[33]

[33] In New Zealand art(-historical) discourse, these four terms/themes are often spoken of in a certain order, which is indicative of a certain symbolic hierarchy headed by "distance", in which the term "distance" can sometimes be used metonymically to refer to a broader, more complex discourse. This hierarchy, which is incidentally preserved by ordering the terms alphabetically, is evident in, for example, Pound's observation of the frequency of the 'topos of distance and isolation from Europe' in the literature and criticism of mid-twentieth-century New Zealand, which he made in his essay 'Distance Looks our Way', p. 21; and is also evident in Leonard's subsequent repetition of this same assertion that 'New Zealand art has been shaped by distance, isolation, and smallness' in his essay 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', p. 9. The relative importance of these terms according to this discursive heirarchy is roughly represented by their frequency in the texts surveyed, wherein "distance" occurs twenty-four times, "isolation" twenty-five times, "remoteness" twenty-two times, and "smallness" only nine times.

Table 1 Instances of the word "contact" in New Zealand art historiographical sources 1928–2009, with reference to the theme of distance

Year	Source	Frequency of "contact"
	Quotations that include the word "contact" and/or neighbouring terms (i.e. intimacy, encounter)	**Type of contact**
	References to instances of the word "distance" and/or neighbouring terms (i.e. isolation, remoteness, smallness)	**Frequency of "distance"**
1928	A. D. Carbery, 'Foreword', in *Exhibition of Contemporary British Art* (1928), 28 pp., p. 2	**1**
	'Living so **remotely** from the world's art centres, it is necessary – if there is to be any betterment in our standards of taste – that we in New Zealand should be brought more frequently into **intimacy** with the best contemporary work of the British Schools.' (p. 2). Paraphrased in Savage (1939), and cited in Brown (1975: 31), Pinkham (1981: 18), Calhoun, 'The Murray Fullers: I.' (1982), and Kirker (1983: 34).	Intimate
	Remoteness: p. 2 [see quotation above for citations].	1
1929	Arthur Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand: Some Generalisations', *AiNZ*, 1.3 (1929), 175–78	**2**
	'**Contact** with achievement which has passed the acid test of time is one of the safest elements in true progress.' (p. 176). Cited in Brown (1975: 34). 'The writer is a New Zealander, but after living for more than twenty years in various European countries, and having	Intimate

	had **intimate contact** and friendship with artists of a dozen different nationalities, he feels himself to be *au dessus de la melée*.' (p. 177).	
	Distance: p. 177 [synonym: 'far removed'; cited in Docking (1971: 110), and Docking and Dunn (1990: 110)].	1
1931	Arthur d'Auvergne Boxall, 'Observations on the Canterbury Society of Arts Exhibition', *AiNZ*, 3.4 (1931), 255–66	**1**
	'Our **distance** from the art centres of the old world prevent **first-hand contact** with galleries and exhibitions, but now that such fine reproductions can be obtained, and art publications are so numerous, it is possible to keep in touch with current works.' (p. 261).	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand
	Distance: p. 261.	1
1933	E. B. Gunson, 'Exhibitions of Contemporary Art', *AiNZ*, 6.1 (1933), 40–42	**2**
	'The question arises as to what will be done in the future along similar lines, for it is of the utmost importance, inasmuch as we are **detached** from the world centres, and comparatively few of our artists or of the public have the opportunity of visiting the galleries abroad, still less of spending any appreciable length of time in making **personal contact** with the working artists of the older countries, that representative works be brought to this country at frequent intervals.' (p. 40). 'This collection comprised some ten or a dozen works which Rhona Haszard completed at the Christchurch School of Art from 1921-25, and a further thirty pictures painted during the five years prior to her premature and tragic death, and afforded a very striking example of the benefit derived by **contact** with contemporary art influences abroad.' (p. 40).	Intimate
	Distance: p. 40 [synonym: 'detached'].	1
1934	A. R. D. Fairburn, 'Some Aspects of N.Z. Art and Letters', *AiNZ*, 6.4 (1934), 213–18	**2**

	‘New culture is the result of cross-fertilisation, so that any efforts towards self-consciousness will continue to derive benefit from **contact** with English culture.’ (p. 214). Cited in Brown (1975: 62). ‘The **contact** is, ineluctably, such a **close** one that there is no danger of our getting right out of touch.’ (p. 214).	Intimate
	Distance: p. 213.	1
1935	A. D. Carbery, ‘Prefatory Note’, in *Exhibition of British Contemporary Art* (1935), 11 pp.	**1**
	‘Mrs. Murray Fuller, by **friendly contact** with leading British artists, has been able to accomplish a difficult task, so giving us a renewed opportunity to revise our experiences of the art of the Homeland as it is to-day.’. Cited in Calhoun, ‘The Murray Fullers: II.’ (1982).	Intimate
1936	Roland Hipkins, ‘The Art of T. A. McCormack’, *AiNZ*, 8.4 (1936), 189–92	**3**
	‘The art of Thomas Arthur McCormack is so intimate and illusive that any effort to popularise it would assume a comprehension of esthetic values which belongs to those who have such affinity with the aims of the artist that true appreciation comes and grows by **contact** with a spirit finely attuned and expressed in art, to touch emotions in the beholder, not altogether associated with a knowledge of the technicalities of painting.’ (p. 189). ‘His knowledge of art, however, was considerably strengthened, when he left New Zealand, for the first and only time in 1928, and spent a period of eight months in Sydney, where he came in **contact** with European and Australian art.’ (p. 189). ‘His early life was one of continual activity, free and open as the world around him – primitive and carefree, full of adventure and exploration – always in **close contact** with life and nature.’ (p. 190).	Intimate
	Roland Hipkins, ‘The Australian Loan Collection’, *AiNZ*, 9.2 (1936), 67–75	**2**

	‘It seems, also, apart from the influence of **more constant contact** with Europe, that Australian artists have received considerable stimulus within their own land by the practical encouragement of art lovers and public-spirited citizens and by periodic Government commissions.’ (p. 67). ‘While it seems inevitable that artists should leave their native country to widen the scope of their activities and seek **contact** with a fuller and richer art life, it is significant that Australia has not only retained the best of her own artists, but is able, at the present time, to absorb artists from New Zealand.’ (p. 67).	
1938	Roland Hipkins, ‘Exhibition of Contemporary Canadian Painting’, *AiNZ*, 10.4 (1938), 197–98	**2**
	‘It is therefore timely and fortunate that we can establish some **contact** with present-day thought beyond our shores.’ (p. 197). ‘That we have the privilege of seeing certain aspects of Canadian life and landscape is of considerable interest to a sister Dominion; the manner of interpretation is of even greater interest to all who follow the “checkered, fateful adjustment of man to the outer world”; but what is significant is that we can establish **intimate contact** with men and women of ideas – of independent thought and the will to create.’ (p. 198).	Intimate
1939	M. J. Savage, ‘Foreword’, in *Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art* (1939), 78 pp. + 18 plates	**2**
	‘It was thought fitting by the Board of Trustees of the National Art Gallery of New Zealand that its part in celebrating the cultural advancement of New Zealand during the Centennial Period could best be carried out by bringing the public into **direct contact** with the works of eminent contemporary painters overseas as well as those of their own country.’ ‘It is necessary when living so **far from** the world’s art centres, that we in New Zealand should continue to be brought into **contact** with the best contemporary art abroad, and thus continue the good work so well commenced.’ Savage paraphrases Carbery (1928: 2), substituting the word intimacy with the word contact.	In/direct

	Distance [synonym: ‘far from’].	1
1940	E. H. McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand* (1940), xvi + 205 pp.	**2**
	‘She [New Zealand] had been continuously in **contact** with a remote stage of human development.’ (p. 123). ‘It is a scholarship which inevitably reflects these circumstances: it sometimes leans too heavily on the oral reminiscence and may, on occasion, exasperate through its blithe disregard of source and reference; on the other hand, it has the colour and concreteness gained from **direct contact** with repositories of history, while it shows the zest of work undertaken not for gain nor as academic labour but from deep-rooted, even passionate, interest in the past.’ (p. 149).	In/direct
	Distance: pp. 1, 11; Isolation: pp. 2, 26, 27, 56 [synonym: ‘shut off’], 58, 74, 146, 150, 163, 182; Remoteness: pp. 2, 17, 42, *50*, 59, 63, 74, 113, 123, 162, 166; Smallness: pp. 25, 56, 85 [synonym: ‘not large’], 166 [synonym: ‘insignificance’].	28
	A. H. McLintock, ‘Introduction’, in *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* (1940), 78 pp. + 32 plates, pp. 7–16	**2**
	‘In these expeditions artists had to play their part in recording the characteristics of the new scenes and peoples with whom they came in **contact**, and on their spasmodic visits to New Zealand they were inspired mainly by the desire to depict something of the charm and novelty of Maori life.’ (p. 7). ‘New Zealand’s geographical **remoteness** from Europe, the paucity of art scholarships, the conservatism of her art schools and institutions, had debarred students from any **direct contact** with the works of post-impressionists or with current movements abroad.’ (p. 15). Repeated almost verbatim in McLintock (1966).	In/direct
	Distance: p. 15 [synonym: ‘far from’]; Isolation: pp. 15, 16; Remoteness: pp. 15 [paraphrased in Pound (2009: 109)], 16 [cited in Pound (2009: 106, 332)].	5
	W. E. Parry, ‘Foreword’, in *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* (1940), p. 6	**1**

	‘Here are displayed the works of the earliest artists to come in **contact** with our country, the first colonists, and succeeding generations of our people who have striven to create their own cultural background to match the wild beauty of the land which is our home.’ (p. 6). Cited in Jonathan Mane Wheoki, ‘Art’s Histories in Aotearoa New Zealand’, *Journal of Art Historiography*, 4 (2011), 1–12 (p. 3).	
1947	Charles Brasch, ‘Notes’, *Landfall*, 1.3 (1947), 160–61	**1**
	‘It is only gradually that in a young country the arts can be expected to take on a character of their own distinguishable from that of the tradition of which they are a direct and legitimate development. And such a development implies no repudiation of or estrangement from its origins, but on the contrary an **intimate habitual contact** with them (for tradition is to be considered a living tradition that grows and changes rather than a dead or static image), and at the same time with other contemporary developments of the tradition.’ (p. 161).	Intimate
	A. R. D. Fairburn, ‘Some Reflections on New Zealand Painting’, *Landfall*, 1.1 (1947), 49–56	**1**
	‘The English tradition in painting was to gain some sort of redemption, eventually, through **contact** with the vigorous French school; but the day of deliverance was not to come until considerably later.’ (p. 50).	
1948	Roland Hipkins, ‘Contemporary Art in New Zealand’, *The Studio*, 135.661 (1948), 103–20	**1**
	‘But we in New Zealand need, most of all, refreshment and stimulus by **visual contact** with works of art from abroad.’ (p. 120).	
	Roland Hipkins, ‘New Zealand War Artists’, *The Studio*, 135.661 (1948), 121–22	**1**
	‘His [Austin A. Deans] accomplished but rather conventional paintings, executed in off-duty time in Egypt, have little resemblance to those produced later, when, as a prisoner of war in Germany and Poland, he had **stimulating contacts** with more mature artists.’ (p. 121).	

1954	E. H. McCormick, *The Expatriate: A Study of Frances Hodgkins and New Zealand* (1954), xix + 289 pp.	**2**
	'While Peter did his circuit of English stations, nephew and aunt continued to keep in touch. "As you know I have **contacted** Aunt Fanny," he wrote to his father from Norwich.' (p. 242). 'The news had been cabled by Girlie, Frances replied. "It seems right & proper that you should hurry home. Hope you will. It will prolong your Mother's life I am sure, if you do. . . . This is just a short line to make **contact** with you as soon as possible on your arrival in England."' (p. 244).	
	Distance: pp. 88, 111, 129, 148, *157*, *179*, 209, 229, 251; Isolation: pp. 34, 219; Remoteness: pp. 4, 13, 16, 25, 49, 77, 101, 152, 153, 159, 184, *231*, 258; Smallness: p. 258.	26
1958	Peter Tomory, 'Looking at Art in New Zealand', *Landfall*, 12.2 (1958), 153–69	**3**
	'Nature, as well as the man-made town, provides a similar series of **contacts** for which I now wish to substitute the word "totems".' (p. 154). Cited in Courtney Johnston, 'Peter Tomory: The New Zealand Years, 1956–1968' (unpublished master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2004), p. 61. 'In its simplest context, one may think of the farmer scooping up a handful of earth – this is the **direct contact**, not unmixed with the traditional examination of its fertility.' (p. 156). 'However much we may be offended by our **everyday contacts**, we at least look to the artist for comfort in this respect.' (p. 160).	In/direct
	Distance: pp. 153 [synonym: 'further from'], 156; Isolation: p. 153.	4
1961	C. K. Stead, '"For the Hulk of the World's Between"', in *Distance Looks our Way: The Effects of Remoteness on New Zealand*, ed. by Keith Sinclair (1961), pp. 79–96	**5**

	‘I suppose it is a point of general agreement that in any developed civilisation which is not in the process of regressing to the primitive, the artist must maintain a **living contact** with the tradition in which he is writing or painting.’ (p. 79). ‘This **contact** with the tradition is as important as the **living contact** with society, because the tradition is not only an inheritance of experiment in forms; it is a record of the life of the civilisation – a record which itself lives.’ (p. 79). ‘For the New Zealand writer our remoteness from Europe is no obstacle to the maintenance of that **contact**, as it is for the painter.’ (p. 79). ‘For most of his literary life Yeats ferried his Muse back and forth between London and the Lake Isle; he was able to enjoy the richness and variety of London without ever losing **contact** with the country of which and for which his poetry was primarily written.’ (p. 82).	
	Isolation: pp. 79–*82*, *84*–85; Remoteness: pp. 79, 81–83, 87–89, 92, 94–96.	34
1966	A. H. McLintock, ‘Art in New Zealand: Beginnings: 1642–1939’, in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, ed. by A. H. McLintock, 3 vols (1966), I, pp. 82–86	**1**
	‘New Zealand’s geographical **remoteness** from the art centres of Europe, the paucity of art scholarships, the dull conservatism of her art schools and institutions, had debarred the great majority of students from any **direct contact** with the works of the post-impressionists or with current movements abroad. Moreover, within the Dominion art was local rather than national, and students in the four centres, still largely **isolated** one from another, drew their inspiration from the few overseas artists who had settled in their midst.’ (p. 86).	In/direct
	Isolation: p. 86; Remoteness: p. 86.	2
1968	*New Zealand Art: Painting 1827–1967*, ed. by P. A. Tomory (1968), 100 pp.	**3**
	‘However, the **contact** with [R. N.] Field for these artists was brief: two terms in 1932 for Woollaston, and the winter	

	terms of 1937-39 for McCahon, for both knew what they wished to do when they took up painting.' (Tomory, 'Painting 1890–1950' in *New Zealand Art*, ed. by Tomory, pp. 1–33 (p. 4)). 'During his [Woollaston's] first year at Mapua in 1933, he had **brief contact** with an artist, Flora Scales, who introduced him to the colour theories of Hans Hofmann, then teaching in Munich, which enabled his style to become more fluid, more expressive.' (Tomory, 'Painting 1890–1950', p. 5). 'There are almost as many reasons for this [the diminishing importance of the painter's ostensible 'quest for a national identity' since 1950] as there are painters, but one of the main reasons has been the influence of overseas painters, either through books or through **actual contact** and study with the artists concerned.' (Mark Young, 'Painting 1950–1967' in *New Zealand Art*, ed. by Tomory, pp. 1–33 (p. 4)).	
	Isolation: Tomory, 'Painting 1890–1950', p. 4, Young, 'Painting 1950–1967', p. 4.	2
1969	Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1967* (1969; repr. 1975), 223 pp.	**13**
	'In his [Keith's] first year at the Auckland Gallery, the **direct contact** with 19th century New Zealand painting was the same kind of revelation that McCahon and Sutton had produced earlier.' (back cover). 'This **second or third hand contact** with the main currents of Western art often produced a militant form of provincialism or, as happened later, a completely unselective imitation of fashionable contemporary styles.' (p. 11). 'Over the past ten years the quality of the overseas exhibitions has improved, but the **principal contact** with contemporary art elsewhere has remained through coloured reproductions.' (p. 11). 'However the representation of the Maori provides a considerable body of work in New Zealand painting from the very **first European contact** to almost the present day, and although it is peripheral to the mainstream it deserves a study on its own account.' (p. 17). 'As soon as his [James Nairn's] **direct contact** was withdrawn, a good many of his disciples either slipped into painting the picturesque or became simply ineffectual as painters.' (p. 68).	Intimate 1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand In/direct Māori–European Principal

	‘Rather than being a direct influence, this **contact** with Canadian painting boosted their efforts and helped to clarify their own partly formulated ideas.’ (p. 117). ‘Woollaston established **contact** with Miss Scales who somewhat reluctantly accepted him as a pupil.’ (p. 152). ‘If Woollaston’s **contacts** with this timid woman, were slight, the influence, through her, of Han’s Hoffman’s teaching was extremely important.’ (p. 153). ‘Although expatriatism had the advantages of a more **direct contact** with the realities of art it was an advantage dissipated by the **remoteness** of the painter from the sources of his individual reaction and experience.’ (p. 167). ‘Woollaston and McCahon profited from their **second and third hand contact** with modern European painting’. (p. 167). ‘Those that required a more **direct contact** with painting must have found New Zealand before the mid-’fifties an aesthetic wasteland.’ (p. 167). ‘The year in Oamaru, as well as the joys of Saturday mornings on the harbor dredge, gave him [McCahon] a **closer contact** with the low North Otago hills.’ (p. 183). ‘The only **contact** Hanly had with anyone who tolerated modern art was Allan Leary, Hanley’s tutor at the Technical College, and a recent graduate of the Canterbury School of Fine Arts.’ (p. 195).	
	Distance: back cover, pp. 79, *149*; Isolation: pp. 9, 11, 16, 39, 72, 79, 121, 161, 167, 177; Remoteness: pp. 11, 167.	22
	Shay Docking, ‘Frances Hodgkins and a New Tradition’, *Ascent*, 1.5 (1969), 65–75	**1**
	‘Her **contact** with European art of the modern movements, especially Cubism, and her avidly sought exposure to the works of European history, had shaped and refined her vision.’ (p. 70).	
	Anthony Green, ‘Reflections on the Hodgkins Exhibition’, *Ascent*, 1.5 (1969), 29–43	**1**

	‘When she first made **contact** with Cedric Morris and Arthur Lett Haines in about 1920, she was already on the road to new developments as we have seen.’ (p. 34).	
	‘Olivia Spencer Bower: Retrospective Exhibition 1968’, *Ascent*, 1.3 (1969), 47–55	**1**
	‘During the ’thirties she left the farm and settled in Christchurch with her mother; she began to exhibit more and was in **stimulating contact** with other members of the Group.’ (p. 51).	
1971	Gil Docking, *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting* (1971; repr. 1975, 1980; 2nd edn 1982), 212 pp.	**6**
	‘He [Marion du Fresne] was the most ill-starred of the early navigators, and his visit was accompanied by a disastrous episode in the early history of **racial contact** in New Zealand, when Marion and twelve of his crew were slaughtered. […] Subsequent French explorations were not so unhappy in their **contacts**.’ (p. 21). ‘I [Vincent van Gogh] hope to come into **closer contact** with him [Petrus van der Velden] some day.”’ (p. 74). ‘Owen Merton later joined Frances Hodgkins on a painting expedition to Concarneau. During this period he remained in **contact** with New Zealand through his mother, who organised a successful one-man exhibition of his paintings in Christchurch in 1911.’ (p. 104). ‘He [W. H. Allen] argued in favour of **contact** with the modern movements taking place in European art and urged that New Zealand artists “must learn to experiment and create … The true artist, if he has anything vital to say, cannot be content to reiterate the statement of past masters.”’ (p. 111). Docking cites W. H. Allen, ‘Impressions of New Zealand Art’ in *AiNZ*, 4 (1929), p. 216. ‘[Colin] McCahon’s earlier interest in cubism, initiated on seeing reproductions in a copy of the *Illustrated London News*, was revived by this **brief contact** [with Mary Cockburn Mercer] in Melbourne.’ (p. 186).	Intimate Māori–European
	Distance: pp. 52 [synonym: ‘far removed’], *110* [synonym: ‘far removed’; cites Hirst (1929: 177)], *111* [synonym: ‘far from’]; Isolation: pp. *111*, *160*, 194; Remoteness: p. 102; Smallness: p. 196.	10

1972	Gordon H. Brown, *New Zealand Painting 1900–1920: Traditions and Departures* (1972), 61 pp.	**6**
	‘At a deeper symbolic level Art Nouveau was cross-fertilized by its **contacts** with the Aesthetic Movement and the Symbolists, as well as broadening its ties with the Synthetism of Gauguin and the Nabis in the use of linear and colour patterns to define its imagery.’ (p. 26). ‘French influence in shaping New Zealand painting is more extensive than it might appear. Its **contact**, however, was **indirect**.’ (p. 30). ‘The other **main contact** with French painting at the turn of the century was through the **direct contact** of young New Zealand artists visiting France.’ (p. 33). ‘Frank Brangwyn was one British artist standing outside this group, and although called an impressionist, was in fact one of the few British artists to have **working contact** with the French Art Nouveau movement.’ (p. 36). ‘Frank Brangwyn lived in Paris 1891-5, and was in **contact** with Maurice Denis and did work for Samuel Bing, after whose shop the style Art Nouveau took its name.’ (p. 36).	In/direct Principal
	Distance: pp. *9*, 47; Isolation: pp. 24, 31, 49; Remoteness: p. *7*.	6
1975	Gordon H. Brown, *New Zealand Painting 1920–1940: Adaptation and Nationalism* (1975), 88 pp.	**10**
	‘Few, if any, painters working in New Zealand in the decade following the First World War could claim, or would wish to claim, **direct contact** with the modern art movements in Europe.’ (p. 12). ‘One art society president, Mr George Chance, who had waited on the Minister [for Internal Affairs], felt that “they had some very fine students in New Zealand who would experience great benefit from a visit to the Old World, where they would see something of the work of the masters and come into **contact** with expert criticism and advice.”’ (p. 22). Brown cites *Otago Daily Times*, 9 November 1933, p. 13. ‘Commercial in essence but blended with a tot of altruism, Fuller’s exhibitions of contemporary British art of 1928,	Intimate In/direct

	1930, 1932 and another in 1935, were for artist and layman alike the only **tangible contact** with paintings originating abroad.' (p. 31). 'With this very much in mind, Dr A. D. Carbery wrote: "Living so remotely from the world's art centres, it is necessary – if there is to be any betterment in our standards of taste – that we in New Zealand should be brought more frequently into **intimacy** with the best contemporary work of the British Schools."' (p. 31). Brown cites Carbery (1928: 2). 'At the close of the nineteen twenties the idea was mooted in England, at the instigation of Percy R. Sargood, toward devising a scheme whereby the older Commonwealth countries could gain **closer contact** with "a greater field of Art" than was at the time possible.' (p. 31). '"**Contact** with achievement which has passed the acid test of time is one of the safest elements in true progress".' (p. 34). Brown cites Hirst (1929), p. 176. 'The painters' outlook, however, was summed up by Roland Hipkins when he wrote, "what is significant is that we can establish **intimate contact** with men and women of ideas – of independent thought and the will to create. This exhibition therefore is of more than passing interest to this Dominion. It will provide a stimulus to our artists, many of whom are also striving to interpret the spirit of their own country."' (p. 56). Brown cites Hipkins (1938: 198). 'Such subject paintings were never numerous, and in 1933 Francis Shurrock felt the necessity to declare that "Art surely is not a withdrawal from life: it is a resultant, yet it would appear from the work of many of our artist members that they flee from **human contact**; at least in their working hours".' (p. 60). Brown cites Shurrock in *AiNZ*, 20 (1933), p. 205. 'But as A. R. D. Fairburn had already observed; "New culture is the result of cross-fertilisation, so that any effort towards self-consciousness will continue to derive benefit from **contact** with English culture.' (p. 62). Brown cites Fairburn (1934: 214). 'It was an outlook conditioned by the theories of R. N. Field, modified considerably by Woollaston's **brief contact** with Flora Scales during 1934 when his paintings took on an angularity quite foreign to his earlier work, and which, during the late nineteen thirties, again quietened to a more personal version of Cezanne seen in the varying light of a New	

	Zealand sky.' (p. 67).	
	Distance: pp. *7*, *31* [synonym: 'far from'], *41*, 51; Isolation: pp. 5, *65*; Remoteness: p. *31* [cites Carbery (1928: 2)].	7
	Anthony Green, 'McCahon's Visit to the United States: A Reading of Letters and Lecture Notes', *BNZAH*, 3 (1975), 19–42	**3**
	'Douglas MacAgey was her very active organiser of exhibitions and her **main contact** with New York, where he knew many of the artists.' (p. 20). 'More than anything he was convinced by what he saw that there was an urgent need to extend the Auckland Gallery's **public contact** and to extend the educational programme.' (p. 22). 'He must have been in **contact** with Munro Wheeler at the Museum of Modern Art, because he specifically mentions in his report that Dr. Morley and Munro Wheeler: "both of whom have visited the gallery (Auckland) in the last few years, showed great interest in our progress and appreciation of what we are achieving."' (p. 22).	Principal
	Isolation: pp. 20, *31*.	2
1976	Ernest Smith, 'Memories of Three New Zealand Expatriate Painters', *ANZ*, 1 (1976), 10–15	**3**
	'I came into **contact** with these three painters between 1946 and 1952, at a period in Australian art when artists looked upon themselves as having substantial and meaningful presence: a situation occasionally highlighted by the return of an antipodean or a newly-immigrated continental artist.' (p. 13). 'I must admit that the effects of this **encounter** with Miller's drawings were not realized until many years later.' (p. 13). 'We talked for about an hour; and after this **encounter** when I arrived home I quickly enclosed my check in a letter.' (p. 15).	

1977	Leonard Bell, review of E. H. McCormick, *Omai: Pacific Envoy* (1977), *ANZ*, 8 (1977–78), 63	**3**
	‘The interest, the importance of the events lies in the responses and behaviour of both Europeans and Polynesians – in the ways in which members of different races and cultures, who had just **encountered** one another, endeavoured to accommodate the other. For instance: to what extent did Omai’s English hosts try to make **contact** with him as a person; or to what extent was he treated as an exotic “specimen” to be studied and paraded about; or to what extent was he stereotyped or fitted, perhaps unwittingly, to some pre-existing model of how “savages” behaved or ought to behave?’ (p. 63). ‘For all the activity, for all the energy expended, not much meaningful **contact** had really been made between **Polynesian and European**.’ (p. 63).	Māori–European
	Ernest Smith, ‘Ernest Smith Proposes a National Art Bank’, *ANZ*, 7 (1977), 29, 69	**1**
	‘The Art Bank as Mr Smith envisages it would have two major objectives. Firstly: it would sponsor living artists by the purchase of their work, thus helping them to make a living and bringing a wider public into **contact** with contemporary New Zealand art.’ (p. 29).	
	Ray Thorburn, ‘Len Lye at the Govett-Brewster’, *ANZ*, 5 (1977), 25–27	**1**
	‘He [Lye] felt that he lived in **direct contact** with the forces of nature and was enthralled by the sound of the rain, wind and sea which constantly buffeted their house.’ (p. 25).	In/direct
1978	Leonard Bell, review of ‘G. F. Von Tempsky: The Man and the Artist’, *ANZ*, 10 (1978), 21–22	**1**
	‘He [Von Tempsky] came into **contact** with a wide variety of peoples and cultures with attitudes to life and land radically different from his own; yet, despite all the bloodshed, he remained resolutely convinced of the absolute “rightness” and “superiority” of the European style of “Christianity and Civilization”.’ (p. 22).	

	Leonard Bell, 'The Making of a Portrait: William Strutt's *Hare Pomare and Family*, 1863–64', *BNZAH*, 6 (1978), 31–39	**2**
	'He had always been friendly with Europeans and believed that the **Maori** would benefit from **European contact**.' (p. 37). 'So the coming together of these figures within the circle could signify mutual acceptance of Maori and Pakeha, the recognition of European authority and dominance by the people of the tribes these Maoris represented, and the vast changes that had taken place among the Maori because of **European contact** – from "cannibal" to Queen Victoria's godson; a process of assimilation, even if only partial, into European culture.' (p. 38).	Māori–European
	Gordon H. Brown, review of William Innes Homer, *Alfred Stieglitz and the American Avant-Garde* (1977), *ANZ*, 10 (1978), 51, 53	**2**
	'While in the early chapters stress is laid on Stieglitz's desire to regenerate photography as an art form, it is the **international contacts** which resulted from this passion and the way this interchange of ideas enriched his outlook on art that gives support to the central theme. This interchange of attitudes is well brought out in the treatment of Stieglitz's relation to his fellow photographer, Eduard Steichen, for during the latter's period in Paris he acted as a mentor in establishing **contact** between Gallery 291 in New York and progressive Continental artists such as Rodin, Matisse and Picasso.' (p. 51).	
	Wystan Curnow, 'Art Places: The New York Scene 2', *ANZ*, 9 (1978), 16–17, 73	**1**
	'These **New Zealand contacts** take care of my immediate problems.' (p. 17).	
	Andrew Martin, 'Some Earlier New Zealand Paintings from the Fletcher Collection', *ANZ*, 10 (1978), 40–45	**1**
	'By his [Nairn's] teaching here, by the example of the works he exhibited, and by his **personal contact** with fellow-artists who gathered around him at Pumpkin Cottage, his retreat at Silverstream in the Hutt Valley, he did much to bring this country up to date with what had happened in the European centres of art, and to provide a starting-point for	Intimate

	twentieth century New Zealand painting.' (p. 45).	
1979	Wystan Curnow, 'Art Spaces: The Sydney Biennale', *ANZ*, 13 (1979), 22–23	**2**
	'Much **good contact** was had between students from New Zealand and those from Sydney and Adelaide.' (p. 23). 'Continuity of **Contact** is lacking.' (p. 23).	
	Distance: pp. *22* [synonym: 'far away'], 23.	4
	Nicholas Spill, 'The Trans-Tasman Tie-Up or Seven New Zealand Artists at Mildura', *ANZ*, 12 (1979), 34–41	**2**
	'By far the most important aspect of the whole gathering was the **human contact**, the dialogue that precipitated much flow of information, and a warm sense of continuing exchange in ideas and **friendship**.' (p. 37). 'The groundwork is now being laid for The Big One in New Zealand, 1981... a large international **encounter** based around the visual arts, with a large influx of overseas artists – especially our closest neighbours.' (p. 41).	Intimate
	Remoteness: p. 37.	1
1980	Wystan Curnow, 'An Interview with Len Lye', *ANZ*, 17 (1980), 54–62	**1**
	'W.C.: That was at the back of your mind to get into eventually all along? I've no idea, let alone now, of what it was like then, the kind of **contact** you'd make, say, with Aborigines in the outback. I mean, did you see… / L.L.: Oh no, I didn't see any. / W.C.: You didn't see any Aborigines at all? / L.L.: A half-caste Aborigine working on the farm, named George. But I didn't… / W.C.: So you never saw any ceremonial… L.L.: Oh, no, no. A film of…' (p. 56).	
	Anne Kirker, 'The Early Years in London', *ANZ*, 17 (1980), 48–53, 72	**3**

	‘Hard put to find a job and keen to establish **contacts** in the art world, he [Lye] quickly introduced himself to members of the progressive Seven and Five Society.’ (p. 48). ‘Lye’s **contact** with this circle in London began with his sculpture: a wooden tiki, a terracotta piece, a marble carving and a number of photographs, brought with him from Australia.’ (pp. 48–49). ‘Lye’s association with [Eric] Kennington led to his friendship with the writer Robert Graves and to his **contact** with [Ben] Nicholson.’ (p. 49).	
	Len Lye, ‘*No Trouble*: An Excerpt’, *ANZ*, 17 (1980), 46–47	**1**
	‘Well then, take cement and arrange the rocks or whichever sufficiently or insistently to define its relationship to the human mind or, a better word, to God – and in saying God I don’t mean Jesus but living gods or not even, I mean the material that is alive free floating and causes gods or not even and the only **outside contact** with that is the insight of a mind directed onto outside phenomena.’ (p. 47).	
1981	Gordon H. Brown, *New Zealand Painting 1940–1960: Conformity and Dissension* (1981), 105 pp.	**10**
	‘Such a change was wrought mainly through **contact** with fellow prisoners, such as the Australian artists Justin O’Brien and Jesse Martin who had seen his [Austen Deans’s] “work as pedestrian and old hat” and had opened his eyes to other possibilities.’ (p. 14). Brown cites Austen Deans in *Pictures by Austen Deans* (Wellington: Reed, 1967), p. 30. ‘“Very few people I’ve met”, said Austen Deans, “seem to have had any **contact** with real artists, or any idea of what it was that made great art great – there seems to be a lot of ignorance of the history of art and the character of the “Old Masters”.’ (p. 15). Brown cites *NZ Listener*, 21 Jun 1946, p. 9. ‘Viewing the problem more broadly Roland Hipkins felt that the need was, “most of all, refreshment and stimulus by **visual contact** with works of art from abroad. In music and literature the world’s greatest works are available to us, but the opportunity of studying originals of the finest overseas painting, sculpture and crafts, is rare.”’ (p. 34). Brown cites Hipkins, ‘Contemporary Art in New Zealand’ (1948: 120).	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand In/direct

	‘On a less ambitious scale, Peter Tomory, with **contacts** in London and Paris, was able to arrange for Auckland several exhibitions of contemporary British and Ecole de Paris prints and drawings as well as individual collections of original prints by Picasso, Rouault and etchings by Rembrandt and Goya; some of these reaching an audience beyond Auckland.’ (p. 35). ‘Much of the knowledge about cubism came via reproductions, but there were some **second-hand contacts** through teachers who in their earlier life had had the benefit of **direct contact** with the leading Cubists.’ (p. 80). ‘For Colin McCahon the early initiation with the Cubists was the reproduction, then through the formal qualities of Cezanne’s paintings, with his interest being revived in the principles of cubism gained from the **contact** he had, while on a short stay in Melbourne 1951, with Mary Cockburn Mercer who had been a studio assistant to Andre Lhote.’ (p. 80). ‘His [Michael Nicholson’s] **contact** with the vocabulary of cubism was through the art of Wyndham Lewis as can be detected in his collage of about 1958, *Abstract Composition*.’ (p. 81). ‘The motif had, at least superficially, certain **visual points of contact** with the “koru” pattern although Walters’ use of the motif has been quite different from the traditional use made of it by Maoris.’ (p. 84). ‘After Gordon Walters’ return in 1953 the **contact** with Theo Schoon was revived.’ (p. 84).	
	Distance: p. 6; Isolation: pp. 22, 49, *56*, *68*; Remoteness: pp. 6, 16; Smallness: pp. *6*, 16.	9
	Kate Pinkham, ‘Some Notes on Provenance, Exhibitions and Abbreviations’, in *The First Fifty Years: British Art of the 20th Century* (1981), pp. 17–20	**3**
	‘Again, we read the sentiment that “…it is necessary…that we in New Zealand should be brought more frequently into **intimacy** with the best contemporary work of the British Schools…it should prove an unimpeachable source from which to reinforce the treasures of private collectors and the Art Galleries of the Dominion.”’ (p. 18). Pinkham cites Carbery (1928: 2).	Intimate

	‘Mrs Mary Murray Fuller (by now a widow) maintaining her **contacts** as a dealer and officially appointed gallery representative, helped arrange, by visiting Europe, the National Art Gallery Centennial Exhibition 1939–40, as part of New Zealand’s Centenary Celebrations.’ (p. 19). ‘Although the National Art Gallery acquired only one, comparatively conservative, painting here, it was shortly after this that a **New Zealand contact** in England, Ernest Heber Thompson, again an ex-New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts member, became involved in the negotiations of purchases.’ (p. 20).	
1982	Gordon H. Brown, review of Charles Harrison, *English Art & Modernism 1900–1939* (1981), *ANZ*, 24 (1982), 53, 55	**2**
	‘In contrast with the habit of New English Art Club painters of looking for models among minor, and now largely forgotten, French painters, Harrison points to the **extensive** (if at times **furtive**) **contacts** British “Abstractionists” like Nicholson, Hepworth, John Piper and others had with Europeans in the 1930s and the effect this had on their attitudes in a broad historical sense where an ordered human society should dictate that the artist be “an agent of historical change”.’ (p. 53). ‘It is the sense of ebb and flow of ideas and attitudes – of **fruitful contact** and cooperation between artists as well as rivalries and conflict – often set against the values attached by certain groups to the art they produced, that gives a largeness to Harrison’s text and removes it from a bare record of historical events.’ (p. 53).	
	Isolation: p. 53.	1
	Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1980*, rev. edn (1982; repr. 1988), 240 pp.	**13**
	For a full list of quotations, see the above entry for Brown and Keith (1969). The revised text is exactly the same as that of the first edition until page 157. From this page onwards, the page numbers of quotations differ slightly. These minor changes are listed in full below.	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand In/direct

	The word contact no longer appears in the text outlining Hamish Keith's career on the back cover. The three quotations on page 167 of the first edition can be found on page 169 of the revised edition; the quotation on page 183 can be found on page 185; and the quotation on page 195 can be found on page 199. In the final survey chapter of the revised edition, there is an additional instance of the word contact: 'Around the mid-seventies both John Lethbridge and Ross Ritchie used pictorial illusionism in works that had been partly conditioned by their **contact** with Conceptual Art.' (p. 218).	Māori–European Principal
	Distance: pp. 79, *149*; Isolation: pp. 9, 11, 16, 39, 72, 79, 121, 163, 169, 179, 220; Remoteness: pp. 11, 169.	22
	Ann Calhoun, 'Two Wellington Entrepreneurs of the 'Thirties: The Murray Fullers: I. Edwin Murray Fuller', *ANZ*, 23 (1982), 20–23	**2**
	'Like others they felt that a national artistic style and appreciation would only develop in the desired way if artists here and the hoped for growing number of patrons came into **contact** with the work of British or European trained artists.' (p. 20). 'In his Foreword, A. D. Carbery, vice president of the Academy, focused on Murray Fuller's **personal contact** with the artists involved, an often repeated aspect of the Murray Fuller exhibitions: Mr. Murray Fuller is to be commended for his enterprise and success in persuading these famous painters to part with their treasures for our edification.' (p. 22). Calhoun cites Carbery (1928: 2).	Intimate
	Ann Calhoun, 'Two Wellington Entrepreneurs of the 'Thirties: The Murray Fullers: II. Mary Murray Fuller', *ANZ*, 24 (1982), 22–25	**3**
	'Together the Murray Fullers had made **contact** with Royal Academicians and other academic artists in Britain: gaining the personal friendship of many.' (p. 22). 'In his catalogue introduction, A. D. Carbery continued: Mrs. Murray Fuller, by **friendly contact** with leading British	Intimate

	artists, has been able to accomplish a difficult task, so giving us a renewed opportunity to revise our experience of the art of the Homeland.' (p. 22). Calhoun cites Carbery (1935). 'Considering that Tombs was quite blunt in his other criticism, he might also have asked why control of the work to be selected for such an important exhibition was left entirely in the hands of one person, who had acknowledged her conservative tastes, and whose **contacts** overseas were, with the occasional exception, a small group of people within academic circles.' (p. 24).	
	Distance: pp. 24 [synonym: 'far removed'], 25; Isolation: p. *24*.	3
	Anne Kirker, 'Chris Booth at the Dowse', *ANZ*, 25 (1982–83), 30–33	**1**
	'At Northland College, Kaikohe, Booth's art teacher was Selwyn Wilson; and it was through such **contacts**, and circumstances generally, that he gained an insight into the traditional values of the Maori. He grew to understand the importance of land in their terms – land as holding a strong sense of identity and purpose to life.' (p. 30).	
1983	Peter Shaw, 'May Smith: Representation and the Freedom of the Imagination', *ANZ*, 28 (1983), 46–51	**1**
	'She [Smith] has said, however, that "It is possible that a childhood spent in India with an ayah in **daily contact** and influence, surrounded by oriental buildings, fabrics and hand-wrought objects richly endowed my visual memory".' (p. 47).	
	Anne Kirker, 'T. A. McCormack: A New Talent to Emerge in the Nineteen-Thirties', *ANZ*, 27 (1983), 34–39	**1**
	'[I]n 1928 the catalogue foreword to Murray Fuller's exhibition deemed it necessary "…that we in New Zealand should be brought more frequently into **intimacy** with the best contemporary work of the British Schools…".' (p. 34). Kirker cites Carbery (1928: 2).	Intimate
	Remoteness: p. 34.	2

	Robin Woodward, 'The Sculpture of Molly Macalister', *ANZ*, 26 (1983), 32–33, 61	**1**
	'Largely as a result of renewed **first-hand contact** with international sculpture in 1967 her work took a new turn in both materials and concept.' (p. 61).	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand
1984	Leonard Bell, 'Colonial Fortunes: The New Zealand Paintings of Commander R. A. Oliver', *ANZ*, 30 (1984), 48–51	**1**
	'Again the exotic and the picturesque dominated, though the book included some information about the actualities of Maori life and aspects of **Maori-European contact**.' (p. 50).	Māori–European
	Distance: p. 50.	1
	Gordon H. Brown, 'The Pursuit of Modernism in the 1940s and Early 1950s: Part 2', *ANZ*, 31 (1984), 50–54	**1**
	'In 1951 McCahon's appreciation of Cubism as an idiom was sharpened through his **contact** with Mary Cockburn Mercer while he was on a short stay in Melbourne.' (p. 53).	
	Isolation: p. 52.	1
	Ray Thorburn, 'Full Circle: Paintings by Melvin Day', *ANZ*, 32 (1984), 42–45	**1**
	'In 1949, starved of **first-hand contact** with modern art, the artist left for a year in Britain and Europe – a trek many other young New Zealand artists were to do for the same reasons.' (p. 43).	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand
1985	Francis Pound, *Forty Modern New Zealand Paintings* (1985), 19 pp. + 40 plates	**3**
	'It [this reactionary nationalism] was pushed, for instance, by admiring articles on American regional realism in the international magazine *The Studio*, New Zealand's **main contact** with overseas art, and by the magazine *Art in New*	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand

	Zealand, as well as by such visiting shows as the Exhibition of Contemporary Canadian Painting of 1938, admired for "its strong national characteristics … a stimulus to our own artists, many of whom are also striving to interpret the spirit of our own country".' 'He [John Weeks] next studied at Edinburgh College of Art, Scotland, (1924–25), and more significantly for the future of New Zealand painting, in Paris at André Lhote's academy, which was to make him that rare figure in New Zealand – someone who had enjoyed **first-hand contact** with modernist art.' 'After that **decisive contact**, Woollaston lived in Mapua, in the Nelson district, where he stayed and painted until 1950, when he and his family moved to Greymouth.'	Principal
1986	Elva Bett, *New Zealand Art: A Modern Perspective* (1986), 222 pp. + 65 plates	**8**
	'His [Quentin Macfarlane's] paintings have become private documents of "**erratic contact**" with his environment.' (pp. 40–41). '"I [Margaret Lawlor-Bartlett] feel compelled to use my own particular vision to make shock images that will force people from their escapism, and these defence mechanisms of psychic numbing, and make them get in **contact** with their feelings, so that they can face up to the reality and act."' (p. 134). 'She [Jane Evans] describes her work as concerned largely with a deeply personal interpretation of her immediate environment, the people with whom she is in **contact** and the things that occupy her, such as her garden and the flowers it produces.' (p. 144). '"… a group of us went to Te Kuiti where we saw the Cruciform Temple, Te Hape Pa, both temples created at the turn of the century and Tokanga-Nui-a-Noho, a meeting house which has carved panels by messianic leader Te Kooti in the 1880s. This **contact** is paramount to my [Sally Griffin's] work."' (p. 154). 'As an advisor on Maori programmes for the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand, he [Selwyn Muru] has **contact** with both the elders and with the ordinary Maori, and this has sharpened his awareness of being a Maori.' (p. 172). 'Born in an area whose **remoteness** meant limited **contact with** the **European** way of life, he [Arnold Wilson] found	Māori–European

	that the solidarity of the Tuhoe peoples gave him an early pride in his Maoritanga.' (p. 172). 'As an art teacher in Porirua, she [Robyn Kahukiwa] comes in **daily contact with** traditional **European** standards in art education *and* with the indigenous culture.' (p. 178). 'He [Buck Nin] took a teaching job in the Bay of Islands College, then moved to Church College of New Zealand where he came in **contact** with an elder of the Aitanga-a-Mahaki and the restoration of the historic meeting house, Rongopai.' (p. 179).	
	Isolation: pp. 1, 23; Remoteness: p. 172.	3
	Elizabeth Eastmond and Merimeri Penfold, *Women and the Arts in New Zealand: Forty Works: 1936–86* (1986), 23 pp. + 40 plates	**3**
	'Throughout this period she [Jean Horsley] also sent work back to New Zealand for exhibition and came in **contact** with other expatriate artists Ralph Hotere, Bill Culbert and Ted Bullmore.' 'Gretchen Albrecht's response to the works [of Flora Scales] was "immediate and intense" and as a result of Albrecht's **contacting** her, the two artists maintained a relationship up until Flora Scales's death in 1985 at ninety-eight.' 'She [May Smith] went to Spain in 1933, where she met Frances Hodgkins – the first of a number of **contacts** with the older expatriate artist.'	
	Isolation	**4**
	Anne Kirker, *New Zealand Women Artists* (1986; rev. edn 1993), 246 pp.	**4**
	'By the end of October 1913 the artist [Frances Hodgkins] had left New Zealand permanently and resolved to live in Paris. She came face to face with the repercussions of the 1914–18 war; the **contacts** in the art world she had made through sheer perseverance were now lost, and commercial galleries were shut down.' (p. 45).	Intimate

	‘They [sculptor Alison Duff’s abstract acoustic pieces] are a natural outcome of the symbolical way this artist works, in **contact** with her immediate surroundings.’ (p. 168). ‘Now based in Auckland, Christine Hellyar (b. 1947) grew up in New Plymouth living in **close contact** with the rural community.’ (p. 174). ‘Her [Juliet Batten’s] belief in collaborative art has encouraged many women to make **contact** with their often unexplored creativity.’ (p. 193).	
	Isolation: pp. *114*, 131, *132*; Remoteness: pp. 7, 27, 94, 108.	8
1989	Ian J. Lochhead, ‘Nerli at the Dunedin Public Art Gallery’, *BNZAH*, 10 (1989), 73–76	**1**
	‘It begins with a judicious study of Nerli the artist by Michael Dunn, in which he traces his development from his training in Italy at the Florentine Academy, his **contact** with the *Macchiaioli*, his sojourn in Australia and New Zealand, and his subsequent return to Europe.’ (p. 75).	
1990	Gil Docking and Michael Dunn, *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting*, rev. edn (1990; repr. 1995), 248 pp.	**9**
	The revised text is exactly the same as that of the first and second editions up until Dunn’s final chapter, which begins on page 207. For a full list of quotations occurring before page 207, see the above entry for Docking (1971). The page numbers of all of these quotations remain the same. In Dunn’s chapter there are three further instances of the word contact: ‘Her [Philippa Blair’s] time at Canterbury School of Fine Arts between 1965–67 brought her into **contact** with Don Peebles and the Lithuanian-born Rudolf Gopas.’ (p. 212). ‘Since 1977 he [Max Gimblett] has been a presence among local abstract painters as well as a **contact** with the United States art scene.’ (p. 216). ‘She [Kura Rewiri-Thorsen] studied at the Canterbury School of Fine Arts where she graduated in 1973. There she	Māori–European

	came into **contact** with Rudolf Gopas who advised her never to forget that she was a Maori, advice that later she has taken to heart.' (p. 226).	
	Distance: pp. 52 [synonym: 'far removed'], *110* [synonym: 'far removed'; cites Hirst (1929: 177)], 111 [synonym: 'far from']; Isolation: pp. 111, 160, 194, 228; Remoteness: p. 102; Smallness: p. 196.	11
1991	Michael Dunn, *A Concise History of New Zealand Painting* (1991; repr. 1993), x + 188 pp.	**12**
	'It was the subject matter of the indigenous Maori people who were seen from the time of **earliest European contact** as being of great interest and importance to artists and the public.' (p. 23). 'That she [Grace Joel] chose to live and work in Europe rather than take the easier option of staying in Dunedin reflects the ambitions of artists who came in **contact** with [Girolamo Pieri] Nerli and saw beyond the confines of the local situation.' (p. 58). 'Through **contact** with Norah Simpson a painter with recent experience of art in Paris, [Roland] Wakelin acquired a knowledge of Post-Impressionism.' (p. 66). 'Divisionist technique of this type had been introduced to English art by Lucien Pissarro, the son of Camille and a member of the Camden Town Group. It was probably by this **indirect** route that [Robert Nettleton] Field **encountered** it.' (p. 72). 'Helped by **informal contact** with Robert Field at Dunedin in 1932 [Mountford Tosswill] Woollaston became aware of the early masters of modernism, especially Cézanne and the Fauves.' (p. 103). 'In 1934 he [Woollaston] made the acquaintance of Flora Scales an artist who had had some **contact** at the Hans Hoffman School in the 1920s. Though **indirect**, this stimulated Woollaston to experiment with bold planes of colour, juxtaposed and in a dynamic relationship to each other.' (pp. 103–04). 'A turning point for McCahon came in 1953 when he moved with his family to Auckland, where they lived for some years in the suburb of Titirangi. This brought McCahon into a different physical environment: one of heavy bush and remnants of kauri forest, as well as into **contact** with Auckland and the Art Gallery. He had, in fact, gone to Auckland	In/direct Māori–European

	after having made **contact** with Eric Westbrook, then Director of the Art Gallery, in hopes of getting a job at the Gallery.' (p. 109). 'He [Gordon Walters] grew up in Wellington between the wars deprived of any **direct contact** with European modern art.' (p. 112). 'Much of her [Philippa Blair] recent art has been on unstretched, draped and folded canvases which project from the walls and bring the action of her paintings more physically into **contact** with viewer [*sic*].' (p. 139). '[Ian] Scott became increasingly aware of American post-painterly abstraction through his study of art magazines and monographs as well as through his **contact** with artists in the circle of the dealer Petar Vuletic.' (p. 144). 'The expatriate artist Alexis Hunter (b. 1948) has maintained **contact** with New Zealand since she moved to London in 1972.' (p. 164).	
	Distance: p. 39; Isolation: pp. 51, 69, 84, 88, 93, 112, 132; Remoteness: pp. 11, 69, 75, 84, 88; Smallness: pp. 40, 51, 142.	20
1996	Michael Dunn, *Contemporary Painting in New Zealand* (1996), 236 pp.	**6**
	'At Elam she [Gretchen Albrecht] came in **contact** with a number of influential artists and critics, including the American art historian Kurt von Meier, who introduced her to the work of women painters such as Paula Modersohn-Becker and Sonia Delaunay.' (p. 20). 'However, by reading and establishing **contact** with writers like Albert Wendt he [Fatu Feu'u] came to a greater understanding of traditional *tapa* designs and ornaments.' (p. 56). 'While training at Mana College, Porirua, in the 1970s she had **contact** with young people at the lower end of the economic scale.' (p. 96). 'Later he [Richard Killeen] came into **contact** with Gordon Walters, with whom he established an enduring friendship.' (p. 100).	Intimate

	‘He [Geoffrey Thornley] gained considerably from his **close contact** in the period 1974 to 1977 with Milan Mrkusich, a leading exponent of abstraction in Auckland.’ (p. 180). ‘He [Mervyn Williams] travelled to Australia and New York in the 1970s and there came in **contact** with original works by painters he admired, such as Mark Rothko, Jules Olitski and Larry Poons.’ (p. 204).	
	Distance: pp. 14, 112; Remoteness: pp. 9, 14, 184; Smallness: pp. 7, 9, 14, 17.	10
2003	Michael Dunn, *New Zealand Painting: A Concise History*, rev. edn (2003; repr. 2004, 2007), vi + 218 pp.	**23**
	Eleven of the twelve instances of the word “contact” that occur in Dunn (1991) also occur in this revised edition, although many of the quotations have been amended and/or reworded, and the page numbers differ. Twelve new examples also appear in Dunn (2003), interspersed between those of the first edition. Thus, to avoid confusion, I have listed below all quotations in full. ‘The inclusion of European subjects, such as sailing ships, among the rock art shows that some of these works were made in the **post-contact** period.’ (p. 1). ‘From the **earliest European contact** some painters found the local Maori people a stimulating subject for figure studies and compositions.’ (p. 25). ‘Instead they [the depictions of Maori by George French Angas (1822–86)] are more like propaganda designed to convey an idea of Maori as friendly, cute and exotic inhabitants of a country now changing rapidly through **contact** with European civilisation.’ (p. 26). ‘That she [Grace Joel] chose to live and work in Europe rather than take the easier option of staying in Dunedin reflects the new ambitions of artists who came in **contact** with [Girolamo Pieri] Nerli and saw beyond the confines of the local situation.’ (p. 59). ‘Through **contact** with Norah Simpson, a painter with recent experience of art in Paris, [Roland] Wakelin acquired a knowledge of Post-Impressionism.’ (p. 64).	Intimate In/direct Māori–European

	'Divisionist technique of this type had been introduced to English art by Lucien Pissarro (1863–1944), the son of Camille and a member of the Camden Town Group. It was probably by this **indirect** route that [Robert Nettleton] Field **encountered** it.' (p. 71). 'His [Peter McIntyre's] personality and **contacts** at this period helped bring him to the attention of a wider public.' (p. 96). 'Helped by **informal contact** with Robert Field at Dunedin in 1932, [Mountford Tosswill] Woollaston became aware of the early masters of modernism, especially Cézanne and the Fauves.' (p. 109). 'In 1934 Woollaston made the acquaintance of Flora Scales, an artist who had had some **contact** with the Hans Hoffman school in the 1930s. Though **indirect**, this **contact** stimulated Woollaston to experiment with bold planes of colour, juxtaposed and in a dynamic relationship to each other.' (p. 109). '[Gordon] Walters kept **contacts** with fellow artists, as well as critics and art historians, while [Milan] Mrkusich became more reclusive.' (p. 118). 'He [Walters] grew up in Wellington between the wars deprived of any **direct contact** with European modern art.' (p. 119). 'He [Ralph Hotere] has maintained a **close contact** with leading New Zealand poets whose writings appear in the written texts inscribed on his works.' (p. 132). 'She [Philippa Blair] sometimes draped and folded her canvases, or cut them into irregular shapes, so that they project from the gallery walls and bring the viewer into **physical contact** with her imagery.' (p. 146). '[Ian] Scott became increasingly aware of American post-painterly abstraction through his study of art magazines and monographs as well as through his **contact** with artists in the circle of the dealer Petar Vuletic.' (p. 152). 'Vuletic helped bring [Geoffrey] Thornley in **closer contact** with painters like Walters and Mrkusich, as well as near contemporaries such as Scott, Killeen and Bambury.' (p. 154). 'In 1989 [Stephen] Bambury travelled to France as a Moët et Chandon Fellow. This was his first trip to Europe and brought him into **contact** with contemporary abstractionists and the great modernist tradition going back to	

	Malevich.' (p. 158). 'At a certain point, in the *Necessary Correction* works of 1997–98, the formal proximity to McCahon becomes apparent and was examined in an exhibition Bambury curated for the Auckland Art Gallery. Bambury's journey to this **point of encounter** is the more remarkable because it seems coincidental rather than planned, and is the outcome of an independent reflection on modernist abstraction.' (p. 159). 'His [Bambury's] painting has an international feel and he finds increasingly that his stimulus comes less from contemporary practice than from travel and **contact** with other cultures, such as that of China.' (p. 159). 'Judy Millar (b. 1957) can be mentioned as another talented and committed abstract painter whose works of the period 2001–2002 benefitted from her **contact** with the German painter Katharina Grosse who visited Auckland in 2001 as the Elam artist in residence.' (p. 164). '[Richard] Killeen shows an interest in both traditional Aboriginal designs and in folk art painting made after **European contact**.' (p. 170). 'Trained at the Elam School of Fine Arts between 1968 and 1970, [Tony] Lane came in **contact** there with Colin McCahon who influenced his early landscape paintings.' (p. 178). 'The expatriate artist Alexis Hunter (b. 1948) has maintained **contact** with New Zealand since she moved to London in 1972.' (p. 184).	
	Distance: p. 43; Isolation: pp. 2, 53, 69, 84–86, 93, 100, 119, 127, 140, 143, 157, 191; Remoteness: pp. 69, 75, 84, 85, 198; Smallness: pp. 2, 44, 53, 150.	26
2007	Hamish Keith, *The Big Picture: A History of New Zealand Art from 1642* (2007; rev. edn 2008), 304 pp.	**16**
	'Some of the drawings are much more recent and they include things that came after **European contact**, like sailing ships and buildings and written Maori names.' (p. 14). 'Our **first contact** with the larger world began with another bunch of Dutchmen, who came from the same place –	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand Māori–

	then called Batavia.' (p. 17). 'On board the *Resolution* they wondered if, after only two **contacts** with the outside world, the life of Maori had not already changed for the worse and whether Maori society would become avaricious and corrupted.' (pp. 45–46). 'The majority of these great works of art in the museum collections are in fact **post-contact** – the work of landowners in suits, who carved and painted with tools purchased at the local store and whose work was increasingly inspired, among other things, by the political pressures of a colonising society on the ownership of Maori land and the need of Maori to assert Maori identity and difference.' (pp. 49–50). 'The impact of **European contact** in his [George French Angas's] published images is shown largely as a matter of dress'. (p. 58). 'Cook and his crew collected it [Māori art] in shiploads; what they took home was 18th century, the majority of it obviously **pre-contact**. As a result, these pieces and others like them are thought of as "authentic", a notion that gave rise to the idea that these were "classical" Maori art. These ideas […] imply that **post-contact** art was neither authentic nor classical, and that some kind of decline and decadence was going on. But **post-contact** a whole new technology for carving became available, as well as a whole range of new things to paint with and a larger palette of colour.' (p. 62). 'Their [Ngati Tarawhai's] carvers provide a direct line from **contact** through to the first half of the 20th century, and they profited from their proximity to the fledgling tourist industry around Rotorua. The significant thing about Ngati Tarawhai is that almost none of their surviving work was carved with stone tools. Their art grew and flourished after **contact**, which is not to say that they were not great carvers before'. (p. 63). 'This **first-hand encounter** with the work of [J.M.W. Turner] one of Britain's great landscape artists shaped his [William Mathew Hodgkins's] life.' (p. 77). 'In the first half of the [twentieth] century New Zealand artists were obliged to travel abroad in search of a **first-hand encounter** with Modernism. Now Modernism was coming to them.' (p. 177). 'From the beginning of **European and Maori contact** the technology and knowledge that new migrants brought was eagerly grasped, adopted and adapted – in the making of art no less than in shipbuilding or pastoral agriculture.' (p.	European

	180). 'The great carved and painted houses could now be seen not as remnants of a distant past but standing clearly at the beginnings of the modern world. They were the works of a culture not depressed or defeated by **contact**, but defiant and radical in the response to challenge and change.' (p. 205). 'Its powerful influence [that of French Cubism on artists working in New Zealand] was most obvious in the accomplished paintings of Colin McCahon, who had **encountered** Cubism in the work of Mary Cockburn Mercer on his Australian visit in 1951.' (p. 214). 'The effects of this **first-hand encounter** with Abstract Expressionism impacted on the work of a new generation of art students.' (p. 227).	
	Distance: pp. 22, 23, 48, 105, 135, 150, 153, 173 [synonym: 'far away']; Isolation: pp. 95, 96, 106, 159, 206; Remoteness: p. 173 [Keith refers to Stead (1961)].	24
2009	Francis Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand: Art and National Identity, 1930–1970* (2009; repr. 2010), xxii + 425 pp. + 190 plates	**7**
	'There is no doubt, though, that New Zealand regionalists were familiar with the criticism of the English magazine *The Studio*, since in the 1930s and 1940s this publication was New Zealand's **main** means of **contact** with "overseas" art.' (p. 86). 'That *The Studio* was lagging so much behind was significant, since its reproductions and articles remained New Zealand's **main contact** with European and American art until the 1950s.' (p. 108). 'Having studied in Paris in 1926 under André Lhôte, a Cubist of sorts, he [John Weeks] was an extremely rare figure in Nationalist New Zealand – one who had had some **first-hand contact** with European modernist art.' (p. 193). 'Hence the envy Scott felt of **pre-contact** Maori, when he saw their rock drawings in the Canterbury shelters and bluffs.' (p. 208).	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand Māori–European Principal

	‘Significantly, with [Gordon] Walters, the museum replaces the landscape as setting of the **initial encounter**.’ (p. 275). ‘Frottage (from Fr. *frotter*, to rub), in psychology refers to an abnormal desire for **contact** between clothed bodies of oneself and another.’ (p. 307, n. 125). ‘Accordingly, in their histories of New Zealand painting, the Nationalists produce a pleasant and endless continuity, in which certain favoured painters, ranging from the eighteenth century until the present, are seen as engaged in one and the same search for the True New Zealand, from the moment of **European contact** until today.’ (p. 329).	
	Distance: pp. xiv, *39*, 43, *49*, 50, 114, 115, 227, 238, 250, 286; Isolation: pp. xiv, *3*, *5*, 35, 36, 39, 40, *41*, 42, *43*, 44, *48*, *49*, 50, *83*, *122*, 147, 162, 175, 176, 186, *250*, *300*, 332, *335*; Remoteness: pp. *49*, *106* [cites McLintock (1940: 16)], *109* [cites McLintock (1940: 15)], 141, *332* [cites McLintock (1940: 16)], *374*; Smallness: pp. xiv, 114, 115.	77

Table 2 Index of the occurrence of the words "contact" and "distance" (and neighbouring terms) in the sources presented in Table 1

Source		Reference(s) to contact	Reference(s) to distance	Contact	Intimate contact	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand contact	In/direct contact	Māori–European contact	Principal contact	Distance	Isolation	Remoteness	Smallness
Author (Year)	**Title**												
Carbery (1928)	'Foreword', in *Exhibition of Contemporary British Art*	1	1		•							•	
Hirst (1929)	'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand'	2	1	•	•					•			
Auvergne Boxall (1931)	'Observations on the Canterbury Society of Arts Exhibition'	1	1			•				•			
Gunson (1933)	'Exhibitions of Contemporary Art'	2	1	•	•					•			
Fairburn (1934)	'Some Aspects of N.Z. Art and Letters'	2	1	•	•					•			
Carbery (1935)	'Prefatory Note', in *Exhibition of British Contemporary Art*	1	0		•								
Hipkins (1936)	'The Art of T. A. McCormack'	3	0	•	•								

Source		Reference(s) to contact	Reference(s) to distance	Contact	Intimate contact	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand contact	In/direct contact	Māori–European contact	Principal contact	Distance	Isolation	Remoteness	Smallness
Author (Year)	**Title**												
Hipkins (1936)	'The Australian Loan Collection'	2	0	•									
Hipkins (1938)	'Exhibition of Contemporary Canadian Painting'	2	0	•	•								
Savage (1939)	'Foreword', in *CEINZA*	2	1	•			•			•			
McCormick (1940)	*Letters and Art in New Zealand*	2	28	•			•			•	•	•	•
McLintock (1940)	'Introduction', in *NCENZA*	2	5	•			•			•	•	•	
Parry (1940)	'Foreword', in *NCENZA*	1	0	•									
Brasch (1947)	'Notes', in *Landfall*	1	0		•								
Fairburn (1947)	'Some Reflections on New Zealand Painting'	1	0	•									
Hipkins (1948)	'Contemporary Art in New Zealand'	1	0	•									
Hipkins (1948)	'New Zealand War Artists'	1	0	•									

Source		Reference(s) to contact	Reference(s) to distance	Contact	Intimate contact	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand contact	In/direct contact	Māori–European contact	Principal contact	Distance	Isolation	Remoteness	Smallness
Author (Year)	**Title**												
McCormick (1954)	*The Expatriate*	2	26	•						•	•	•	•
Tomory (1958)	'Looking at Art in New Zealand'	3	4	•			•			•	•		
Stead (1961)	'"For the Hulk of the World's Between"'	5	34	•							•	•	
McLintock (1966)	'Art in New Zealand'	1	2				•				•	•	
Tomory (ed.) (1968)	*New Zealand Art: Painting 1827–1967*	3	2	•							•		
Brown and Keith (1969)	*An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1967*	13	22	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Docking (1969)	'Frances Hodgkins and a New Tradition'	1	0	•									
Green (1969)	'Reflections on the Hodgkins Exhibition'	1	0	•									

Source		Reference(s) to contact	Reference(s) to distance	Contact	Intimate contact	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand contact	In/direct contact	Māori–European contact	Principal contact	Distance	Isolation	Remoteness	Smallness
Author (Year)	**Title**												
Anon. (1969)	'Olivia Spencer Bower'	1	0	•									
Docking (1971)	*Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting*	6	10	•	•			•		•	•	•	•
Brown (1972)	*New Zealand Painting 1900–1920*	6	6	•			•		•	•	•	•	
Brown (1975)	*New Zealand Painting 1920–1940*	10	7	•	•		•			•	•	•	
Green (1975)	'McCahon's Visit to the United States'	3	2	•					•		•		
Smith (1976)	'Memories of Three New Zealand Expatriate Painters'	3	0	•									
Bell (1977)	Review of *Omai: Pacific Envoy*	3	0	•				•					
Smith (1977)	'Ernest Smith Proposes a National Art Bank'	1	0	•									
Thorburn (1977)	'Len Lye at the Govett-Brewster'	1	0				•						

Source		Reference(s) to contact	Reference(s) to distance	Contact	Intimate contact	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand contact	In/direct contact	Māori–European contact	Principal contact	Distance	Isolation	Remoteness	Smallness
Author (Year)	**Title**												
Bell (1978)	Review of 'G. F. Von Tempsky'	1	0	•									
Bell (1978)	'The Making of a Portrait'	2	0					•					
Brown (1978)	Review of *Alfred Stieglitz and the American Avant-Garde*	2	0	•									
Curnow (1978)	'The New York Scene 2'	1	0	•									
Martin (1978)	'Some Earlier New Zealand Paintings'	1	0		•								
Curnow (1979)	'The Sydney Biennale'	2	4	•						•			
Spill (1979)	'The Trans-Tasman Tie-Up'	2	1	•	•							•	
Curnow (1980)	'An Interview with Len Lye'	1	0	•									
Kirker (1980)	'The Early Years in London'	3	0	•									
Lye (1980)	'*No Trouble*: An Excerpt'	1	0	•									

Source		Reference(s) to contact	Reference(s) to distance	Contact	Intimate contact	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand contact	In/direct contact	Māori–European contact	Principal contact	Distance	Isolation	Remoteness	Smallness
Author (Year)	**Title**												
Brown (1981)	*New Zealand Painting 1940–1960*	10	9	•		•	•			•	•	•	•
Pinkham (1981)	'Some Notes on Provenance, Exhibitions and Abbreviations'	3	0	•	•								
Brown (1982)	Review of *English Art & Modernism 1900–1939*	2	1	•							•		
Brown and Keith (1982)	*An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1980*	13	22	•		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
Calhoun (1982)	'The Murray Fullers: I.'	2	0	•	•								
Calhoun (1982)	'The Murray Fullers: II.'	3	3	•	•					•	•		
Kirker (1982)	'Chris Booth at the Dowse'	1	0	•									
Shaw (1983)	'May Smith'	1	0	•									
Kirker (1983)	'T. A. McCormack'	1	2		•							•	

Source		Reference(s) to contact	Reference(s) to distance	Contact	Intimate contact	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand contact	In/direct contact	Māori–European contact	Principal contact	Distance	Isolation	Remoteness	Smallness
Author (Year)	**Title**												
Woodward (1983)	'The Sculpture of Molly Macalister'	1	0			•							
Bell (1984)	'Colonial Fortunes'	1	1					•		•			
Brown (1984)	'The Pursuit of Modernism'	1	1	•							•		
Thorburn (1984)	'Full Circle'	1	0			•							
Pound (1985)	*Forty Modern New Zealand Paintings*	3	0	•		•			•				
Bett (1986)	*New Zealand Art: A Modern Perspective*	8	3	•				•			•	•	
Eastmond and Penfold (1986)	*Women and the Arts in New Zealand*	3	4	•							•		
Kirker (1986)	*New Zealand Women Artists*	4	8	•	•						•	•	
Lochhead (1989)	'Nerli at the Dunedin Public Art Gallery'	1	0	•									

Source		Reference(s) to contact	Reference(s) to distance	Contact	Intimate contact	1st-/2nd-/3rd-hand contact	In/direct contact	Māori–European contact	Principal contact	Distance	Isolation	Remoteness	Smallness
Author (Year)	**Title**												
Docking and Dunn (1990)	*Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting*	9	11	•				•		•	•	•	•
Dunn (1991)	*A Concise History of New Zealand Painting*	12	20	•			•	•		•	•	•	•
Dunn (1996)	*Contemporary Painting in New Zealand*	6	10	•	•					•		•	•
Dunn (2003)	*New Zealand Painting: A Concise History*	23	26	•	•		•	•		•	•	•	•
Keith (2007)	*The Big Picture*	16	24	•		•		•		•	•	•	
Pound (2009)	*The Invention of New Zealand*	7	77	•		•		•	•	•	•	•	•

The Emergence of a Discourse of Contact in the Art Writing of the Interwar Dominion

Many instances of the word "contact" appear scattered throughout the pages of the quarterly magazine *Art in New Zealand*, in print between 1928 and 1947 (Figure 2.1). In an early article written for the edification of artists, musician Arthur Hirst claims that '[c]ontact with achievement that has passed the acid test of time is one of the safest elements in true progress'.[34] Moreover, in a bid to establish his authority as an art critic, Hirst positions himself as a writer who has 'had intimate contact and friendship with artists of a dozen different nationalities'.[35] In a later piece, Dr E. B. Gunson, then vice president of the Auckland Society of Arts, points to the difficulty 'in making personal contact with the working artists of the older countries' for those — artists and public alike — resident in New Zealand.[36] He insists, however, on the 'absolute necessity' for 'contact with contemporary art influences abroad […] if progress is to be achieved' by artists in New Zealand.[37] In a subsequent contribution, poet A. R. D. Fairburn argues that although artists and writers in New Zealand require alternative — he suggests Japanese and American — cultural models in order to produce mature works and to arrive at a 'new culture', independent(ly) of Britain, 'any effort towards self-consciousness will continue to derive benefit from contact with English culture'.[38] Fairburn reassures the hesitant reader that 'the contact [with England] is, ineluctably, such a close one that there is no danger of our getting right out of touch'.[39] And in a review published almost a decade after the magazine commenced, artist Roland Hipkins promotes an exhibition of contemporary Canadian painting not only as an opportunity to study the ways in which painters have interpreted the country, but also to

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[34] Arthur Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand: Some Generalisations', *AiNZ*, 1.3 (1929), 175–78 (p. 176).
[35] Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art', p. 177.
[36] E. B. Gunson, 'Exhibitions of Contemporary Art', *AiNZ*, 6.1 (1933), 40–42 (p. 40).
[37] Gunson, pp. 40–41.
[38] A. R. D. Fairburn, 'Some Aspects of N.Z. Art and Letters', *AiNZ*, 6.4 (1934), 213–18 (p. 214).
[39] Fairburn, p. 214.

'establish some contact with present-day thought beyond our shores'.[40] Above all, 'what is significant', states Hipkins, 'is that we can establish intimate contact with men and women of ideas — of independent thought and the will to create'.[41]

In each of the four articles cited above the word "contact" features twice, however, it is not only the repetition of this word which recommends these four texts for consideration. In this sample of articles published between 1929 and 1938, a period which spans a significant portion of the time *Art in New Zealand* was in print, several themes or concerns can be associated with the occurrence of the term contact, which, even in the abbreviated form of the quotations above, are nonetheless apparent. These are: cultural progress and artistic development; the remoteness and isolation of New Zealand; the exhibition of contemporary art; and friendship and intimacy. That the appearance of the word "contact" can be found to frequently concur with some or all of the aforementioned themes suggests that the recurrence of the word "contact" within this publication is more than 'a population of dispersed events'.[42] Furthermore, a wider study of art comment and criticism produced in New Zealand between 1920 and 1960 confirms this same tendency. Thus, the advent of the word "contact" in the pages of *Art in New Zealand* is not only

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[40] Roland Hipkins, 'Exhibition of Contemporary Canadian Painting', *AiNZ*, 10.4 (1938), 197–98 (p. 197).

[41] Hipkins, 'Contemporary Canadian Painting', p. 198.

[42] Foucault uses the phrase 'a population of dispersed events' to describe the events or phenomena of history, which are in fact discontinuous and different, but that are often grouped together in historical enquiry, for example, by using the notions of tradition, influence, development and evolution, and "spirit", which each function to produce certain continuities and define unities (such as an individual, the book and the *oeuvre*) that Foucault calls 'ready-made syntheses', and which, according to Foucault, often go unquestioned in disciplinary enquiry. Here I refer to Foucault on 'the dispersion of history' because I am aware that in drawing together a group of statements from the same publication and premised on the appearance of the same word in each, i.e. 'linking the discourse of one man with that of another' via such a low degree of commonality, that it may appear, at least superficially, as if I am overlooking the discontinuity between the phenomena that I wish to analyse. However, the empirical associations that can be made between the appearance of the word "contact" and its attendant concerns is sufficient, in my view, to regard the phenomena under analysis as more than 'a population of dispersed events'. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. by A. M. Sheridan Smith (London: Tavistock, 1972), pp. 21–23.

coincident with the inaugural framing of a national New Zealand art, but can in fact be regarded as signifying the emergence of a discourse of contact in the historiography of New Zealand art more generally.

In 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand: Some Generalisations', published in the third issue of *Art in New Zealand*, Arthur Hirst touches upon all of the themes, which I have identified above, that can be associated with the appearance of the word "contact" in art comment and criticism written in the interwar Dominion of New Zealand. In this respect, Hirst's text is unlike any other article containing the word "contact" that can be found, either in *Art in New Zealand* or elsewhere. The article's status as an example par excellence thus recommends this text for close consideration. Through a reading of Hirst's article, I will show how a certain discourse of contact in New Zealand art historiography has been informed not only by wider (imperial, national, international, and academicist) discourses, but constructed in multiple (discursive and geographical) contexts.

Arthur Hirst's 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand: Some Generalisations'

If Hirst's 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand' was well received at the time of publication, his commentary has not been influential in New Zealand art (-historical) discourse since then. Indeed, as far as I can tell, it is only mentioned in three art-historical texts. Firstly, by Bernard Smith in his 1945 book, *Place, Taste and Tradition*. In the seventh chapter, entitled 'Aestheticism and Nationalism in Australian Art and Criticism', Smith discusses Hirst's commentary alongside that of Australian art critic J. S. MacDonald, which also appeared in *Art in New Zealand*, and Canadian journalist F. B. Housser.[43] Smith turns to

[43] MacDonald, Housser and Hirst are discussed in Bernard Smith, *Place, Taste and Tradition*, pp. 175–80. James Stuart MacDonald (1878–1952), then director of the National Gallery of New South Wales, was a regular contributor to *Art in Australia*, occasional contributor to *Art in New Zealand*, and author of 'The Art of Young Countries', *AiNZ*, 1.1 (1928), 11–15, a short piece on the success of Australian painting as a distinctive national art in comparison with the painting of other British colonies, discussed by Bernard Smith in ibid., p. 178. F. B. Housser is author of *A Canadian Art Movement: The Story of the Group of Seven* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1926), the first

Housser and Hirst to contextualise a certain 'streak of chauvinism [that] runs through a large amount of the critical writing of J. S. MacDonald'.[44] By demonstrating that a comparable vein of nationalism also runs through Housser's and Hirst's texts, Smith thus concludes that MacDonald's chauvinist streak was typical of a nationalist discourse that marked not only the art commentary of Australia at the time, but also that of the British Dominions. Smith says very little of Hirst's text, except to describe the following excerpt, in which Hirst, in closing, offers a final piece of advice to artists, as a 'recipe for the production of a true-blue national art':

> The New Zealander that breathes his own pure air, reverences the fine traditions of the old Mother Country, reads his Reynolds and his Ruskin, keeps in touch with indestructible first principles (which are the same in all the Fine Arts) — who sets on his wall the "Praying Hands" of Dürer, and sleeps with his New Testament under his pillow — will have every chance of being a worthy scion of a worthy race, of being a great man and a great artist.[45]

This statement exemplifies not only the 'streak of [national] chauvinism' that Smith describes, but also, in its allusions to race and purity, a racialised if not overtly racist discourse that amounts to what Smith calls 'racist propaganda'.[46]

This exact passage is also cited in the second art-historical text to refer to Hirst's article: the book *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting*, written by Australian arts administrator Gil Docking during his appointment as director of ACAG, first published in 1971, and still in print.[47] In an account of (the discourse

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historical account of the Group of Seven, which mythologised the group as a supposedly distinctive national phenomenon.

[44] Bernard Smith, *Place, Taste and Tradition*, p. 178.

[45] Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art', p. 178, quoted in ibid., p. 179.

[46] Smith does not comment on the implicit racism that can be read in Hirst's text, however, in his reading of MacDonald's writing on Arthur Streeton, Smith observes that 'Streeton's work in this instance is little more than a peg upon which has been hung a great deal of racist propaganda', declaring that '[s]tatements like these have ceased to be criticism' (pp. 177–78). And in his reading of 'The Art of Young Countries', Smith questions MacDonald's linkage of racial purity, 'British blooded stock' (MacDonald, p. 12), and excellence in art — a question that could equally be asked of Hirst's article.

[47] Gil Docking, *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting* (Auckland: David Bateman, 1971; repr. 1975, 1980; 2nd edn 1982), p. 110; Gil Docking and Michael Dunn, *Two Hundred Years of New Zealand Painting*, 3rd edn (Auckland: David Bateman, 1990; repr. 1995), p. 110; Gil Docking, Michael Dunn and Edward Hanfling, *Two Hundred and*

of) the expatriate problem in New Zealand art historiography, Docking discusses Hirst's 'diagnosis' of the New Zealand artist's predicament, who while he has, according to Hirst, 'the immense advantage of a comprehensive, accessible education system' is yet disadvantaged by 'being so far removed from the great art collections' of Europe.[48] Docking introduces the passage quoted above and in Smith's chapter as echoing 'the sententious moralising and posturing which must often have passed for sound common sense in the 1920s'.[49] He also remarks upon Hirst's '[belief] that New Zealand ""stock" is of the best"', picking out a phrase similar to MacDonald's 'British blooded stock', which Smith picks MacDonald up on; unlike Smith in his analysis of MacDonald, however, Docking does not conclude that Hirst's text is akin to 'racist propaganda', but instead excuses Hirst's racialised discourse as that of a 'devoted [traditionalist]', and even relativises 'Hirst's jingoism' as of its time.[50]

In the third text to comment on Hirst's article, Gordon H. Brown's catalogue essay *New Zealand Painting 1920–1940*, published in 1975, the same year as Docking's book was first reprinted, a considerable portion of Hirst's text is cited, including the opening and closing clauses of the quotation cited above and by Smith and Docking, so as to give in effect a precis of 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand'.[51] Brown bookends his quotation of Hirst's text with two

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Forty Years of New Zealand Painting, rev. edn (Auckland: David Bateman, 2012); Gil Docking, Michael Dunn and Edward Hanfling, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of New Zealand Painting*, rev. edn (Auckland: David Bateman, 2021).

[48] Hirst, pp. 176–77 quoted in Docking, *Two Hundred Years* (1971), p. 110.

[49] Ibid., p. 110.

[50] Docking advises his readers that 'in our own time, we need not be contemptuous of Hirst's jingoisms. Simply transpose "New York" for "Mother Country," the currently enthroned artist and the dictates of Hirst will be brought in line with some contemporary *avant-garde* academic thinking' (ibid., p. 110). While Docking might have a point about the cultural imperialism of the New York art world that dominated the global art market at the time he was writing, which was reflected in the dominant art-historical narratives of Euro-American accounts of twentieth-century modern art, and would soon be diagnosed by the Australian-born New York-based art historian Terry Smith as the 'provincialism problem' in his article of the same name, first published in *Art Forum* in 1974, it is important, in my view, not to conflate the cultural politics of twentieth-century American neo-imperialism or provincialism with the imperial discourses of race particular to the nineteenth-century British Empire.

[51] Gordon H. Brown, *New Zealand Painting 1920–1940: Adaptation and Nationalism* (Wellington: Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand, 1975), p. 34.

somewhat negative comments, which suggest that in his view Hirst's discourse was not so much of its time, as Docking suggests, but rather out of kilter with the zeitgeist of the late 1920s' Dominion, or in other words, out of place.[52] Brown has little more to say about Hirst's article other than to describe it as 'complacent' and imply that to his ear it sounds pompous, and although he calls Hirst's rhetoric into question, he otherwise lets the excerpted text speak for itself, so to speak, thus leaving the reader to draw their own conclusions as regards Hirst's take on gender, race, and nation. In citing Hirst, Brown does however repeat a statement of interest to the present study: 'Contact with achievement which has passed the acid test of time is one of the safest elements in true progress'. This is the only citation that I have come across which quotes one of the two instances of the word "contact" in Hirst's text, but, as I have indicated above, Brown does not comment upon this or any of Hirst's statements. My own reading of a discourse of contact in Hirst's text thus takes place against a lack of scholarly interpretation.

Clearly Hirst's discourse is problematic for his commentators, not least for its use of language. In generalising, in (admittedly) rambling on about racial and national stereotypes, in offering the student of art vague, conventional, and old-fashioned advice, and in expressing himself in flowery prose, Hirst seems to at once say too much and not much at all.[53] In many respects, it is difficult to

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[52] Brown introduces Hirst's quotation in comparison to another written by Professor James Shelley shortly after his arrival in the Dominion from Britain in 1920, in which Shelley comments upon some of the difficulties involved in the British settler effort to develop a new (British national) culture in New Zealand at such a distance from the 'mother culture'. Wondering how Hirst's commentary, written almost a decade after Shelley's, could echo Shelley's so, Brown segues from Shelley to Hirst with the following query: 'Perhaps on the surface, when the nineteen twenties came to a close, it may have seemed that very little had changed. How else could Arthur Hirst's complacent article be explained?'. Following Hirst's quotation, Brown concludes his reflection on Hirst's text by observing that: 'Beneath this pomp and certainty there was also coming to the surface around 1930 a feeling of unease'. It seems to me that Brown is suggesting here that if Hirst's commentary did in some way reflect the mood of the era, it was also not reflective of all that was, or even what was largely, going on in the Dominion in 1929, and which would soon become manifest in the 1930s.

[53] After a page or so of 'generalising' on the national personalities of England, Scotland, France, and Germany, Hirst interrupts the main text with a parenthetical aside in which he reassures the reader that he is indeed getting to the main point signalled by the article's title: '(It will be observed that the connection between the foregoing ramble

recommend Hirst's article to the reader — indeed, Bernard Smith's reading shows Hirst's text to be exemplary of a certain national chauvinism in early twentieth-century British-world art criticism, which could be thought of as an unsavoury characteristic — and yet, I have identified Hirst's text as an example par excellence of a certain discourse of contact in New Zealand art historiography. In my re-reading of Hirst for a discourse of contact below, I am not trying to simply replace the rather negative reception of Hirst's article in the art-historical literature with a more positive reading of a discourse that is currently favoured by contemporary art historians, and thus redeem Hirst and/or recuperate his text, although I do wish to complicate the reception of Hirst's discourse as straightforwardly nationalist. Rather, I hope to show that a discourse of contact and a discourse of nationalism are not mutually exclusive, and, moreover, that a discourse of contact is not necessarily unproblematic, nor necessarily what we hope for when we anticipate an art history of contact that is post-national, unnational, postcolonial, and/or decolonial.

I want to begin my (re-)reading of Hirst's article by looking closely at the ways in which contact between art and artists of different nationalities and national traditions is depicted in terms of familial and/or kin relationships, because, although Hirst does not use the word "contact" to refer to the New Zealand artist's connection with 'the fine traditions of the old Mother Country',[54] as Fairburn does when he speaks of the artist's 'contact with English culture',[55] I would argue that Hirst's use of a certain kinship metaphor engenders a (pre)dominant image(ry) of contact, which is in fact the context

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and the ultimate consideration is beginning to loom in the distance!)' (p. 176). Hirst repeatedly emphasises the value of tradition as a source of stability and permanence in opposition to the flux of modernity and tide of fashion; a 'sensible course' for the artist to follow so that he — for Hirst refers to the artist as a man — 'is less likely to be swept away by passing crazes' or 'a thousand different currents of ephemeral fancy' (p. 177). Hirst's discourse is flowery insofar as it is sprinkled with words and phrases in Latin and French, and quotations from Oliver Goldsmith's mid-eighteenth-century poem *The Traveller, or a Prospect of Society*, John Keats's early nineteenth-century poem *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, and the late Classical early Romantic composer Franz Schubert, all artists who produced works that could be, and indeed came to be, considered classics.

[54] Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art', p. 178.

[55] Fairburn, p. 214.

with(in) and against which we can read Hirst's two statements that are explicitly concerned with contact.

Contact as/and Imperial Kinship

'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand' opens with a string of generalisations concerning relations between the individual, race, and nation. Hirst assumes that 'even the strongest personality shares the common instincts of his race or tribe', and implicitly links racial attributes with national characteristics, thus naturalising a connection between individual, race, and nation. If, in Hirst's view, the individual embodies 'his race or tribe', so also does the nation incorporate the traits of the people through and by whom it is constituted, and can thus be regarded as possessing a personality: 'Nations are very like individuals; one can trace the same processes at work, the same family characteristics coming out, and the same actual physical lineaments.'[56] This personification of nation prefigures the use of an extended kinship metaphor through which Hirst depicts the relation of New Zealand to Britain and the 'British world'.[57] In Hirst's analogy, Great Britain is likened to 'a wonderful little old paterfamilias, who has scattered his seed in all four corners of the earth'; the settler colonies, 'his seed', are 'now the sons […] growing up and though each is possessed of his own personality […] there is a distinct family resemblance between all the varied members and their old progenitor'; and

[56] Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art', p. 175.

[57] 'Greater Britain — the English-speaking settler colonies of the British empire which we are more likely now to refer to as the British world — was an idea as much as a set of territories.' Hilary M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801–1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011), p. 3. 'The British World was a term its inhabitants used to describe their real and imagined common origins, culture and identity. Its maximum strength was reached in the generation prior to the Great War and was probably sustained until the 1950s. Its civic and governmental institutions were moulded in the long nineteenth century and successfully defended in two world wars. It was held together not just by ties of trade, finance, and defence, but also by intricate and overlapping networks and associations of all kinds — family, occupational, professional, educational, religious, and sporting to name a few.' Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, 'Mapping the British World', in *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity*, ed. by Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003), pp. 1–15 (pp. 10–11).

'New Zealand is the youngest son, the favourite son, and worthily the most devoted son of the whole family'.[58]

The use of such kinship metaphors and familial terms to describe the relations of empire was a common convention at the time Hirst was writing.[59] An image of New Zealand as (a) youth was already in circulation, and contested, in the art discourse of the Dominion.[60] In the very next issue of *Art in New Zealand*, artist W. H. Allen contradicted Hirst's equation of the recent settlement of New Zealand with a youthful vigour in art: 'The work to be seen at Dominion exhibitions may be likened to that of an old man — for the most part it is "safe," represents a past age, avoids all experiment, and is full of sentiment.'[61] Allen's emphasis on the word "safe" can be read as an allusion to, and a rebuttal of, Hirst's advice: 'Contact with achievement […] is one of the safest elements in true progress.' Allen's contradiction of Hirst exposes a sharp distinction between (their) two very different views of what progress in (New Zealand) art might look like: Allen takes as his yardstick the experimental modern art of the European avant-garde which looked to the future in its aim to rupture the academic tradition of art to which it was heir; whereas Hirst, in

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[58] Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art', pp. 175–76. It is worth noting here that the art historian E. H. McCormick also speaks metaphorically of New Zealand as the 'last, loneliest, most loyal' of the British colonies in his essay of the same title, 'Last, Loneliest, Most Loyal: New Zealand Society', in *Distance Looks our Way: The Effects of Remoteness on New Zealand*, ed. by Keith Sinclair, University of Auckland Winter Lectures: 1960 (Auckland: Paul's Book Arcade for the University of Auckland, 1961), pp. 97–120.

[59] 'The metaphor of empire as "family" was part of a colonial construct of British imperialism in India that saw Queen Victoria as "ma-baap" (mother/father), the native as untrained child, and the empire as drawing room — a refined and civilized space where appropriate rules of conduct would ensure permanent occupancy.' Zohreh T. Sullivan, *Narratives of Empire: The Fictions of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993), p. 3. 'Familial understandings of British India took many forms: references to Britain as the 'mother country'; to colonies as well as individual 'natives' as 'children' whom benevolent, assiduous colonizers would train to become self-dependent 'when the time was right'; to the concept of 'Ma–Bap''. Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004), p. 262. On 'imperialism as a kind of family romance', see Matt K. Matsuda, *Empire of Love: Histories of France and the Pacific* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005), p. 19.

[60] See for example: 'New Zealand is so many thousands of miles away from the great centres of civilisation and culture that we are as yet children in the knowledge and understanding of art' in 'Art and Simplicity', *Evening Post*, 29 March 1926, p. 8.

[61] W. H. Allen, 'Impressions of New Zealand Art', *AiNZ*, 1.4 (1929), 215–16 (p. 215).

advising artists to look to the art of the past as a source of innovation, upholds the academic tradition to a certain extent.

A depiction of the country's youth is maintained by Fairburn, however, who, like Hirst, employs a kinship metaphor to represent New Zealand as 'a young man who remains tied to his mother' — England, rather than Britain, in Fairburn's text. This tie between Dominion and metropole is described by Fairburn as an 'incestuous' relationship, a 'mother-fixation', and '[m]other worship'; it is also described as a material as well as a psychological connection: 'The umbilical cord of butterfat has held us in strict dependence on the motherland, culturally no less than economically […] That cord, hardened into debt, will continue to hold us in subservience, and will exert a drag on any movements toward a culture of our own.'[62] For the young man New Zealand to 'gain spiritual independence', according to Fairburn, he needs 'a relationship with an elder brother' — Fairburn nominates America (Australia is not yet mature enough in his view) — 'and another with a grown man' — such as Japan.[63] In Fairburn's analogy, New Zealand art lacks the more established masculine role models so crucial to its development.

These kinship metaphors are not only gendered but sexualised. In identifying England as 'the motherland', Fairburn feminises English culture, and thereby British art, in comparison to the more rough, masculine culture of New Zealand, the colonial son (who as a 'young man' and not a 'grown man' has as yet 'little strength', and is thus to this extent effeminate).[64] Fairburn does, however, admit that New Zealand art could benefit from a certain maternal

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[62] Fairburn, 'Some Aspects of N.Z. Art', p. 214.

[63] Ibid., pp. 214–15. Fairburn states that 'America is our eldest brother' (p. 216) and goes on to suggest that: 'It is from these sources — from Faulkner and Hemingway, and others in the true American tradition — that […] we may draw assistance in building a literature' (p. 217); and 'I am sure our methods of painting could borrow with greater profit at the present time from the Japanese than from the traditional English and French schools' (p. 215).

[64] For example, Fairburn contrasts two senses of culture: the first explicitly feminine sense is that of 'ladies' debating societies'; and the second is 'the wider sense of a whole way of life, rough and smooth intermingled harmoniously and without snobbery', which is implicitly masculine insofar as Fairburn equates a certain roughness with colonial life. Fairburn advocates the latter over the former sense. Ibid., p. 214.

influence, and does not suggest that New Zealand artists sever their connection to England entirely but gain a certain distance from British art by looking to form other — more appropriate — relationships:

> New culture is the result of cross-fertilisation, so that any efforts toward self-consciousness will continue to derive benefit from contact with English culture. The relationship has in the past been an incestuous one. We must in the future allow ourselves to be influenced, but not enslaved and led by a string. The contact is, ineluctably, such a close one that there is no danger of our getting right out of touch. Rather must we [sic] hold ourselves aloof with what little strength we have. We are young, and weak. We need other influences than that which arises from the natural bond with the homeland, if we are to escape mother-fixation.[65]

Fairburn seems to suggest here that New Zealand art(ists) can somehow occupy a (re)productive middle ground between mother and brother, Old World and New World; this ideal (sexual) position in which 'cross-fertilisation' could take place, rather than incest — or rather, could take the place of incest, would seem to depend at once upon both the separation and reunion of mother and son, and ultimately of the feminine and the masculine. In other words, the process of bringing forth, or delivering, the 'new culture' of New Zealand art from 'British seed',[66] which Fairburn anticipates, is premised, in his account, not only upon a certain cultural difference but also upon sexual difference.[67]

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[65] Ibid., p. 214.

[66] Fairburn opens his article by describing the British colonisation and settlement of New Zealand as an act of transplantation and/or insemination: 'It is natural that we who were born in New Zealand should look to English (and to a lesser extent, Continental) models when we wish to express ourselves in the arts of writing and painting. We are of British seed, planted not so very long ago. We have, as we are never tired of pointing out, no tradition of our own. In a word, we are Englishmen, born in exile.' Ibid., p. 213.

[67] It seems to me that Fairburn is saying that in order to engender something that can legitimately be called New Zealand art, artists working in New Zealand need to develop (re)productive relationships with significant others and thereby split up with or separate from England as its primary influence, thus terminating what is in Fairburn's view an unproductive relation wherein New Zealand artists are bound to imitate, and produce second-, third-, and even fourth-rate versions of British art; however, the achievement of such a separation also seems to bring about the opportunity for 'cross-fertilization', that is, for re-engaging (re)productively with British art under different conditions, which could be thought of as a reunion of sorts. My reading of Fairburn's metaphor, in terms of a relation that at once divides and unites, and as an analogy that is concerned with sexual and not only cultural difference, is indebted somewhat obliquely to the description of a certain gendered and engendering relation that Ashley

More could be said about the sexualisation of Fairburn's mother figure, to whom the colonial son is bound and in bondage, is tied and led (on) by both apron and purse strings, as prostitute and dominatrix. It is also worth noting that it is not distance that Fairburn perceives as problematic to the development of New Zealand art here, but rather a certain proximity, an ineluctable contact depicted as a stifling sexual intimacy — or lack of distance. In extending Fairburn's already extended kinship metaphor by reading it (psycho)analytically as I have, a sexist and even misogynistic symbolic (dis)ordering of artistic relations as kin relations becomes apparent.

Hirst's gendering and sexualisation of the imperial kinship metaphor differs from that of Fairburn's. Although he also speaks metaphorically of New Zealand as a son of Britain, in this context he refers to Britain not as a mother but as 'The Old Man', an 'old progenitor', and 'a wonderful little old paterfamilias'. And while he does speak elsewhere of 'the fine traditions of the old Mother Country',[68] in Hirst's account, the mother figure is not disruptive of but constitutive of the patriarchal tradition of British art, and thus the development of art in New Zealand is not threatened at all by the feminine as it is in Fairburn's text. Hirst, too, speaks of the insemination of New Zealand by Britain, 'who has scattered his seed in all four corners of the earth', however, this image seems to me more biblical, like the parable of the sower in the Gospels of the New Testament, than overtly sexual.[69] This is not to say, of

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Thompson formulates in her reading of the *liṅga/yoni* ensemble in the Cambodian context, in which she proposes: 'to think of the god […] at the very moment of consecration, this moment of commensuration of the incommensurable, as the impossible dream of a dis-reunion of the masculine and the feminine, a re(se)paration, or rather as sexual difference itself, in other words as the (im)possible reunion of the *liṅga* and the *yoni*.' Thompson, *Engendering the Buddhist State*, pp. 90–91.

[68] For Hirst's references to Britain as a man, see 'The Future of Fine Art', pp. 175–76; and for his references to Britain as the mother country, see ibid., pp. 177–78.

[69] Elsewhere in 'The Future of Fine Art', Hirst advises the man who wants to be a 'great artist' to '[sleep] with his New Testament under his pillow' (p. 178), which not only suggests that Hirst (if we assume that he, too, is striving to be 'a great man and a great artist') regularly reads this text himself, but also that he is consciously using biblical imagery throughout his article, for example, in the statement concerning 'seed', cited in the main text above, which is comparable to the parable of the sower, in which 'a sower went out to sow his seed; and as he sowed some fell' on each of four places: the path, the rock, among thorns, and into good soil, with varying outcomes, in Luke 8. 4–

course, that it is not a sexual image, but that it is desexualised in the context of Hirst's discourse.[70] Likewise, the repeated likening of Britain to 'old parents' of adult offspring, who are presumably no longer fecund as they evidentially once were, depicts a less fertile and possibly non-sexual or chaste relation between mother and father in Hirst's text. If this is not exactly a desexualised image, it is certainly one of a polite and domesticated sexuality, especially in comparison to Fairburn's depiction of England as an incestuous and thus implicitly promiscuous mother and mistress of her son New Zealand.

8, Matthew 13. 3–9, and Mark 4. 2–9 of the New Testament; and in his description of New Zealanders as 'a chosen people, in chosen physical surroundings' (p. 176), a phrase, which can also be translated as 'chosen race', that appears in 1 Peter 2. 9 of the New Testament, in which the apostle Peter 'transfers to the church the theological concept of Israel as "chosen"', when he says to the Church: 'you are a chosen race [people], a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people'. See Marcie Lenk, 'The First Letter of Peter', in *The Jewish Annotated New Testament: New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation*, ed. by Amy-Jill Levine and Marc Zvi Brettler, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2017), p. 500. According to Lenk, this verse is 'the only place in the New Testament where "race" applies to Christians, and the only place where race (Greek "genos"), nation (Greek "ethnos"), and people (Greek "laos") appear together.' (p. 504). As a reader of the New Testament, Hirst is presumably familiar with this verse, which he cites albeit without acknowledging this source. We can thus assume that the representation of the interrelation between race, nation, and people in Hirst's text is informed to a certain extent by an interpretation of this verse, which, according to Lenk, in appropriating the phrase 'a chosen race, a royal priesthood' from Exodus 19. 6 of the Torah, and thereby appropriating the divine promise that Israel will become God's treasure, 'represents replacement theology, suggesting that Christians replace Israel as God's people'; and that 'Israel's promises now belong to the Church' (ibid., p. 500; p. 504). In referring to New Zealanders as 'a chosen people, in chosen physical surroundings', Hirst suggests that the British (settlers) have been given New Zealand as their preordained divine inheritance, thus justifying and naturalising the British appropriation of the territory of "New Zealand" and the concomitant dispossession of indigenous land, and the replacement of *tino rangatiratanga*, that is, indigenous (Māori) self-determination or sovereignty, with the sovereignty of the (British) Crown.

[70] In Hirst's analogy between British imperial expansion in the late eighteenth century, which led to the colonisation of New Zealand, and a progenitor dispersing his seed, the double entendre of the word "seed", which can mean both the reproductive part of a plant and the reproductive fluid of a man, that is to say, "semen", is displaced by a third sense of the word "seed", which in biblical usage can also mean "offspring" or "progeny", and which is, in the context of Hirst's metaphor, strangely the more literal definition of "seed". Thus, the senses in which "seed" doubly signifies sexual reproduction is in effect censored or suppressed by the primary sense of "seed" in this context, that is, "progeny". I would argue that insofar as the word "seed" primarily refers here to what results from the emission of sperm, "progeny", rather than recalling the latent and/or potent sexuality of "semen" and the scene of sexual reproduction, the imagery of Hirst's metaphor is to this extent desexualised.

How should we understand Hirst's portrayal of Britain as at once mother and father? This double portrait could be regarded as an iteration of the already outmoded *maa–baap* (Hindi for mother–father) figure who had come to personify British imperial rule (in India) in the nineteenth century, through which Britain was represented as 'the all-enfolding parental patron'.[71] Equally, Hirst's mother–father figure could be regarded as a personification of a certain notion of bisexuality contemporary with Hirst's text, of which Hirst was feasibly aware,[72] which postulated that we are each comprised of both male and female attributes, and are thus bisexual fundamentally if not in sexual practice.[73] Such

[71] If, in the early 1920s the *maa–baap* construct was a questionable political form in British India, 'by the early 1940s the *maa–baap* formula was indisputably antiquated', according to William Mazzarella, 'A Torn Performative Dispensation: The Affective Politics of British Second World War Propaganda in India and the Problem of Legitimation in an Age of Mass Publics', *South Asian History and Culture*, 1.1 (2010), 1–24 (p. 3). For further illustration of the *maa–baap* construct, see n. 59, p. 214 above.

[72] Hirst's focus on the study of personality: 'even the strongest personality shares the common instincts of his race and tribe, and such common instincts and other common possessions repay earnest study' (p. 175); and his awareness of psychology: 'If one indulges in psychological dissection and analysis, one can account for much that happens' (p. 175); and of the unconscious: 'we have our likes and dislikes, based on sub-conscious influences which we cannot hope to elucidate' (pp. 176–77), suggest that Hirst was at least familiar with contemporary developments in psychology and/or psychoanalysis, if not recent theories of psychic or psychological bisexuality.

[73] Still in circulation in the 1920s were turn-of-the-century theories of bisexuality, which attempted to extrapolate a notion of psychic or psychological, rather than biological or physiological, bisexuality from (a reading of) the sexual neutrality of the human embryo prior to sexual differentiation, understood as an ongoing and incomplete process which persists in the adult human organism as the condition of and for a certain bisexuality, in which every man or woman is thought to have characteristics of the opposite sex. Shortly before the publication of Hirst's article, Theodore J. Faithfull, for example, defined bisexuality as: '(Psychological) Bipolarity. The presence in each individual of the psychological attributes, instincts and desires generally attributed to males and females respectively', in his *Bisexuality: An Essay on Extraversion and Introversion* (London: John Bale Sons & Danielsson, 1927), p. 95; and Wilhelm Stekel asserted that without exception 'all persons originally are bisexual in their predisposition', in his *Bi-Sexual Love: The Homosexual Neurosis*, trans. by James S. Van Teslaar (Boston, MA: Richard G. Badger, 1922), p. 39. Faithfull and Stekel draw upon earlier theories of bisexuality advanced by Otto Weininger, Wilhelm Fliess, and Sigmund Freud, and indeed echo their statements, for example, Weininger's observation that: 'Any individual, "A" or "B," is never to be designated merely as a man or a woman, but by a formula showing that it is a composite of male and female characters in different proportions', in his *Sex and Character* (London: Heinemann, 1906), p. 8, first published in Vienna in 1903. I am aware that these theories are considered problematic. Judith Butler, for example, questions the 'precultural status' of bisexuality and homosexuality as constructed within the psychoanalytic literature,

theories posited bisexuality as not only fundamental to the constitution of the individual, but also to the work of art and to 'acts of creation' more broadly, for instance, the constitution of empire and the reproduction of culture that such an endeavour entails — which is, of course, the subject of Hirst's speculative commentary.[74] In this light, Hirst's depiction of mother–father Britain appears not simply as a well-worn imperial trope that has been transposed anachronistically from one colonial context to another, but (also) as a contemporary image reinvested with a certain psychoanalytic currency. In any case, Hirst's representation certainly troubles any straightforward opposition of Britain as mother and thus symbolic domain of the feminine and New Zealand as son and thus symbolic domain of the masculine.

In contrast to Hirst's representation of Britain as maternal–paternal patron of art in New Zealand, the figure of the father is conspicuously absent in Fairburn's analogy. Perhaps this absence could be explained if we consider the analogy as an Oedipal drama. According to Greek mythology, by the time the son, Oedipus, recognises that he is in an incestuous relationship with his mother, Jocasta, he has already killed his father, Laius, and gained his throne; the son thus finds himself in the paradoxical position of being at once heir and usurper, legitimate and illegitimate king. At stake in this narrative is a question of inheritance relevant to Fairburn's concern with the English cultural inheritance of New Zealand art(ists). In suggesting that, in their attempt to found a 'new culture', New Zealand's artist-sons look to identify with and actively appropriate traditions of art other than those which they can legitimately call their own, that is, those of Europe, Fairburn is thereby

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and in particular 'the language of bisexual dispositions' in Freud's *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, trans. by James Strachey (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1962), first published in 1905, in her *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 105; pp. 73–74; pp. 78–89. However problematic, I would argue that the latent bisexuality of Hirst's portrayal of Britain as both mother and father is still disruptive of this otherwise heteronormative image of the imperial family.

[74] 'I recognise that a book, a picture, a piece of empire building, needs the flow of libido from an extravert (sometimes from more than one) to an introvert, and that this flow leading to acts of creation is very definitely a sexual act'. Faithfull, pp. 33–34.

encouraging these artists to supplant (or usurp) the (British) art tradition to which they are ostensibly heir; if the sons succeed in and through this foundational act, they would be crowned legitimate founding fathers of a native "New Zealand" art, and thus the father would re-enter the frame of the family portrait, depicted this time as autochthonous patron.

If my necessarily curtailed reading of Fairburn's analogy in crude Oedipal terms does not do justice to the complexity of the libidinal economy of the Oedipus myth and only overcomplicates what Fairburn meant to clarify in analogising, that is, if my transposition of the mythical narrative onto Fairburn's kinship metaphor doesn't hold, it is still worth considering Fairburn's analogy from a more psychoanalytic point of view as an invocation of the Oedipal complex. In identifying the metropole–Dominion cultural relationship as 'an incestuous one', I would argue that Fairburn is not simply making a (metaphorical) observation in a constative sense, but that this statement is in fact performative of the prohibiting of the prohibited relationship that it points out.[75] In other words, in describing the cultural relations of England and New Zealand as taboo, Fairburn's implicit intention is to incite the New Zealand artist-sons to repudiate the mother England and the supposedly troublesome femininity of English culture, and to ultimately proscribe the British art tradition as an illegitimate source of a national "New Zealand" art.[76]

Having looked in some detail at the ways in which Hirst and Fairburn make use of a metaphor of imperial kinship to represent metropole–Dominion cultural and/or artistic relations, I want to suggest that their metaphors are not only differently gendered but that they engender art history differently. By

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[75] For how the Oedipal complex functions in terms of prohibition, see Butler, *Gender Trouble*, pp. 78–89.

[76] I realise that there is an apparent contradiction between my reading of Fairburn's implicit intention to 'proscribe the British art tradition as an illegitimate source of a national "New Zealand" art', and Fairburn's explicit claim, discussed on pp. 215–16, that in their 'efforts toward self-consciousness' New Zealand artists 'will continue to derive benefit from contact with English culture', which does not suggest that he is condemning the New Zealand artist's connection with British art in any literal sense. However, I would maintain that Fairburn's text calls the New Zealand artist to at once sever and sustain his attachment with English culture and thus British art, as I have argued in n. 67, pp. 216–17 above.

which I mean, following Ashley Thompson, that these gendered metaphoric discourses *make* histories of art in practice, and that each does and has done so differently.[77] This is to say that (these) 'cultural [representations] can have [and have had] real impact on the ground', can effect and have effected 'social reality' in ways that have unevenly affected (the work of) artist-women and artist-men.[78] Fairburn's discourse, which postulated a national "New Zealand" art on the grounds of an effective proscription of the feminine, was instrumental in an early moment of canon formation that arose in conjunction with the establishment of the National Art Gallery, which opened in Wellington in 1936, shortly after the publication of 'Some Aspects of N.Z. Art'. Insofar as it informed the National Art Gallery's collection and exhibition of art, Fairburn's criticism can be said to have played a role in the active exclusion of the work of artist-women, among that of others; and insofar as Fairburn's repudiation of certain genre and styles of art as feminine can be said to have influenced public taste, his criticism can be said to have negatively affected the work of artist-women more than artist-men. Whereas Hirst's more straightforward endorsement of the academic tradition of (British) art is ultimately more

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[77] I borrow the term "engendering history" from Thompson, who uses it to express the potential of the study and practice of possession to contribute to (the writing of) history: 'By "engendering history" here I mean in the first place that possession makes things happen […] possession can incite historical trends, movements, political events […] And in the second place […] it allows for the inscription of other voices, often feminine voices, into (something like) history, possession has the potential to *make history*, literally and figuratively.' Thompson, *Engendering the Buddhist State*, p. 119. I use the term to make a more limited point concerning the ways in which art discourse affects and/or impacts institutional and social practices of art on the ground — that is, how discourse 'makes things happen' or makes history literally — and thus in turn affects the writing of history, insofar as the things that discourse makes happen at once inscribe and circumscribe the historical record, 'to *make history* […] figuratively'. In using the present tense to say that each of these discourses has not only made but *makes* art history differently, I wish to emphasise the ever-present potential of (re-)reading these texts in the present, whether that is now or a present to come, and thus the potential that they always already bear to remake art history figuratively, if not literally, and differently.

[78] Here again, I draw upon Thompson's articulation of the fine line, that is, the 'constantly shifting, and constantly transgressed' division, between 'social reality and cultural representation', and the dynamic of the binary opposition that governs the interrelation of representation and reality, through which 'cultural formations', and I would add cultural representations, 'can have real impact on the ground'. See ibid., pp. 16–17.

inclusive of the work of women artists insofar as this patriarchal tradition is accommodating of the minor genre, or the feminine, within the hierarchy of its pedagogical and exhibition systems, and is thus more open to a broader array of works, which in Hirst's view represent 'the fine flowering of human endeavour',[79] than those that would constitute, in Fairburn's view, a national art.

This is not to conclude that Hirst's more 'positive engenderment' of the work of artist-women is therefore better than Fairburn's negative gendering of certain traditions of art as feminine. But rather to consider each as a different manifestation of a phallocratic social and cultural field of art, and as therefore differently exclusive of the feminine.[80] And while the above suggestions cannot be fully substantiated here, and thus must remain speculative for the time being, my point is, nevertheless, that these differently gendered discourses of contact were (differently) implicated in the production of contact and non-contact between artists and publics on the Dominion ground and should not be regarded as mere representations.

Having explored a discourse of contact through a reading of the national–cultural–social imaginary of kinship in Hirst's 'The Future of Fine Art' and Fairburn's 'Some Aspects of N.Z. Art', I will turn once again to Hirst's text, this time to look more closely at the two statements concerned explicitly with contact. In looking at the first statement, I hope to show that Hirst's art discourse of contact is itself informed by an academicist art-historical discourse of contact. And in looking at the second statement, I hope to show that Hirst's art discourse of contact is informed by a certain internationalism. And in

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[79] Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art', p. 176.

[80] As Ashley Thompson points out, 'the "positive engenderment" of women can partner with its phallocratic opposite' and can thus serve to reinforce rather than negate certain phallocratic hierarchies (*Engendering the Buddhist State*, pp. 16–17). Thus, Hirst's discourse could be thought of as one side of a phallocratic coin, and Fairburn's discourse the other side of the same coin. It is important to note that it is not only artist-women who were disadvantaged by these phallocratic discourses — Hirst's patriarchal discourse on the one hand and Fairburn's sexist and almost misogynistic discourse on the other — but also artists, such as artist-Māori, who did not personally embody, or whose work did not signify, the masculine.

showing how these two (academicist and internationalist) discourses are implicated in Hirst's art discourse, I hope to in turn complicate the reception of Hirst's text as straightforwardly nationalist.

Contact with Achievement

The first statement appears in the context of two paragraphs which offer advice to 'the student of Fine Art in New Zealand'. In the first paragraph, Hirst points up the necessity of looking to the artworks and art discourse of the past in order to advance the art of the present:

> It is a commonplace of development in the Fine Arts that all sound progress must proceed from that which time has proved to be great and good. Contact with achievement which has passed the acid test of time is one of the safest elements in true progress […] it is surely better to seek guidance from those to whom centuried consensus of opinion has accorded the chaplet of fame, rather than from those self-appointed guides of our own day and generation, whose noisy vapourings all too easily reach our ears.[81]

Having said this, in the second paragraph Hirst acknowledges that establishing 'contact with achievement' may be difficult for the fine artist in New Zealand, who 'must suffer through being so far removed from the great Art collections which are the glory of the old world', and consequently 'must rely, largely, for his guidance, upon what he finds to read in contemporary Art journals, and upon reproductions of standard works'.[82] Hirst offers several suggestions to mitigate, if not solve, what he poses as a predicament. As a counterbalance to the reading of contemporary art discourse, which he characterises as vaporous, Hirst suggests that the student of fine art peruse art-historical literature — he suggests the art criticism of John Ruskin and the discourses of Royal Academician Joshua Reynolds. And to get round the difficulty of accessing the great and glorious works of European art in person, Hirst suggests that the artist in New Zealand supplement his study of artworks in reproduction with

[81] Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art', pp. 176–77.
[82] Ibid., p. 177.

observational study of the natural world — a conventional pedagogical strategy or guiding principle of Academic art education.[83]

In fact, Hirst's advice can be read as a peculiar iteration of Reynolds's *Discourses*, which Hirst recommends to the reader and appears to have read himself.[84] Hirst's familiarity with Reynolds is evident in his vocabulary. His reference to 'indestructible first principles', for example, sounds very much like an adaptation of Reynolds's 'invariable principles', which in Reynolds's view should govern an artist's practice.[85] Moreover, his phrase 'acid test of time' echoes Reynolds's 'test of ages'.[86] Hirst's assimilation of Reynolds's discourse is

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[83] In Academic art practice and discourse, the 'standard of Nature' was taken as the ultimate measure of an artwork's perfection, over and above the authority of the old masters. For example, Joshua Reynolds, in his second discourse, delivered to the students of the Royal Academy on 11 December, 1769, recommended that in the third and final stage of the artist's education, having studied with various masters and then taken 'art itself as his master', the artist turns to the example of nature in order to complete his education: 'Comparing now no longer the performances of Art with each other, but examining the Art itself by the standard of Nature, he corrects what is erroneous, supplies what is scanty, and adds, by his own observation what the industry of his predecessors may have yet left wanting to perfection.' Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy; with Introduction and Notes by Roger Fry* (London: Seeley, 1905), pp. 21–22.

[84] To be clear, in 'The Future of Fine Art' Hirst does not recommend a particular text by Reynolds, only that the 'New Zealander […] read his Reynolds' (p. 178). I have chosen to discuss Hirst's article, which implicitly addresses 'the student of Fine Art in New Zealand', alongside Reynolds's *Discourses*, which comprises all fifteen discourses that Reynolds wrote and delivered to students of the Royal Academy of Arts, London, between 1769 and 1790, during his appointment as first president of the Academy, as they seem to me to be comparable texts insofar as the purpose of each is to encourage and guide the fine art student. While all fifteen of Reynolds's discourses were first published, together with other essays, in 1797, I refer to these texts as published in Roger Fry's 1905 edition, which would have been available at the time Hirst was writing 'The Future of Fine Art' in the late 1920s. For full bibliographical details of Fry's 1905 edition, see n. 83 immediately above.

[85] Reynolds frequently speaks of principles throughout his *Discourses*. In his seventh discourse, he avers that 'practice, though essential to perfection, can never attain that to which it aims, unless it works under the direction of principle' (p. 181); and he describes these guiding principles of art and artistic taste as 'invariable', for example, in the following: 'If, therefore, in the course of this enquiry, we can shew that there are rules for the conduct of the artist which are fixed and invariable, it follows of course, that the art of the connoisseur, or, in other words, taste, has likewise invariable principles' (p. 192); and again on p. 202.

[86] Just as Hirst insists upon the necessity of '[c]ontact with achievement which has passed the acid test of time' if the artist is to safely make 'true progress', Reynolds insists that if an artist is to achieve excellence in his own work, if his 'ideas of excellence which lay in embryo' are to come to fruition, his ideas must be 'finished and

also evident in the nature of his advice, on taste and judgement, for example, and on the appropriate relationship between contemporary and historical art. His appeal to the artist to guard against the volatility and idiosyncrasy of personal taste by 'look[ing] beyond [himself] for some criterion in matters of taste and appraisal' is in accordance with the Academic method of art education as set forth by Reynolds, which aims to regulate the artist's taste so that it becomes rational and systematic.[87] And Hirst's exhortation to 'seek guidance from those to whom centuried consensus of opinion has accorded the chaplet of fame, rather than from those self-appointed guides of our own day and generation' follows the ostensibly natural law 'of receiving from the dead and giving to the living, and perhaps to those who are yet unborn', which, according to Reynolds, is meant to govern the 'friendly intercourse' of artists. [88]

While I could give more examples of the ways in which Hirst's discourse draws upon that of Reynolds, I will conclude by noting his broad-brush adaptation of Reynolds's tripartite system of Academic art education to the Dominion context. In his second discourse, Reynolds outlines the three stages of the Academic method of study, which I have already alluded to in the notes to this chapter but will summarise again here.[89] According to Reynolds's

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put in order by the authority and practice of those whose works may be said to have been consecrated by having stood the test of ages' (*Discourses*, p. 150).

[87] In Reynolds's schema of Academic art education, the regulation of an artist's taste, which he defines as the 'power of distinguishing right from wrong' (p. 183), is crucial to the second of the three stages of the art student's career. To attain the second degree of proficiency (in painting) an artist, no longer apprenticed to a single master but looking to the authority of various old masters, 'must still be afraid of trusting his own judgement' and must learn to 'regulate his taste' in the face of such variety (p. 21), for, according to Reynolds, it is 'the formation of a sound taste', resulting from a principled practice of art, which will 'guard the pupils against those errors, into which the sanguine temper common at their time of life, has a tendency to lead them' (p. 141); moreover, if the pupils keep the society and 'conversation of learned and ingenious men', in this informal environment, 'they will insensibly come to feel and reason like those they live with, and find a rational and systematic taste imperceptibly formed in their minds' (pp. 182–83). Keeping the society and 'conversation of learned and ingenious men' is one way of following Hirst's recommendation to 'look beyond ourselves for some criterion in matters of taste and appraisal' (p. 177).

[88] This is how Reynolds defines what he refers to as the 'friendly intercourse which ought to exist among artists', in his *Discourses*, p. 336.

[89] See n. 83, p. 225, and n. 87 on this page above.

description of the method, in the first period of an art student's academic training, the artist, or more specifically, the painter, 'receives instruction from a particular Master' to draw, model, and colour, that is, he learns what Reynolds calls 'the Language of the Art'.[90] In the second period of academic study, the artist 'is now to consider the Art itself as his Master' and seek instruction from 'various Masters' by imitating them and appropriating their ideas in order to 'learn all that has been known and done before his own time'.[91] And in the third, ideally emancipatory, period of study, the artist will no longer be subject to any authority except that of his own judgement, which he will perfect by 'examining the Art itself by the standard of Nature'.[92] Although Hirst does not explicitly mention this method of study, in proposing certain measures to mitigate the aforementioned (methodological) predicament of the fine artist in New Zealand, who must necessarily study the old masters from reproduction rather than in the original, Hirst takes recourse, albeit implicitly, to the Academic method. For example, in suggesting that the artist in New Zealand — who practices in the absence of the old masters and thus with little prospect of 'contact with achievement' — compare the art he views in reproduction with 'nature itself', Hirst is taking a pragmatic approach to the Academic method by effectively suggesting that the artist supplements what would comprise the second period of academic study with the third period. Lastly, it is important to note that it is in fact the Academic method itself which renders the study of fine art in New Zealand problematic in the first place, and thus Hirst's proposed antidote to this ostensible problem is itself telling of the way in which his discourse is informed by, and is a rendition of, Academic discourse.

Rather than a 'recipe for the production of a true-blue national art' or 'a special "New Zealand" art',[93] I would argue, counter to Bernard Smith's view, that Hirst's advice is in fact a prescription for the replication of the academic tradition of British art at a geographical distance from the resources of the

[90] Reynolds, p. 20.
[91] Reynolds, pp. 20–21.
[92] Reynolds, pp. 21–22.
[93] Bernard Smith, *Place, Taste and Tradition*, p. 179.

Royal Academy and of Europe more generally,[94] and that his counsel should thus be regarded as more universalist — insofar as it is concerned with achieving the same quality of *fine* art in New Zealand as in Britain — than nationalist in scope. To be sure, Hirst's text is informed by a certain national(ist) discourse; however, as my reading thus far has shown, Hirst is imperial-minded and his nationalist sentiment is certainly entangled with, or is not easily disentangled from, a certain imperialism and, as I hope to show, even a certain internationalism.[95] Unlike Fairburn, who is interested in a distinctly national cultural expression which he refers to as 'New Zealand art', Hirst does not anticipate a national or "New Zealand" art, but rather speaks only of the production and success of 'Fine Art *in* [my emphasis] New Zealand' — a phrasing that, in its use of the preposition, presupposes the possibility of fine art in other locations too. More often than not, Hirst refers to art as 'Fine Art'. The repetition of this term, although a common collocation, emphasises fineness as the principal attribute of art; an emphasis that suggests it is this quality — the fineness of Fine Art — which could be equally attributed to the art produced by artists working in New Zealand or working elsewhere, rather

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[94] In Hirst's view, 'The student of Fine Art in New Zealand must suffer through being so far removed from the great Art collections which are the glory of the old world', 'The Future of Fine Art', pp. 177.

[95] Imperialism and nationalism were entangled in the British settler colonial context in ways that can complicate analysis and have often led historians to mistake imperialism for nationalism, as Douglas Cole points out in his study, 'The Problem of "Nationalism" and "Imperialism" in British Settlement Colonies', *Journal of British Studies*, 10.2 (1971), 160–82 (p. 171), which focusses on Canada and Australia. Cole makes a clear distinction between the different strands of imperialism and nationalism in both the Canadian and Australian contexts: 'Canadian imperialism was not a variety or extension of Canadian nationalism.' (p. 171); rather, 'Imperialism in Canada was a local manifestation of the Britannic nationalism that welled up in Britain and the settlement colonies in the nineteenth century […] This Britannic nationalism was common to imperialists, but not all pan-nationalists were imperialists.' (p. 175); 'Imperialists in Australia, like those in Canada, were patriots to their own country, though nationalists to the larger Britannic or pan-Anglo-Saxon nation.' (p. 178). In light of these complications, and the further complicating factor that New Zealand-born Hirst had lived in Europe for an approximately twenty-year period prior to his return to New Zealand and the publication of 'The Future of Fine Art' in 1929, it is difficult to discern Hirst's ideology from a reading of this text alone, and thus know whether to ascribe his nationalist sentiment to a 'Britannic or pan-Anglo-Saxon' nationalism, a New Zealand imperialism, or indeed to an interwar internationalism, a possibility suggested by my contextual reading below of the events surrounding the article's publication.

than the New Zealandishness of art,[96] which is what, I would argue, most interests Hirst here. Moreover, Hirst's repeated emphasis on the 'fine tradition' of art and his citation of works of art deemed to be classics, and thus of lasting value, not only stresses a notion of greatness in art but also a notion of the perpetuity and timelessness of art.[97] In constantly calling our attention to certain supposedly enduring and immutable qualities in art, such as truth and beauty, and to an artwork's ostensible capacity to endure, or '[pass] the acid test of time', which for Hirst is the very definition and proof of the fineness of a work of Fine Art, Hirst emphasises that which in his view is essential and thus universal to art, and thus propounds what is in my view a universalist vision of art.

Let me return to look more closely at the statement beginning 'Contact with achievement',[98] which memorably encapsulates the main thrust of Hirst's advice, etching in the reader's mind what sounds like a golden rule. It stands out rhythmically from the other sentences in the paragraph in its use of iambic meter, which lends it a poetic quality and catches our attention. It is, however, most striking in its use of a metaphor of the assaying of precious metal — or noble metal — such as gold, silver, or platinum, which, according to the *OED*, 'does not corrode, and is not easily attacked by acids', and could thus '[pass] the acid test' and be considered 'one of the safest [chemical] elements'. In this

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[96] See pp. 56–58 of the Introduction for a discussion of the adjective"Netherlandish", which is habitually used to construct the collocation "Netherlandish art", and the lack of the equivalent term "New Zealandish art", upon which the neologism 'New Zealandishness' is predicated, which I will define here as the condition of an artwork which is thought to possess or exhibit the qualities and characteristics of the New Zealand nation, either by virtue of representation, i.e., the work is thought to depict the country of New Zealand in some way; location, i.e., the work was produced in New Zealand; or by association, i.e., the work was made by a New Zealand national.

[97] Hirst emphasises the importance of tradition several times, in the following statement: 'The very love for the Mother Country and for its finest traditions is in itself a great portent. A people so imbued with fine tradition in ordinary life is sure to value tradition in all things and is less likely to be swept away by passing crazes.' (p. 176); and once again in closing on p. 177. For his citation of "classic" works of art, see n. 53, pp. 211–12 pp. 148–49 of this chapter above.

[98] At the risk of boring the reader, but for the sake of saving the reader the trouble of paging back through the chapter in search of this citation, I repeat Hirst's statement here in full: 'Contact with achievement which has passed the acid test of time is one of the safest elements of true progress.' 'The Future of Fine Art', p. 176.

sentence, Hirst posits artistic achievement as the result of 'the acid test of time', or in other words, as that which (art) history has proved to be of great and lasting value, that is, those works of art which have come to be regarded as timeless, classic, or — what art historians might term — old masters. Although Hirst speaks of the assaying of precious metal in terms of 'the acid test', a modern scientific procedure that does not involve the destruction of the (art) object being tested, rather than the more conclusive yet destructive age-old process of fire assay, I would argue that, in the context of Hirst's discourse at least, this modern scientific image of a chemical process is palimpsestic, and that it bears the trace of the biblical image of gold tried in the fire, 'which connote[s] the purification of Christians [in this case, the Christian artist who 'sleeps with his New Testament under his pillow'] under the watchful eye of a divine assayer'.[99]

This metaphor of precious metal assay is extended in the text through Hirst's choice of words. In the immediate context of its statement, the metaphor illustrates the art-historical process of canonisation through the metallurgical process of assay, thus equating the two processes as means of producing (social, cultural, and material) value. The metaphor is subsequently extended through scattered allusions to an idea of gold and/or the (Christian)

[99] As I have noted above (n. 69, pp. 217–18), Hirst frequently makes use of biblical language throughout 'The Future of Fine Art'; we can thus assume that he would have been familiar with the biblical metaphor of gold tried in the fire, which can be found in the New Testament, for example, in II Corinthians 3. 12–15, which speaks specifically about testing the (master)work of one's hands by fire to reveal 'what sort of work each has done', whether it is made of 'gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, [or] straw', and thus whether it survives the fire and earns a reward for its maker. By the time Hirst was writing, this metaphor was in wide circulation in British culture and discourse, and was no longer exclusively a biblical metaphor but figured in many secular contexts, as Timothy Alborn points out in his article 'The Greatest Metaphor Ever Mixed: Gold in the British Bible, 1750–1850', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 78.3 (2017), 427–47 (pp. 438–39): '[p]rior to 1800, secular references to gold tried in the fire were relatively scarce', however, '[a]fter 1815 […] references to gold tried in the fire appeared in secular contexts, ranging from politics to music criticism'; for example, 'the editor of *Musical World* tried to appease an offended organist with his assurance that "the metal of sterling character gains lustre and value by the ordeal of impartial discussion."' Alborn cites 'Dr. Gauntlett', *Musical World*, 18 (1843), 92.

artist tried in the fire.[100] Thus, in its extensive form, precious metal assay is a metaphor for the practice of art perceived as a trial, that is, as a process of purification and sufferance that must be borne in order to make 'true progress'. Hirst's implicit portrayal of the practice of art as a trial can again be understood as being informed by Reynolds, who in his *Discourses* explicitly speaks of the 'trial' of art practice and of the 'practical trial' of the artist, and moreover of 'the true test of all the arts'.[101]

In fact, in Reynolds's *Discourses*, fire itself is a metaphor for contact between the artist and the work of art. In his fifteen discourses, this metaphor appears four times, arising specifically in his discussion of invention and imitation, processes which, in his view, require the artist to be conversant with the old masters and/or any artwork that is taken as model.[102] In order to acquire such intimate knowledge, according to the Academic method, the artist

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[100] Following the initial metaphor of precious metal assay, Hirst uses what I would describe as a (Christian) vocabulary of trial to speak of artistic practice in terms of suffering, sacrifice, purification, and long-term and/or spiritual reward. For example, in his distance from Europe, 'the student of Fine Art in New Zealand must suffer' (p. 177); just as he must be long-suffering, coming to 'a realisation that the hard wood comes from the tree that is slow of growth': he must not take shortcuts, for 'there are no "short-cuts" in Fine Art', and must sacrifice short-term gain for long-term reward, for 'his ultimate good' and the sake of 'true progress' (p. 177). Hirst's guidance is meant to direct the New Zealand art student, who 'breathes his own pure air', to an Academic course of study that remedies the individual practitioner's lack of 'pure objective judgement' and results in 'pure expression' (pp. 177–78) — a process of purification that might result in '[t]he correct judgement, the purity of taste, which', according to Reynolds in his *Discourses*, 'characterise Raffaelle' (p. 418). Just as metallurgical assay makes a distinction between precious metal and dross, Hirst also makes a distinction between art that results from contact with 'indestructible first principles', or 'achievement which has passed the acid test of time', and art which is in his view base, such as 'the empty and debased futilities of Jazz' (p. 177).

[101] On the practice of art as 'trial', see for example Reynolds, p. 117 and p. 324; on the practice of art as 'practical trial', see ibid., p. 422; and on 'the true test of all the arts', see ibid., p. 365.

[102] Reynolds encourages the pupils of the Royal Academy to converse with, imitate, and borrow from, the works of other as a means of invention: 'Invention is one of the great marks of genius; but if we consult experience, we shall find, that it is by being conversant with the invention of others, that we learn to invent; as by reading the thoughts of others we learn to think.' (p. 148); 'In order to encourage you to imitation, to the utmost extent, let me add, that very finished artists in the inferior branches of the arts, will contribute to furnish the mind and give hints, of which a skilfull [sic] painter […] will know how to avail himself.' (p. 165).

must engage in a sustained and/or intensive contemplative process of studying and copying the masters, especially the particular aspects which they hope to incorporate into their own work. It is through this pedagogical process of transmission from master/model to pupil that contact is thought by Reynolds to take place. In his discourses, moreover, fire figures as the medium of transmission, and thus of contact. For example, in his sixth discourse delivered to the students of the Royal Academy in 1774, Reynolds asserts, in the first person plural, that in studying 'the great masters' for the purposes of invention:

> Our hearts, frequently warmed in this manner by the contact of those whom we wish to resemble, will undoubtedly catch something of their way of thinking; and we shall receive in our own bosoms some radiation at least of their fire and splendour.[103]

In this image of contact, as elsewhere in Reynolds's *Discourses*, it is through the warming of an artist's heart that the artist attains a mentality appropriate for invention: 'The habit of contemplating and brooding over the ideas of great geniuses, till you find yourself warmed by the contact, is the true method of forming an artist-like mind'.[104] Indeed, Reynolds has such faith in the results of contact that he recommends the applicability of this contemplative habit to lesser models: if 'a skilfull [sic] painter' looks to the works of 'very finished artists in the inferior branches of the arts', according to Reynolds, he 'is in no danger of being infected by the contact of vicious models', but rather '[h]e will pick up from dunghills what by a nice chemistry, passing through his own mind, shall be converted into pure gold'. If this alchemical image of contact appears to lack the dynamism and radiance, or 'splendour', of the metaphorical fire of contact that figures elsewhere in Reynolds's discourses, there is yet a certain potency in this latter depiction of contact as a potentially transformative and worthwhile (or — in our contemporary parlance — value-added) process.

While Hirst recommends that the fine art student in New Zealand seek out '[c]ontact with achievement', he offers little instruction except to suggest that it is difficult to arrive at via 'reproductions of standard works'; it is to Reynolds,

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[103] Ibid., p. 148.
[104] Ibid., p. 338.

who Hirst recommends, that the student must turn for instruction in the Academic methodology of contact upon which Hirst's advice relies.

Let me note, finally, as a segue into the following discussion of the second of Hirst's statements featuring the word "contact", one more observation concerning the metaphor of precious metal assay under discussion. In my reading of this metaphor thus far, I have shown that in his description of 'achievement which has passed the acid test of time' Hirst is speaking figuratively of precious metal, most likely gold, which is a metaphor for the old masters and/or works of art considered to be canonical, which Hirst, like Reynolds, values for their virtues of purity, truth, and beauty. I would now like to suggest that we not only read these works metaphorically as gold tried in the fire but also as the gold standard. Historically, there is a strong connection between these two ideas; their close entwinement is evident, for example, in the expression a '"sacred standard of metallic value"'.[105] The gold standard can be defined in a literal sense, as a financial system in which gold acts as 'a unit of account against which token currency and bank notes [are] measured';[106] and in a figurative sense, according to the *OED*, as 'a thing of superior quality which serves as a point of reference against which other things of its type may be compared'. If we transpose this metaphor into an art-historical register, the abstraction of the gold standard could be translated as the old masters or the

[105] 'The image of gold tried in the fire, which connoted the purification of Christians under the watchful eye of a divine assayer, achieved authority from its multiple biblical references and a centuries-old tradition of Protestant exegesis. The changing political economy of the gold that lay at the heart of the metaphor, however, altered the metaphor's impact after 1750. Specifically, the emerging de facto gold standard and the metaphor of gold tried by fire, both of which were especially popular among evangelicals, reinforced a faith that long-term rewards (prosperity and salvation, respectively) would repay short-term sacrifices. It was for this reason […] that politicians and clergymen alike referred to a "sacred standard of metallic value" when urging the official adoption of the gold standard in 1819.' Alborn, p. 430. Alborn quotes Lord Grenville speaking in 1819 on the necessity of the resumption of the gold standard, as cited in Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelism on Social and Economic Thought, 1785–1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 127. For a detailed discussion of the metaphorical language which resulted from the entwined discourses of religious belief and political economy in a British cultural context in the century from 1750–1850, see Alborn.

[106] Alborn, p. 428.

canon, which would render the concrete gold bullion of the standard as the works themselves, which are deposited in 'the great Art collections' that, according to Hirst, 'are the glory of the old world'.[107] In this case, and here I am extending the metaphor, the contemporary art (discourse) which Hirst seems to despise would be read — in contrast to the gold standard of the old masters — as currency: that is to say, as either coinage or paper money, which can be debased and devalued, and can depreciate and deteriorate, and is unlikely to survive (trial by) fire. Thus, we can read Hirst as warning us that while contemporary art (discourse) may have achieved wide circulation, in reproduction and/or in print, and a certain popularity, its value — unlike that of the old masters — can be overinflated, like the discourse of 'those self-appointed guides of our own day and generation, whose noisy vapourings all too easily reach our ears',[108] just as it is subject to depreciation.

To read the gold standard into Hirst's metaphor is to add a topical, political dimension to our understanding of its historical (Academic and biblical) aspects. Topical, because in April 1925, less than four years prior to the publication of 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand', the United Kingdom, along with its self-governing Dominions, returned to the gold standard after a hiatus of approximately six years, as Hirst, who had been an employee of the Bank of New Zealand in both the Dominion and in London prior to his career as a musician, would no doubt have been aware. In the British context of interwar internationalism, the return to the gold standard fostered a (re)new(ed) imaginary of imperial relations. For example, in announcing the return, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston Churchill, painted a cosy picture of future international and inter-imperial trade pegged to the economic security of the standard:

> That standard may, of course, vary in itself from time to time, but the position of all the countries related to it will vary together, like ships in a

[107] Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art', p. 177.
[108] Ibid., p. 177.

> harbour whose gangways are joined and who rise and fall together with the tide.[109]

I would argue that this change in the political economy of gold, and the imaginary it gave rise to, or through which it arose, 'alter[s] the metaphor's impact' even if it cannot be said to have directly informed Hirst's usage of the metaphor.[110]

The renewed political significance of the interwar gold standard has certainly impacted my reading of the metaphor, which, in the light of this context, has acquired a different — less harsh, but not exactly rosy — colour. Viewed through the metaphorical lens of the gold standard, rather than, or in addition to, the figure of gold tried in the fire, the *standard* of the gold standard, institutionalised through the Academic method and the canon, appears less of a stringent measure that the artist in New Zealand could not have hoped to attain, and more a mode of international, if not universal, exchange and connectivity which allowed the New Zealand artist to participate in a wider world of art. Of course, not long after the publication of Hirst's article, the relations tethering the countries together in Churchill's metaphorical harbour proved to be asymmetrical, which led substantially to the breakdown of the interwar gold standard and to worldwide economic depression — a significant context for Fairburn's denouncement, in 1934, of the 'umbilical cord of butterfat' that 'held [New Zealand] in strict [economic and cultural] dependence on the motherland'.[111] Indeed, just as the interwar gold standard (re)produced asymmetrical international relationships, so the Academy and the canon also (re)produced certain (national, racial, and social) disparities amongst art and artists. And however short-lived, idealistic, or optimistic such an

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[109] Winston Churchill quoted in House of Commons, 'Return to Gold Standard', in *Hansard*, HC Deb 28 April 1925, vol. 183, cc. 52–58 (cc. 57–58) <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1925/apr/28/return-to-gold-standard> [accessed 21 July 2022].

[110] My argument follows Alborn, who shows how '[t]he changing political economy of the gold that lay at the heart of the metaphor […] altered the metaphor's impact after 1750' (p. 430).

[111] Fairburn, p. 214. In using the expression 'umbilical cord of butterfat', Fairburn is referring to the Dominion's commodity dependence upon the United Kingdom as the main market for New Zealand's primary products, such as butter and lamb.

imaginary may now appear to have been in actuality, it is, however, still important, in my view, to consider the significance of this internationalist discourse which demarcated interwar imperialism from that of the longue durée of British imperialism at large.

Intimate Contact and Friendship

The second of the two statements concerned explicitly with contact appears near the start of the paragraph immediately following the two in which Hirst offers advice to the 'student of Fine Art in New Zealand', discussed at length above. In this parenthetical explanation, Hirst seeks to clarify his personal position in relation to his native country:

> There are real grounds for optimism as one looks at New Zealand from the outside. (The writer is a New Zealander, but after living for more than twenty years in various European countries, and having had intimate contact and friendship with artists of a dozen different nationalities, he feels himself to be *au dessus de la melée*.)[112]

In fact, Hirst positions himself strategically, and ambiguously, as at once outside and inside New Zealand. As 'a New Zealander', he is not simply 'look[ing] at New Zealand from the outside', despite the critical distance he may have gained through both his prolonged absence from the country and his experience of other national and culturally diverse contexts. And in laying claim to a certain New Zealand identity but presenting it as one of several national identities to which he might also have a legitimate claim,[113] Hirst in fact

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[112] Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art', p. 177.

[113] It is important to remember that when Hirst was writing in 1929 there were no New Zealand citizens; the Dominion's population comprised only British subjects or resident aliens. It was not until 1949, when New Zealand citizenship was instituted, that the term "New Zealander" could straightforwardly denote a person's citizenship, as well as connoting a national and/or cultural identity. Thus, in calling himself 'a New Zealander', Hirst is, at the very least, using the term pragmatically to identify himself as a British subject who was born and spent his childhood and youth in New Zealand. It is difficult to say what, if any, further significance, that is, what cultural and/or national sentiments, the term "New Zealander" might have conveyed for Hirst, beyond imparting a rough indication of one aspect of his biography. Most obviously, Hirst could have legitimately claimed a British — rather than, or in addition to, a New Zealand — cultural and/or national identity, and perhaps did so in other contexts. And under different circumstances, he might also have been able to claim a certain German identity — that is, if war had not broken out in 1914, which, according to his own

demonstrates that he does not straightforwardly belong to the nation of New Zealand as would an insider.[114] Moreover, in presenting himself as a close associate of 'artists of a dozen different nationalities', and as thus presumably entwined in a complex network of personal, linguistic, social, cultural, national, and imperial relations, to name but a few of the strands which might make up such a web, Hirst is not merely boasting of his own cosmopolitanism, but constructs from his personal situation of immersion in a certain European intellectual and artistic matrix an authorial position of cultural authority,[115] which somehow places him, in his own estimation, "above the fray".[116] It is from this apparently comparatively neutral vantage point that Hirst surveys the prospect of fine art in New Zealand, and proceeds, in the rest of the paragraph, to lavish the cultural development of New Zealand with praise in comparison to that of the United States.

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report, forced him to abandon 'practically all his possessions in Germany' in his flight from Bergen to London, as well as his German fiancée, to whom he 'was to have been married in a few weeks' and never did marry. For a report of Hirst's flight to London and consequential loss of possessions, see 'New Zealanders Abroad', *Dominion*, 29 October 1914, p. 2; and for a report of Hirst's intention to marry 'a German lady', see 'From London', *Otago Daily Times*, 9 October 1914, p. 7.

[114] As Ashley Thompson points out: 'To claim inclusion, we might say, [is] something only an outsider would do, and is, from an historical point of view at the very least, of a different order to the relatively straightforward belonging of the insider.' *Engendering the Buddhist State*, p. 14.

[115] A reporter also notes a similar point to the one I have made above concerning Hirst's authority as a commentator on cultural affairs: 'Enormous experience of artistic life and close friendship with men eminent in all the arts and sciences […] has constituted Mr Hirst an authority whom we are proud to present to our readers.' L. D. A., 'Thoughts about Music', *Evening Star*, 22 June 1937, p. 14.

[116] The French expression that Hirst uses here, '*au dessus de la melée*', is frequently translated into English as "above the fray"; it is derived from the title of Romain Rolland's text, *Au-dessus de la mêlée* (Paul Ollendorff: Paris, 1915), which has been variously described as 'a pacifist manifesto' (see for example Christophe Charle, 'Rebuilding a Europe of Intellectuals (1918–1939)', in *Cultural Organizations, Networks and Mediators in Contemporary Ibero-America*, ed. by Diana Roig-Sanz and Jaume Subriana (Routledge; New York, 2020), pp. 24–45 (p. 24)); and 'a controversial pamphlet […] exhorting the intellectuals of France and Germany to cooperate in the quest for truth, humanity, and peace' (see the entry for Romain Rolland in the reference work *Who's Who in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford UP: Oxford, 1999). It is quite likely that Hirst had read this publication and/or was familiar with the work of Rolland, who had also written several texts on Beethoven as well as the novel *Jean-Christophe*, a fictional account of a German composer which was first published in instalments between 1904 and 1912.

While Hirst says no more about his 'intimate contact and friendship with artists' in this text, he regularly discussed this subject when speaking with reporters in New Zealand and the United Kingdom about his time in Europe; Hirst's European experience is often reported of in terms of contact. Upon his return from New Zealand to London, for example, Hirst is reported to have been 'in close contact with the people on terms of linguistic equality' during his two-month summer vacation in Germany, from which he had recently returned.[117] And addressing the Wanganui Rotary Club while on a trip to New Zealand in 1947, Hirst is reported to have said of his time in Berlin that: 'A musician's lot in Berlin was good and he was accorded with honour and respect from all he came into contact with.'[118] That Hirst's European intercourse is often narrated in these reports in terms of contact is surely reflective to a certain extent of Hirst's own framing of his experience. In the reported descriptions of the artistic milieu with/in which Hirst (was) associated, we can garner some impression of the sphere(s) that Hirst speaks of in terms of intimacy, although it is difficult to apprehend the difference between an 'intimate friend', such as the painter Frank Dicksee, a 'personal friend', such as the conductors Boyd Neel and Sir Thomas Beecham, and a 'great friend', such as the composer Sergei Rachmaninoff.[119] Intimacy is, however, attributed a significant and active role in Hirst's career as a musician: we are told that it was through his intimate acquaintance with Dicksee that Hirst 'became so enamoured of fine art that he saw no other course open to him than to forsake commerce altogether and embark upon some artistic career'.[120]

As an historical figure, Hirst is perhaps best known for his friendship with Rachmaninoff — their correspondence is held in the Sergei Rachmaninoff

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[117] 'Notes and Comments: "The War Guilt Lie"', *New Zealand Herald*, 22 September 1931, p. 8.
[118] 'Wanganui Rotary Entertained by World Traveller', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 3 September 1947, p. 4.
[119] For a description of Hirst as 'an intimate friend of Frank Dicksee', see L. D. A., 'Thoughts about Music', p. 14; and for a description of Hirst as 'a personal friend of Boyd Neel and Sir Thomas Beecham' and 'a great friend of Rachmaninoff', see 'Musician and Lecturer: Mr Arthur Hirst's Visit', *Evening Star*, 28 March 1947, p. 4.
[120] Ibid., L. D. A., p. 14.

Archive at the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, and he is mentioned in several musicological texts. The letters preserved in this archive are perhaps the only record of Hirst's contact with any artist (or anyone) — at least they are the only primary source of which I am aware that might attest to Hirst's 'intimate contact and friendship with artists'. Such primary research as an enquiry into the archive that I have identified above would entail, let alone an investigation that sought to turn up new sources, is obviously beyond the scope of this thesis.

In lieu of what cannot be presently known about Hirst's intimate relationships with artists in Europe, in the final discussion of this section on Hirst's discourse below, I will look more closely at the possible and probable associations of Hirst with certain figures of the local art world in New Zealand, some of whom he would almost certainly have met during his visit in 1929, which resulted in the publication of 'The Future of Fine Art' in the only local magazine for fine art at the time. In what follows, I not only attempt to speculatively reconstruct a local (New Zealand) context for the publication of Hirst's article, I also explore the ways in which such a context may have intersected with and brushed up against British-world discourses and practices. And in reading 'The Future of Fine Art' in relation to the discourse of Hirst the pianist's lecture-recitals as reported in contemporary music criticism, I attempt to draw out some indicative notion, if not a thorough conception, of Hirst's understanding of the interrelationship between music and the other fine arts, which could be considered in terms of contact, although I do not develop this idea here.

Finally, I should tell the reader that this last section was in fact written before any of the preceding text on Hirst. Thus, in reading what follows, the reader will come full circle, arriving at what was the point of departure for my close reading of Hirst. I mention this only because it has not been revised in light of the above discussion, and I am certain that in doing so a certain synthesis of our understanding of Hirst's discourse of contact could be achieved.

The Publication of an Article 'Written with Distinction and Authority'

Arthur Hirst's short essay 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand' appeared in the third number of *Art in New Zealand* in March 1929 (Figure 2.2). At the time of publication, Hirst, a musician, was on tour in New Zealand.[121] During his brief visit — the first he had paid to the country of his birth since his departure for Europe some twenty years earlier — Hirst performed three pianoforte lecture-recitals titled 'The True Appreciation of Great Music', in which he rendered excerpts from an eclectic canon of composers to illustrate a discourse on music. By demonstrating what he called the 'indestructible first principles' of the fine art of music,[122] Hirst aimed to make classical music intelligible for the 'average man',[123] or, it could be argued, the 'ordinary listener', a figure that circulated concurrently in music appreciation discourse, to which Hirst subscribed.[124]

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[121] Hirst arrived in Wellington on 25 February 1929 and departed for London on 9 May 1929. It is quite likely that he wrote the article in the short time between his arrival and the publication of the magazine in March, which I can only date as prior to the earliest press review of this issue: 'Art in New Zealand', *Auckland Star*, 23 March 1929, p. 2. Hirst's contribution to the quarterly was noted in this and one other review: 'Art in New Zealand', *Evening Post*, 13 April 1929, p. 21.

[122] While Hirst does not individuate the 'first principles' he refers to here, which he calls elements elsewhere, he does state in parenthesis that they are 'the same in all the Fine Arts'. Hirst, 'The Future of Fine Art', p. 178. In a lecture on modern music, Hirst is reported to have nominated line (and equated line with tune) as 'an essential element in all form in all art'. J. G., 'Points from Lectures', *The Musical Times*, 68 (1927), 424–26 (p. 426). And in another on the use value of music, he is said to have classified his examples to illustrate (the beauty of) colour, melody, and rhythm, all qualities that — if we understand melody as tune and (following Hirst) therefore line — can be observed in visual art, if not 'all the Fine Arts'. 'The Value of Music', *Daily Mail*, 28 March 1928, p. 10.

[123] For a report of Hirst's discussion of 'the average man's attitude toward music' see, 'Joy of Great Music', *NZ Herald*, 16 April 1929, p. 10. Hirst regularly opened his lectures on the appreciation of music with a statement such as: 'The layman did not need technical knowledge […] to appreciate music, but it was wrong to say that he could appreciate it without thinking about it. They [the layman] did not need to know how a thing was done, but why it was done.' J. G., 'Points from Lectures', *The Musical Times*, 69 (May 1928), 417–18.

[124] From 1926, for four years, the BBC broadcast the radio programme 'Music and the Ordinary Listener' presented by Sir Walford Davies. The 'ordinary listener' is a later version of two earlier figures of music appreciation: the 'everyman' and 'plain man' that derive from Percy A. Scholes' *Everyman and his Music*, a volume of essays reprinted from three sources including the magazine *Everyman* (from which Scholes presumably appropriated the figure so central to his book), first published in 1917 and, given that a fifth (undated) edition was published, most likely in print, or at least widely available, in the 1920s. Scholes identifies the everyman in the introduction, which

opens: 'That in every age and in every place the Everyman has made music is a simple truth that admits of no denial. Whether he live in a palace or a slum, his hours of recreation demand its help.' Here Scholes at once appoints the everyman his purpose: to demand help (to listen), or 'to *need* music' (emphasis Scholes's own) as he puts it in the closing line of the introduction; and also assigns the task of music appreciation: to provide for the requirements of the everyman who in his pursuit of self-improvement must desire to learn how to listen to serious music, and in turn require from the everyman 'repeated, attentive listening' (Megan Pricter, 'Appreciation of Music', in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. by Alison Latham (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), u.p.). Furthermore, this statement is a typical example of the discourse of music appreciation, insofar as it posits, firstly, music as universal, and secondly, the universal value of music appreciation, in a bid to ensure the supply and demand of the music appreciation industry. The plain man appears in chapter twenty, 'The Fugue and the Plain Man': 'The plain man tells us that nothing bores him so quickly […] The fact is that the musician is in possession of two or three simple little facts that are unsuspected by the plain man; with these to guide him, he knows how to listen. Here are these facts: let the plain man grasp them and listen accordingly, and with a little perseverance in applying them, he too will gain pleasure from the fugue.' Here Scholes counsels the plain man to listen, and encourages him to convert (or revert, as the case may be) his leisure time into labour; he must first apply just 'a little perseverance' in order to 'gain pleasure', i.e., to recuperate his labour. Scholes' advice betrays the origins of the music appreciation campaign, which developed out of self-improvement texts of the 1890s. Scholes (1877–1958) was a prominent figure in the music appreciation movement in Britain, which sought to improve public taste in music, and 'aimed to explain and promote serious works in non-technical language' (ibid., Pricter). Many of the statements that Hirst is reported to have made during his lectures echo Scholes's cited above, suggesting that Hirst was aware of Scholes's text(s), if he had not read them himself, and/or familiar with the discourse of music appreciation in general. The following is a prime example: 'One of the tragedies of music was very often that music which had come from the heart was used merely as a medium of some technical accomplishment, without the performer realising what he was doing. The listener then failed to get the message, and said, 'Oh, I am shut out of classical music; it is beyond me. […] If they were ordinary people they should not worry because they could not appreciate a Bach fugue or other complicated music. But they must know something of the heart that was talking to them; they must have some clue. With that little guidance, there was no reason why they should not enter into the great gallery of pictures of the human heart.' (Hirst quoted in J. G., 'Points from Lectures' (1928), p. 418.) Here Hirst disapproves of a performance that displays technical accomplishment but lacks 'heart', condemning such a performance as tragic, and for this reason he discourages the appreciation of virtuosity; or in other words, Hirst encourages 'ordinary people' to appreciate the non-technical in music, and thus upholds a tenet of musical appreciation. In Hirst's adaptation of Scholes' fugue scenario, the former's 'little guidance' sounds like the latter's 'simple little facts'. Moreover, Hirst's ordinary listener voices a complaint just as Scholes's plain man expresses his boredom; in both cases, the voices function rhetorically to engage the audience in their own reception of the writers' advice. Thus, it is safe to say that it is no coincidence that Hirst selects a fugue as his example of 'complicated music'.

Dubbed '[a]dvice with examples',[125] Hirst's performances took their analytical format from the tradition (or innovations) of music appreciation.[126] Moreover, they were typical, if not identical, in both content and format to the concert-lectures that he gave in London and provincial venues across Britain in the 1920s while working in the main for Suburban Lectures,[127] an adult education scheme that supplied popular lectures free of charge to suitable institutions, such as public libraries and the Workers' Educational Association, with the explicit (albeit vague) aim of reaching 'the widest possible public'.[128]

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[125] 'Musical Appreciation: Mr. A. Hirst's Lecture: Advice with examples', *NZ Herald*, 17 April 1929, p. 15.

[126] For an introduction to the historical development of the analytical format of music appreciation texts and concert lectures in Britain, in relation to technological innovations, see in particular episode three of 'The Music Appreciation Movement', *The Essay*, BBC Radio 3, 22–26 August 2011 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b014245l> [accessed 1 February 2016].

[127] Hirst worked for Suburban Lectures, London, between 1920 and 1927, for the entire duration of the eight sessions that the scheme ran; this seems to have been his most permanent form of employment at the time. While Hirst's work for Suburban Lectures was carried out in England, bar an appointment in Cardiff, he was also invited to lecture by many other societies throughout the United Kingdom, and occasionally in Germany and Sweden, during this same period. One of the lectures that Hirst offered was 'How to Appreciate Great Music'; he first gave it for Suburban Lectures in 1922 and delivered it on a further fifty-one occasions. His performance of this signature lecture was not exclusive to Suburban Lectures; in 1927 he performed it as part of the Armitstead lecture series in Dundee. Given the regularity with which Hirst performed this particular lecture, and the similarity of the titles, Hirst's New Zealand performances of 'The True Appreciation of Great Music' were in all probability based upon his previous performances of 'How to Appreciate Great Music'. For full details of the scheme and Hirst's involvement, see I. C. Gröndahl and John Martin, *Report on the Suburban Lectures, London, 1919 to 1922 (1919–1927), with an Account of Arrangements for the Session 1922–23* (Suburban Lectures: London, 1923–28).

[128] The aim of Suburban Lectures, according to the scheme's secretary I. C. Gröndahl, was 'to reach the widest possible public and stimulate the demands for knowledge which more special courses like those of the University Extension can satisfy'. I. C. Gröndahl and John Martin, 'Arrangements for the Session 1924–25', in Gröndahl and Martin, *Report on the Suburban Lectures*, u.p. While the Suburban Lectures reports do not specify who was to constitute the 'widest possible public', other than nominating an adult public, the identity, and in particular the gender, of the suburban lecturegoer has been discussed, and typified, in the broader context of university extension; in this context, Hirst's figure of the 'average man' is rendered more specifically as the 'man who finds his home in the suburbs' and the 'average [London] City man', neither of whom are necessarily working class. 'University Extension: The Suburban Lecture', *The Academy and Literature*, 20 February 1904, pp. 203–04. Hirst appears to have personally valued an idea of universal or general education; in 1923, he was reported to have stated, 'I am going to settle in Scotland, where people in general are really

Hirst's ambitions for the 'average man', and indeed his lecture practice, can be understood, then, in relation to the music appreciation movement and in the more general context of the 'widening of higher education' in interwar Britain.[129]

While in Wellington, the first stop on his itinerary, Hirst also lectured on 'The Place of Fine Art in General Education', which was broadcast live on local radio. Although not advertised as either a concert-lecture or lecture-recital, we can only assume that, because the usual evening programme of music was 'interrupted at 9 o'clock to permit of a lecture being given by Mr. Arthur Hirst',[130] Hirst did in fact play as well as talk, and thus the term 'fine art' is used here in its broadest sense to refer to the 'five arts', including music.[131] With the

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keen on education and take delight in thoughtful things.' 'Mr. Arthur Hirst's Last Visit to Exeter', *Devon and Exeter Gazette*, 14 November 1923, p. 7.

[129] As an 'apparatus' of extramural education, the suburban lecture was deemed instrumental in the 'continuous widening and deepening of higher education' in interwar Britain, which some considered 'essential to the national wellbeing' at the time. 'The Widening of Higher Education', *The Times*, 24 January 1921, p. 12. Although Suburban Lectures only offered popular lecture courses, unlike other schemes such as the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching, founded in 1875 and incorporated into the University of London in 1901, which not only offered students suburban lectures but classes, examinations and a Certificate of Continuous Study, the popular suburban lectures of the Suburban Lectures scheme were regarded, at least by the scheme's advocates, to feed into the more specialist university extension courses, and can thus be considered constitutive of the aforementioned 'widening of higher education', or at least to have contributed to the discourse of higher education at this time. Thus, alongside and in conjunction with the university extension schemes, the Suburban Lectures scheme played a role, albeit a minor one, in the reorganisation of higher education in Britain, which in part aimed to dismantle the 'privileged body' of the ancient university. For a commentary on the university extension schemes, including suburban lectures, in the context of the formation of a metropolitan university for London and the breakdown of privilege (p. 39), and in relation to the longue durée of university reformations in Britain, see Karl Pearson, 'The Charter of a London Teaching University', *The Academy*, 9 Jan 1892, pp. 38–40.

[130] 'Radio Programmes Monday, 4th March', *Evening Post*, 4 March 1929, p. 5.

[131] Historically, the term "fine art" was not used exclusively to refer to the visual arts: 'In the 17th century […] soon after the visual arts received recognition as liberal, they came to be seen as differing significantly from the likes of grammar, logic, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, and rhetoric, in their aesthetic dimension, and thus a new term was coined, the "fine arts" or *les beaux arts*, incorporating painting, sculpture, architecture, and poetry. Music, previously only studied as a theoretical art, was often included among this new group, which was thus also known as the "five arts".' Timothy Hunter, 'Liberal Arts', in *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*, ed. by Hugh Brigstocke (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001). Thus, in using the term "fine art", Hirst may well

exception of the entry in the radio programme that informs us that the lecture took place, I know of no other account of the event and thus have no definite way of knowing what content the lecture comprised or if the topic was similar to that of another of Hirst's texts, i.e., lectures or articles. This lecture is not one that Hirst offered through the Suburban Lectures programme; thus we can conclude that it was not a regular feature in his repertoire — but how anomalous was it? It seems to be the only one of Hirst's lectures on record in which the terms 'fine art' and 'general education' are used in the title, and thus, unlike in the case of 'The True Appreciation of Great Music', the title is not indicative of an obvious comparison. Importantly, however, the article 'The

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have meant (the fine art of) music. Elsewhere Hirst does indeed speak of the 'fine art of music'; this fact would seem to support my assumption. For reports of Hirst's use of the phrase, see for example 'Appreciation of Good Music: Mr. Arthur Hirst's Lecture in Dundee', *Courier and Advertiser* (Dundee, Scotland), 17 December 1927, p. 5; George Williams, 'Musical Notes and Comments', *Devon and Exeter Daily Gazette*, 21 October 1929, p. 3; J. G., 'Points from Lectures', *The Musical Times*, 69 (May 1928), pp. 417–18, p. 418. If this is the case, then we can understand Hirst's phraseology as the result of a straightforward truncation of the phrase 'the fine art of music'; however, it does seem that there is an ambiguity in Hirst's use of the singular term "fine art", which he prefers to the plural "fine arts", that is more a matter of the shifting terminology that Hunter describes, that is, of a certain play within the term "fine arts" generated in relation to the changing concept of the liberal arts. If we believe this to be the case, then we can say that Hirst allows a certain slippage to occur, wherein the term "fine art" is used to refer at once to music and to all five of the fine arts, which means that what could be understood simply as a truncation can also be said to act as a generalisation. Moreover, in both Britain and New Zealand at the time Hirst was lecturing, music and art were increasingly valued as curricular subjects and a means of general education; there was thus a certain equivalence, and thereby an interchangeability, of music and art in progressive British-world discourses of education that could have added to the currency of such ambiguity. If Hirst did discuss the visual arts, however, it would not have been the first time that he had addressed a fine art subject other than music or played in a visual (arts) context; he occasionally gave suburban lectures on poetry, and several times accompanied lantern slide shows on the piano. Hirst lectured on the poets: Robert Browning (1812–89) in 1922 and 1924; Robert Burns (1759–96) five times between 1922 and 1925; and Henrik Wergeland (1808–45), Walt Whitman (1819–92) and Edward Carpenter (1844–1929) together in 1926. He also assisted Gröndahl, Lecturer in Norwegian at the University of London, with the lantern-recital lecture 'Norwegian Scenes and Melodies', twice in 1926 and 1927. Although it is not clear if the 'scenes' projected while Hirst played were images (for example, paintings, drawings, or prints) made by artists or simply photographs, Gröndahl had lectured on visual art on at least one previous occasion; in 1921 he gave the slide lecture 'Glimpses of Norwegian Art and Literature', assisted by Norwegian poet and translator Arna Heni. See Gröndahl and Martin, *Report on the Suburban Lectures*.

Future of Fine Art in New Zealand', which is ultimately the text under discussion, is the only other of Hirst's discourses on record to use the term 'fine art' in the title. That this article was most likely written around the same time that 'The Place of Fine Art in General Education' was broadcast is perhaps no coincidence then; it is even possible that the article could in fact be a transcript (or adaptation) of the broadcast, now present in name only. Finally, while it is difficult to say just why the term 'fine art' emerged — or surfaced, so to speak, for we do know that Hirst often made recourse in the body of his lectures to a certain concept of fine art — unprecedentedly in the titles of two of the few texts that Hirst released in the short time he was in New Zealand, perhaps we can say that this coincidence points to the topicality of art education in New Zealand at the time.[132]

On the day that Hirst arrived in Wellington an article titled 'Art in Industry' was published in the local newspaper;[133] it covered an address given by Lord Eustace Percy, then president of the Board of Education governing England and

[132] A general context for the topicality of art education in New Zealand at the time of Hirst's visit is the ongoing public debate that was generated in response to an enquiry conducted by the Council of Education in June 1928, which found widespread neglect of art and music instruction in New Zealand secondary schools. For an outline of the Council's recommendations, see 'Music and Art Instruction in Schools', *NZ Herald*, 9 June 1928, p. 13. The Council's findings seem to have encouraged much public discussion on the value of a general arts education. On the benefits of taking both an academic and a utilitarian approach to education, see for example 'Learning and Life', *NZ Herald*, 20 May 1929, p. 10; and on the value of the humanities as pendant to technical instruction, 'Lyceum Club Gathering', *NZ Herald*, 23 August 1929, p. 17, in which it is stated that: 'Art, as a means of beauty, should be taken more seriously in our schools.' Demands for better provision of arts education in New Zealand would have been able to draw upon earlier such calls voiced in Britain, for example, that of the National Society of Art Masters who, in 1911, claimed that 'the people had a right to sound education in art, apart altogether from questions of trade or vocation' ('Art in Education', *The Times*, 28 July 1911, p. 9); or that of Sydney Carline, Ruskin Master of Drawing at Oxford University, who later claimed that art education was neglected in British schools and, in the words of his correspondent, pleaded 'for better education in the fine arts and for recognition by the universities of art as a useful subject of study, indeed, as a subject without which education is quite incomplete.' 'Art and the Nation: Correcting Public Indifference', *The Times*, 3 July 1922, p. 15; 'Art and the Nation: Plain Teaching for Normal People', *The Times*, 5 July 1922, p. 15.

[133] 'Art in Industry', *Evening Post,* 25 February 1929, p. 9. This report is taken from the *Daily Telegraph*. For an alternative London report, see also 'Associations in Conference: Lord E. Percy on Art Schools', *The Times*, 4 January 1929, p. 7.

Wales, to the National Society of Art Masters in London a few months earlier.[134] According to this report, Percy proposed improvements in the area of fine art education in response to increasing industrial demand for higher standards of applied art; he questioned the separate function of art and technical schools, and called for 'closer cooperation' between the two types of institutions, and between these and industry.[135] While Percy's arguments may have been well rehearsed,[136] his suggestions, or at least the circumstances he was addressing,

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[134] Percy addressed the society at the 17th Annual Conference of Educational Associations held at University College, London on 3 January 1929.

[135] Both the articles 'Art in Industry' and 'Associations in Conference' report Percy's call for closer cooperation, but here I use the phrasing of the latter.

[136] Percy's arguments rehearse longstanding debates on liberal versus applied knowledge that have played out in the British context of art education. These debates, structured by opposing instrumentalist and humanist views, can be traced to (responses to) the 1836 *Report of the Select Committee on Arts and their Connexion with Manufactures* in particular. The report comprises the findings of a government select committee, which 'sat in 1835–36', according to Brandon Taylor in his discussion of the report in relation to the foundation of the new National Gallery in Trafalgar Square, London, 'to inquire into', and here Taylor cites the report itself, '"the best means of extending a knowledge of the Arts and of the principles of Design among the People (especially to the Manufacturing Population) of the Country"'. Brandon Taylor, *Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public 1747–2001* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999), p. 51; see also pp. 45–46. The report also sought, according to Robert Snape's discussion of it in relation to the establishment of municipal museums in Britain, to 'promote improvement in the design of consumer products and to enhance Britain's economic competitiveness', which would ultimately lead to, in the report's own words, "the extension of the national prosperity". See, Robert Snape, 'Objects of Utility: Cultural Responses to Industrial Collections in Municipal Museums 1845-1914', *Museum and Society*, 8 (2010), 18–36 (p. 18). By stressing an impending increase in the rapidity of industrial progress, Percy employed a mercantilist logic aligned with that of the Report's imperative emphasis on improvements in industrial design, in an argument that at first seems to take an industry-led approach to art education: 'More than ever before industry was demanding a higher standard of art education. The danger he saw now was that industry was asking, or about to ask, for a higher standard of art education than they were in a position to give.' However, in an about-face, Percy also proposed a bottom-up solution that reflected then current arguments for general education and appeased his audience of art teachers: 'to approach the problem from the point of view of art as applied to industry was to begin at the wrong end […] the direction from which to approach the question of art education was that of education in the fine arts'. In Percy's view, this more liberal approach would still result in success for the nation: 'a nation would have a high standard of industrial art if it had a great school in the fine arts.' Although Percy tends to lean towards a certain liberalism, the conclusion of his argument, insofar as it delivers national prosperity, is thus wrapped up within the parameters of the enduring, yet oscillating, argument put forward by the Report in 1836. Percy quoted in 'Associations in Conference', *The Times*, 4 January 1929.

would have been pertinent to the situation of art education in Wellington at the time. A proposal for the accommodation of an art school within the nearly completed west wing of Wellington Technical College was under consideration, which, if approved, meant that the fine and applied arts would be taught in close proximity. In April, at a reception held at the college for Christopher Perkins, who had recently arrived from England to take up his appointment as art instructor, the director John Howell put forward an argument for the amalgamation of art and technical schools. Howell 'maintained that the college afforded the opportunity for co-operation among the different sides of college life',[137] an assertion that echoes Percy's appeal for cooperation.[138] Also present at the reception was William Sanderson La Trobe, the Superintendent of Technical Education for the New Zealand government's education department, who speculated that notwithstanding the employment of 'some fourteen or fifteen teachers from England in recent years […] the time was not far distant when New Zealand would be able to supply its own art teachers'.[139] La Trobe thus implied that Perkins, the recent recruit of what is now called the La Trobe scheme, was not only filling a local position but one that represented a gap in the national provision of art education in New Zealand. Perkins was certainly impressed from the outset by the national significance of his role; he regarded the development of art institutions in the city as signifying 'a critical period in

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[137] Howell quoted in 'Technical College: New Art Teacher', *Evening Post*, 6 April 1929, p. 7.

[138] In saying this, I do not mean to suggest that Howell's ideas are derivative of Percy's, only that it is not difficult to imagine Howell making use of Percy's recent statements to support his own position, in the interests of the college, on the matter of the proposed (re-)organisation of technical and fine art education in Wellington. Furthermore, in seeking solutions to the situation of technical education in New Zealand, Howell not only looked to Britain, but also to America. For example, in 1921, at a meeting of the college board of governors, he suggested 'the introduction of the American system of co-operation between employers and the technical schools'. 'Unskilled Labour', *Press*, 27 April 1921, p. 6. See also, 'American Virtues', *NZ Herald*, 20 May 1922, p. 10; and 'Much to Learn: New Zealand's Education Cost', *Evening Post*, 26 July 1927, p. 14. For Howell's doubts on the suitability of American solutions for the New Zealand situation, see 'Education in the Arts', *NZ Herald*, 15 May 1923, p. 8; and on junior high schools in particular, see 'Junior High Schools: Relation to Technical Education', *Evening Post*, 1 June 1926, p. 8; and the American composite school, see 'Education Ideals', *Auckland Star*, 20 December 1928, p. 9.

[139] La Trobe quoted in 'Technical College: New Art Teacher'.

the history of art training in New Zealand'.[140] It is in this arena, constituted as much by imperial as local and national politics, where the 'negotiation of the Dominion–Britain relationship' takes place,[141] that Hirst's article 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand' intervenes.

Perhaps Harry Tombs, director of *Art in New Zealand*, was prompted to invite Hirst to contribute to the upcoming issue of the quarterly upon listening to the broadcast of his discourse on the topical subject of fine art education.[142] Hirst's notion of fine art and his commitment to music education may have appealed to Tombs because they were relevant to his own sphere of interests. Tombs, an amateur artist and member of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, was present at the college reception for Perkins and certainly aware of current, and indeed long-standing, debates on art education, at least in the

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[140] Perkins quoted in 'New Art Teacher for Technical College', *Evening Post*, 4 March 1929, p. 11.

[141] For an account of the 'constitutional and procedural fluidity' that governed the Dominions in relation to Britain in the interwar years, which allowed for certain expressions of Dominion autonomy that in turn shaped 'domestic and international British attitudes', and from which the 'Dominion–Britain relationship' emerges in the 1920s, see Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012), pp. 23–24. In referencing Gorman's articulation of the 'Dominion–Britain relationship', I do not mean to imply that the situation of art education in Wellington which I have attempted to describe here is circumscribed by this relationship, but only that the politics involved and discourses employed are not exclusively domestic or national. I do mean to remind the reader, however, that at this time Britain actively sought to engage in and thereby learn from both the practice and institutional organisation of education in the Dominions. It was common for education officials who worked in Britain to travel to the Dominions, and vice versa, for the purposes of studying alternative, reputedly British, systems of education, and to lecture as part of their exchange. Reports of such visits regularly made the headlines. See for example 'Methods of Education: America and England: Australian's Impressions', *NZ Herald*, 8 April 1926, p. 9; 'Education in Secondary Schools: New Zealand Headmaster on Needs of Today', *The Times*, 18 October 1929, p. 23; 'Education in England: Higher Standard Attained: The New Zealand System: Evils of Centralisation', *NZ Herald*, 23 January 1930, p. 15. Furthermore, these officials were attending the same international conferences on education. Importantly, teachers were also mobile in the British Empire at this time. See for example Jody Crutchley, 'Teacher Mobility and Transnational, "British World" Space: The League of the Empire's "Interchange of Home and Dominion Teachers", 1907–1931', *History of Education*, 44 (2015), 729–48.

[142] The editors of the first issue of *Art in New Zealand* explicitly state that the reader can expect to find, in the first and upcoming issues of the magazine, 'articles from specially-commissioned pens'. Harry H. Tombs and C. A. Marris, 'Ourselves', *AiNZ*, 1.1 (1928), pp. 5–6 (p. 6).

Wellington context.[143] He was also a practising musician. Before he embarked on a career in publishing, Tombs, like Hirst, had trained at a conservatorium in Germany; and in Wellington he not only performed in concert but also played official roles in various musical societies, some of which occupied him in certain aspects of music education.[144] Furthermore, as a violinist, watercolourist, and printmaker, Tombs had first-hand experience of working across the fine arts in such a way that would have enabled him to appreciate the 'indestructible first principles' of fine art so central to Hirst's message.

There is another factor, however, which may have motivated Tombs to solicit a text from Hirst for publication. Given his involvement in the musical

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[143] In 1908 Tombs, under the auspices of Whitcombe & Tombs, acquired the monthly magazine *Progress*, which had been published in Wellington by Baldwin & Rayward since November 1905. Whitcombe & Tombs first published *Progress* in August 1908, however, under Tombs the scope of the magazine narrowed its original concern with 'progress in every phase of commerce' (see the foreword of the first issue) to focus on architecture, and in 1914 the name of the magazine was changed to *N.Z. Building Progress* to more accurately reflect its content; in 1924 the title ceased publication altogether. In September 1907, *Progress* ran an article on Wellington Technical College; and in January 1908, shortly before Tombs acquired *Progress*, the magazine reproduced an editorial which had appeared in the *Illustrated Carpenter and Builder* and that appraised the college favourably on the basis of the presentation of the aforementioned article for a British metropolitan audience. It is highly likely that Tombs read these articles, if not as a subscriber and interested citizen then as a proprietor with a view to making a successful investment, and was thus familiar with the provision of art and technical education in Wellington. Furthermore, it was the Technical College that was training the local workforce to deliver the material "progress" from which the magazine's content was in part drawn, as well as supplying an able workforce for the printery. Thus, in addition to the value he placed on a liberal education in the arts, or at least on his own, Tombs had a vested interest in art and technical education from the standpoint of the requirements of industry.

[144] Between 1910 and 1922, Tombs variously performed the functions of honorary secretary and trustee of the Wellington Amateur Orchestral Society; and councillor, honorary treasurer, and vice president of the Wellington Society of Musicians. In 1919, he was appointed as Wellington's local secretary for Trinity College of Music, London; in this role, which he was still performing in 1942, he was responsible for publishing examination results, and was also involved in arranging the provision of teacher training, delivered by the visiting examiners. In 1925 he adjudicated the violin section of the Wellington Competitions Society annual festival. Furthermore, in 1926 he was involved in the organisation of a summer school for music teachers, held at Victoria University College, Wellington, in January 1927. According to one report, the lecture course would provide music teachers with 'some means of keeping in touch with the latest developments of musical education, with which the profession in England is in constant touch' ('Summer School of Music', *Evening Post*, 20 December 1926, p. 14).

milieu of the city, his interest in publishing, and his explicit concern for arts criticism,[145] Tombs would have almost certainly been attentive to the music columns in Wellington's *Evening Post*, which were the main recourse for local music criticism and musical news, until Tombs himself began to publish the magazine *Music in New Zealand* in 1931.[146] It is thus highly likely that when Hirst arrived in Wellington Tombs had already come across an account of his recent essay 'English Music: Past and Present', which appeared in these

[145] In the opening paragraphs of the editorial pages of the very first issue of *Art in New Zealand*, the editors, of whom Tombs was one, position the publication of the magazine in response to a perceived lack of criticality on the part of newspapers in New Zealand: 'In this country, newspaper art notices are for the most part more kindly than constructively critical. They spread praise lavishly, and dispraise is a rarity. This may be due to an excess of charity. Whatever the reason, such notices impart no stimulus to an art that needs stimulating […] That being the complaint, what is the remedy? It is in the reader's hand at the moment.' Tombs and Marris, p. 5.

[146] Prior to the publication of Tombs's *Music in New Zealand* (1931–37), the monthly magazine *Triad* (1893–1914) was the country's main source of music criticism. It had been printed in Wellington from 1909 until 1914, when the editor Charles Baeyertz relocated to Sydney, Australia, and the magazine, which had covered local concerts and musical news, ceased publication. In the absence of *Triad*, another monthly magazine, also entitled *Music in New Zealand*, became available locally in September 1922. The relation between the two magazines *Music in New Zealand* is unclear. The earlier title was published for the Associated Choral Societies of New Zealand in Wellington, by O'Kane and McKenzie, until at least May 1923; the date of the final publication is unknown, but the scarcity of further issues suggests that the publication was short-lived. From July 1927, articles about music could also be found in the weekly *Radio Record* (replaced by *N.Z. Radio Record* in 1932). For an overview of sources of music criticism in New Zealand, see D. R. Harvey, *A Bibliography of Writings about New Zealand Music Published to the End of 1983*, (Wellington: Victoria UP, 1985). It is likely that Tombs framed the publication of *Music in New Zealand* as filling a lacuna in music criticism, not only because he had done so in the editorial which pronounced the arrival of its sibling publication *Art in New Zealand* on the scene, but also because *Triad* had focussed on an alleged lack of criticality exhibited by music critics in New Zealand. See for example Frank Morton, 'The Peering People: A Note of Dishonesty in Criticism', *Triad*, 16.2 (1908), 10–12; Garnet Bonney, 'Criticism in New Zealand', *Triad*, 16.6 (1908), 37–38; and Piper Towry, 'Musical Criticism in New Zealand' *Triad*, 17.1 (1909), 39–41. According to Harvey, Morton examines the 'poor state of music criticism in New Zealand', and Bonney laments the 'low standard of criticism'; moreover, Harvey points out, the magazine devoted entire pieces to criticising 'examples of poor critical writing from Auckland [and Wellington] newspapers (pp. 195–96). Thus, *Music in New Zealand* can be seen to fill a double absence: inscribed by both the lack of a periodical and a lack of criticism. In this case, Tombs was surely acutely aware of deficiencies in music criticism, both locally and nationally, insofar as he was familiar with the music criticism in the local newspapers.

columns in October 1928.[147] The report, entitled 'European Music: Germany and England', was written by a London correspondent in September 1928, one month after the essay was originally published in *Die Böttcherstrasse*,[148] an international arts magazine printed in Bremen (Figures 2.4–2.6). The reporter not only paraphrases much of Hirst's essay, they also mention Hirst's upcoming New Zealand tour. Tombs, who had been involved in establishing links with British music professionals, may have thus anticipated Hirst's visit. No doubt Tombs's decision to publish Hirst in *Art in New Zealand*, which claimed to print 'the best work of New Zealanders known and unknown',[149] would have been influenced to some extent by the fact that Hirst already had a publication record, however slim.[150] On a textual level, perhaps it was Hirst's bold statements, such as that in which he insists upon England's 'right to recognition as one of the significant forces in the world of music today', reported in the *Evening Post*, that impressed Tombs with Hirst's capacity for the 'distinction and authority' that *Art in New Zealand* explicitly required of an author to be published.[151] Of course, the circumstances that led to the publication of 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand' may have in fact differed greatly from the situation as I have described it above, not least in regards to agency. Indeed, it

[147] 'European Music: Germany and England', *Evening Post*, 27 October 1928, p. 24. This article was not the only one that reported on Hirst's essay for a New Zealand audience; extracts from the essay were also printed in 'Mr. Arthur Hirst: His Views on English Music', *The New Zealand News*, 16 October 1928, pp. 6–7. Several months after this account was published, Hirst's essay received (unfavourable) criticism in a Christchurch newspaper by a reviewer who had read the account. See 'Music in 1928: A Busy Year', *Press*, 12 January 1929, p. 13. This shows that, although published in London, *The New Zealand News* had a readership in New Zealand, and that Tombs may well have encountered Hirst's essay in a number of ways, and even read criticism of it.
[148] Arthur Hirst, 'Englische Musik in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart', *Die Böttcherstrasse*, 1.4 (1928), 54–56.
[149] For this quotation, see the front matter of any early issue of *AiNZ*.
[150] Hirst had published opinion pieces prior to 'English Music: Past and Present', but never an essay in an arts journal that could be considered a serious piece of criticism.
[151] '*Art in New Zealand* […] publishes works on art, original stories, plays, poems, essays, and articles of general interest written with distinction and authority — the best work of New Zealanders known and unknown.' See for example 'Publishers' Notice', *AiNZ*, 1.1 (1928), p. 4; *AiNZ*, 1.2 (1928), p. 72; *AiNZ*, 1.3 (1929), p. 146; *AiNZ*, 1.4 (1929), p. 210.

could have been Hirst who arrived in Wellington, *Die Böttcherstrasse* in hand, seeking an avenue for further publication.[152]

The National Centennial Celebrations and the Exhibition of Contemporary Art

Of the many exhibitions of art that were held in association with the New Zealand Centennial Celebrations, which took place throughout the Dominion between 1939 and 1940, the two largest (and most well documented) of these, namely, the 'Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art' (CEINZA) and the 'National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art' (NCENZA), have received the most attention from art historians.[153] Each of these exhibitions was accompanied by an illustrated catalogue.[154] Whereas the catalogue of the latter exhibition, which contains an introductory essay by artist and curator Alexander Hare McLintock, is now considered a foundational document of New Zealand art-historical scholarship, alongside E. H. McCormick's 1940 book-length survey *Letters and Art in New Zealand*,[155] the

[152] Since writing this text I have had the opportunity to revisit a library holding *AiNZ* and re-read these magazines, and in doing so, I came across an advertisement promoting the New Zealand tour of Hirst's concert lecture as part of an advertisement spread at the start of the second issue of *AiNZ*, published in December 1928, several months before the first of Hirst's concerts was held in Wellington on 6 March 1929 (Figure 2.3). Tombs was thus obviously prepared in advance for Hirst's arrival in the capital, and although it would thus seem likely that Tombs was equally prepared in advance to publish a text by Hirst, we cannot necessarily assume this to be the case. Either way, Hirst could have brought a copy of the August 1928 issue of *Die Böttcherstrasse* with him, knowing that an international arts magazine would be of interest to Tombs as a publisher.

[153] For an account of the CEINZA and the NCENZA, and the few details that are known of the other exhibitions of art that were held during the centennial, see Roger Blackley, 'Centennial Exhibitions of Art', in *Creating a National Spirit: Celebrating New Zealand's Centennial*, ed. by William Renwick (Wellington: Victoria UP, 2004), pp. 222–31.

[154] These are respectively: *Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art* (Wellington: NAG, 1939) (hereafter *CEINZA*); and *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940) (hereafter *NCENZA*).

[155] On McCormick's *Letters and Art* and McLintock's introduction to the *NCENZA* catalogue as foundational texts, see for example, Rebecca Rice, 'The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art: Intertwined Histories of Collecting and Display' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2010), pp. 275–76; Rebecca Rice, 'Transforming the "Unimaginative and Literal" into an Art for the Nation:

former exhibition and its catalogue are, however, trivialised to date. The present section of this chapter entails a (re)reading of the CEINZA in the context of this triangulation of sources (Figure 2.7), and in terms of a discourse of contact. In paying attention to how these sources might speak of (an art history of) contact, or more specifically of contemporary art, rather than New Zealand art, my account aims to question the seemingly natural concordance between these national centennial exhibition–texts and national(ist) art histories (and historiographies), and to highlight the potential of an art history of contact and/or the contemporary to deconstruct these exhibition–texts as necessarily foundational of a "New Zealand" art history.

Before I begin my (re)reading of these three centennial texts of art-historical interest, I will discuss the broader constellation of events that were organised around the centennial and thus shape the archive in question. This description of the centennial will serve as a reference point for my subsequent reading of the CEINZA. By looking closely at how the centennial (re)constructed the territory of the Dominion on an unprecedentedly large scale as a national cultural (sovereign settler) space, I hope to show that the "national" of the national centennial was not, and indeed should not be considered, a given. In attempting to understand the centennial as (re)productive of a certain nation space, my account differs from previous art histories of the centennial exhibition–texts, which tend to frame the centennial as a static historical background in contrast to discussion of the dynamics of the fine art exhibitions.

The New Zealand Centennial and the Construction of a Nation Space

The New Zealand Centennial of 1940 was officially conceived of as 'a year of centenaries'.[156] Celebrations were held locally, provincially, and nationally

Writing and Exhibiting New Zealand's Art History in the Twentieth Century', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 7 (2012), 1–28 <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/rice.pdf> [accessed 17 August 2022], p. 2; and Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, 'Art's Histories in Aotearoa New Zealand', p. 6.

[156] Joseph Heenan (Under-Secretary for Internal Affairs, 1935–49, and chief executive officer of the New Zealand Centennial celebrations) speaking in 1936, cited in Michael Bassett, *The Mother of All Departments: The History of the Department of Internal Affairs* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1997), p. 110.

throughout the country during the centennial year, which commenced early, in November 1939 — approximately two months after the country had declared war on Germany — and drew to a close in November 1940.[157] The occasion was premised on the centenary of the foundation of New Zealand as a British colony; a confused,[158] much disputed and contested event that has produced competing narratives of settlement and sovereignty.[159] Of the sequence of

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[157] War, rather than detract from the popularity of the centennial, lent the celebrations extra purpose. Not only did the entertainment provide light relief for the departing troops, this unexpected context only reinforced the government's emphasis on the necessity for national unity. Here I reiterate a similar point made by historian Claudia Orange: 'Because the Labour government was determined that the 1940 celebrations would be a great demonstration of national pride and unity, considerable time and money were devoted to planning the festivities. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 merely served to heighten Labour's commitment'. Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, 2nd edn (Wellington: BWB, 1997), p. 236.

[158] A major source of confusion, especially in relation to the assumption of British sovereignty, is the Treaty of Waitangi, a deed of cession signed in 1840 by representatives of the British Crown and Māori, which enabled, in part, the subsequent proclamation of British sovereignty over New Zealand performed by Lieutenant-Governor Captain William Hobson on 21 May 1840. The series of actions that the British government took in 1840 to appropriate the territory of New Zealand was ambiguous, and at odds with the treaty process, as Orange demonstrates in *The Treaty of Waitangi*, first published in 1987, and now the standard reference book on the subject. Orange analyses the treaty process and its role in the British annexation of New Zealand, subsequent (Māori and Pākehā) interpretations of the treaty, and its legal status, all in terms of 'confusion', for example: 'Confusion surrounded the Treaty from the first' (p. 1); 'the negotiations were a source of confusion both at the time and subsequently' (p. 32).

[159] The modern historiography of New Zealand as a national entity has been defined by contest between the (British) Crown, settlers, and Māori. In this observation, I draw heavily on J. G. A. Pocock's discussion of the early modern historiography of England as 'a history of the threefold contestation […] between sovereign, church and law' in his 'Historiography as a Form of Political Thought', *History of European Ideas*, 37 (2011), 1–6 (p. 4). In her *A Concise History of New Zealand*, Mein Smith identifies competing narrative strands of Crown, settler, and Māori histories that advance conflicting accounts of the British colonisation of New Zealand; each dates the foundation of New Zealand as a British Crown Colony differently, according to their respective claim. Mein Smith observes that, while a humanitarian view may consider Crown narratives compatible, in some respects, with Māori perspectives, which take the Treaty as 'the basis of the Crown's authority and legitimised European settlement in New Zealand' (p. 51); 'the story of the New Zealand Company and its first settlement at Wellington has sat uncomfortably with the history of the Treaty of Waitangi of 6 February as the foundation document of New Zealand' (p. 46). Historical tensions between two competing Pākehā claims came to the fore in the lead up to the celebrations of 1890, when Auckland, on the basis of Crown authority, and Wellington, on the basis of settlement, both vied for the 'commemoration to be held on their provincial day' (Orange, *The Treaty* (1997), p. 236), and 'for the honour of being the place in which the

events that took place in 1840, no individual act has been successively adopted as *the* event by which to date or commemorate the foundation of New Zealand as a nation. Not the landing of Captain William Hobson, acting as Lieutenant-Governor of a colony yet to come, at Kororāreka (Russell) in the Bay of Islands on 29 January 1840, which instigated a series of manoeuvres to establish the legal and political territory of the Crown Colony of New Zealand; nor the arrival of the first New Zealand Company settlers to Port Nicholson (Wellington harbour) on 22 January 1840, which heralded the beginning of systematic colonisation and a rush of settler capitalism; nor the Treaty of Waitangi, an agreement made between the British Crown and indigenous (Māori) *rangatira*,[160] first signed at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands on 6 February 1840, which, in addition to enabling (in part) the subsequent proclamation of sovereignty performed by Hobson on 21 May 1840, can be understood as a partnership of two races uniting one people. Moreover, because the state of New Zealand has gained independence gradually through constitutional

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act of establishment of New Zealand as a colony, i.e., an integral part of the British Empire, took place', according to the official publication, *New Zealand's Jubilee, 1840–1890: The First Fifty Years of our History* (Auckland: Wilson and Horton, 1890), p. 6. In this case, although the government was located centrally in the capital of Wellington, the privilege of hosting the official jubilee celebrations was extended by the Governor of New Zealand, Lord Onslow, to the northern province of Auckland, previously the country's capital (1841–65) and seat of Crown narratives. Although provincial government was abolished in 1876, provincial (or regional) tensions still played a role in shaping narratives of nation produced during the time of the 1940 centennial (Mein Smith, pp. 171–72). Additionally, outright settler claims to (the foundation of) the nation of New Zealand were contended by the visibility of the Treaty and representations of Māori culture during the centennial, and in person by Apirana Ngata, in a speech delivered during the national memorial event held at Waitangi on 6 February 1940, in which he re-stated a claim for Māori governance. For discussion of Ngata's speech, see Orange, *The Treaty* (1997), p. 238.

[160] It was not Māori as such that signed the Treaty, but *rangatira* (chiefs) as representatives of *hapū* (subtribes), as art historian Jonathan Mane-Wheoki reminds us, in his essay 'Art's Histories in Aotearoa New Zealand', p. 3. The Treaty was just one of a number of processes through which the *tangata whenua* (indigenous people) came to identify with the concept of Māori; the term "Māori" did not enter general use until the 1860s. For a discussion of some of the processes that produced a Māori consciousness, see Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*, pp. 182–83; see also Mein Smith, p. 18. For a Māori perspective on the use of the term "Māori" as a collective identity, and in relation to indigeneity, in the context of art history, see Brown, Ellis and Mane-Wheoki, *Does Māori Art History Matter?*, p. 30.

evolution, at the time of the Centennial the nation of New Zealand lacked a definitive moment like that of Australia's federation of 1901. Furthermore, no event had by 1940, nor has yet, accrued sufficient national significance so as to become marked as New Zealand's official national day, comparable in origin and function to the anniversary day of the Colony of New South Wales, which became Australia Day when it was adopted in all States and Territories of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1946. Rather than commemorate a singular founding moment, then, the Centennial in fact marked the centenary of a number of events, perceived as the beginnings of a century of British government and settlement in New Zealand, and considered significant to the subsequent (and present) formation of the nation state of New Zealand, then a Dominion of the British Commonwealth.

Until the Centennial there had been no significant attempt to construct the anniversary of the Colony of New Zealand as a national celebration. The first official anniversary celebration of the establishment of the Colony, held in Auckland on 29 January 1842, was declared a public holiday by Lieutenant-Governor Captain William Hobson who had landed at Kororāreka (Russell) in the Bay of Islands on this day in 1840. Thus, a date and a symbolic act — the entrance of British rule — was attached to the Colony's founding. In 1890, this date was again insisted upon as the official jubilee of the Colony. Although a public holiday was observed in all provinces, rather than a national event, the occasion was more an amalgamation of festivities in the tradition of provincial anniversary days. In addition to 'the challenge of revisiting the colonial site of contention',[161] which the commemoration of 1840 required, the organisation of the centennial as a national event involved the negotiation of embedded provincial tensions.

The co-ordination of the centennial as a national event was largely due to the efforts of the first Labour government of New Zealand (1935–49). Official preparations for the centennial began in 1936, when the National Centennial

[161] Lars Jensen, *Unsettling Australia: Readings in Australian Cultural History* (New Delhi: Atlantic, 2005), p. 53.

Committee was set up within the Department of Internal Affairs, tasked with overseeing its organisation. It was through the National Centennial Council, as the committee became in 1938, that the Labour government commissioned and sponsored an extensive programme of celebrations and memorials. Perhaps most notable of these commemorations is that of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty, an agreement made between the British Crown and indigenous (Māori) *rangatira*, first signed at Waitangi in the Bay of Islands on 6 February 1840, also known as Te Tiriti o Waitangi,[162] is now remarkably regarded as a founding document of the nation.[163] However, prior to the national centennial celebration held on the treaty grounds at Waitangi on 5–6 February 1940, the Treaty had been publicly commemorated only once, in 1934, and had not featured in the official jubilee celebrations of 1890.[164] In addition to the events

[162] To refer to the Treaty as Te Tiriti is, according to anthropologist Nicholas Thomas, symptomatic of a certain Māori politics that emerged in the mid-1980s in response to the increased capacity of the Waitangi Tribunal (established in 1975) to redistribute resources to Māori: 'it is not surprising that Maori do not generally dismiss the Treaty — that is now, symptomatically, also referred to as Te Tiriti — as a tactic of dispossession, but insist rather that it possesses continuing salience and must be honoured'. Nicholas Thomas, 'A Second Reflection: Presence and Opposition in Contemporary Maori Art', in *The Anthropology of Art: A Reader*, ed. by Howard Morphy and Morgan Perkins (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 472–94 (p. 475).

[163] Mein Smith reminds us that: 'Only recently has the Treaty of Waitangi become central to national life'; 'In the official story of the nation, it took 150 years for the treaty to grow into a "founding document"' (pp. 49–50). In charting the ongoing becoming of the Treaty of Waitangi, both Orange and Mein Smith point to it as an exception: 'Treaties with indigenous peoples were not unusual in the history of British imperial expansion. Most have been shelved or forgotten, however, whereas the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 by a Crown representative and over 500 chiefs, remains a central issue in New Zealand.' (Orange, *The Treaty* (1997), p. 1); 'Struggles for land have swirled around the Treaty of Waitangi of 6 February 1840, an instrument unique less in its making than in what it has become — for indigenous rights and as a mission statement for a single country — with grand goals achieved at minimal cost' (Mein Smith, p. 47).

[164] Orange observes that the public commemoration of the Treaty during the 1940 centennial was 'in marked contrast to the 1890 anniversary when little thought had been given to the possibility of choosing 6 February for the official festivities to mark the colony's foundation'. (Orange, *The Treaty* (1997), p. 236). In tracing the visibility of the Treaty since its signing, Orange observes that the display of the treaty documents at Waitangi during the centennial 'was the first time that they had been treated as significant'; and concludes that in holding a principal event at Waitangi '[t]he treaty itself was accorded a central position in the national consciousness' (ibid., p. 236). Whereas Orange's genealogical trajectory of the Treaty, which attends to the treatment of the actual document itself, points to its increased visibility during the time

of 1840, the Centennial also commemorated the much earlier Polynesian colonisation of the archipelago of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Although the arrival of waka remembered by Māori is currently understood to have occurred *c*. 1300 CE,[165] it was thought by scholars at the time that the New Zealand centennial

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of the centennial, Mein Smith is quick to dismiss any role that the occasion may have played in raising the profile of the Treaty, contending that the centennial 'celebrated not the Treaty of Waitangi but "pioneers", "progress", and the history of settlement', citing the precedence of dominant settler narratives in the press as evidence against the Treaty's centrality in national life. Rather, Mein Smith dates the increased visibility of the Treaty to the 'first public remembrance of the treaty' in 1934, and attributes it to the political effort of Apirana Ngata during the time of the centennial (pp. 171–72). Moreover, in baldly stating that the centennial did not celebrate the Treaty, Mein Smith implicitly refutes the anachronism of claims that the centennial was quite simply, and solely, a celebration of the centenary of the Treaty of Waitangi, such as those made by Stuart Murray in *Never a Soul at Home: Literary Nationalism and the 1930s* (Wellington: Victoria UP, 1998), p. 15. In pointing to the earlier commemoration of the Treaty in 1934, an occasion with its own history separate from that of the centennial, Mein Smith corrects Murray's assumption that 'by its nature the 1940 Centennial institutionalises the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi as the beginning of the national narrative' (Murray, p. 194).

[165] For a discussion of current anthropological models of the Polynesian settlement of the land now referred to as Aotearoa/New Zealand, in the context of Polynesian navigation, see Mein Smith, pp. 5–10; and for hypotheses about the time of settlement, see ibid., pp. 6–7. The Māori word *waka* is most often translated into English as "canoe", however, as Pocock points out, in *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005), this translation can be perceived as 'unacceptably primitivist to some' (p. 5). Although Pocock offers no further explanation, I presume in citing this objection he refers to a common assumption that the application of an English signifier derived from one imperial context to another — historically, geographically, and culturally distinct from the first — renders both contexts as homogeneously indigenous, and Other. While Pocock himself suggests as an alternative the word "galley", minus the allusion to crew of slaves or convicts (Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands*, p. 5), the translation "water craft" is used by Māori art historians Brown, Ellis and Mane-Wheoki, in *Does Māori Art History Matter?*, p. 22. It is important to note that this is no mere quibble over the physical attributes of ocean-going vessels. For the word *waka* not only denotes a culturally specific form of water craft, but can also be used to mean conveyance more generally, or medium that conveys, particularly the spirit medium of *atua* (a visible or invisible ancestor), and does not always refer to a single, coherent object, but can be used to refer to a collective body, for example, a flock of birds, the crew of a *waka*, and the 'allied kinship groups descended from the crew of a canoe which migrated to New Zealand and occupying a set territory', according to Moorfield's definition of *waka* in *Te Aka*. I do not translate *waka* here, as I do not wish to draw a distinction between the object and process of conveyance that is remembered, and the cultural body and concept that is re-membering, or between the past and present.

was, coincidentally, 'the sixth centenary of Maori occupation'.[166]

Although not intended as such, the central attraction of the celebrations was to become the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition.[167] In contrast to the short duration of the principal events (often only one or two days), the Centennial Exhibition ran for six months, received approximately 2.6 million visitors, a number which exceeded the country's population of 1.6 million at the time, and contributed a longevity to the celebrations that the centennial may not have otherwise sustained.[168] Moreover, the unprecedented use of radio broadcasting stationed from within the Centennial Exhibition, together with the publishing programme, did much to constitute a national audience.[169] In many ways, the centennial contributed to what historians have referred to as the 'nationalisation of provincial life' that began in New Zealand in the 1890s, importantly connecting citizenry and state.[170] The centennial was not only the

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[166] 'Annual Report of the Polynesian Society', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 48 (1939), 206–8 (p. 208); see also Earnest Beaglehole, 'The Polynesian Maori', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 49 (1940), 37–68 (p. 39).

[167] 'The government's plans for the centennial, announced in May 1936, included a centennial exhibition as one but by no means the most important centennial event. 1940 would be celebrated as a year of centennials'; 'The government initially expected the Centennial Exhibition to open halfway through the year after most of the principal events had been held. But the Exhibition was planned and managed by its own board of directors, which upstaged the official programme of events.' *Creating a National Spirit*, ed. by Renwick, p. 14.

[168] For a comparison between the scale of the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition and that of the Crystal Palace during the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations held in London, 1851, see William Toomath, 'New Zealand Displayed: Anscombe's 1940 Exhibition Design', in *Creating a National Spirit*, ed. by Renwick, pp. 39–53.

[169] See Patrick Day, 'Broadcasting the Centennial', in *Creating a National Spirit*, ed. by Renwick, pp. 77–86.

[170] The phrase 'nationalisation of provincial life' is taken from W. H. Oliver and Jane M. Thomson, *Challenge and Response: A Study of the Development of the Gisborne East Coast Region* (Gisborne, 1971), p. 181, quoted in Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*, p. 245. Ballantyne cites the phrase in a discussion of Oliver and Thomson's argument, which he recommends as both a strategy and starting point for 'reassessing the consolidation of the nation state' in the New Zealand context: 'In their work on the East Coast they suggested a gradual and uneven "nationalisation of provincial life" unfolded from the 1890s, where the isolation and particularities of the Gisborne region were slowly eroded by the growing significance of the state and the stronger pull of national politics.' (p. 245). I am using the phrase here as I encounter it in Ballantyne's discussion: the 'nationalisation of provincial life' describes a historical transition in regional life in New Zealand, brought about through the emergence of sociopolitical

first anniversary to be celebrated in New Zealand on a national scale, it produced and reproduced a 'nation space'.[171] In particular, it was instrumental in the 'consolidation of "New Zealand" as a […] cultural space'.[172]

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processes in conjunction with the development of communication technologies, transportation networks and national media, that produced new connections within and between regions, and 'between the citizenry and the machinery of government' (p. 245). Ballantyne also describes this process as producing 'the consolidation of "New Zealand" as a political and cultural space', situating it as having occurred within a timeframe 'between 1880 and 1940' (p. 244). The New Zealand Centennial thus falls within Ballantyne's timeframe, which overlaps with that of the 'nationalisation of provincial life' (although I do not wish to merge indiscriminately Oliver and Thomson's 'nationalisation' and Ballantyne's 'consolidation'). I will suggest in the main text that the New Zealand Centennial can be understood as contributing to the 'nationalisation of provincial life', as well as to the material and symbolic (re)production of New Zealand as a cultural space.

[171] In employing the term 'nation space' I draw on Ballantyne's chapter 'On Place, Space and Mobility', in *Webs of Empire*, pp. 282–94. Ballantyne, using the example of New Zealand, argues that (what makes) a nation's territory is 'not necessarily self-evident' (p. 242); rather, that the nation state takes place through a nation space which is continually (re)produced and (re)shaped by complex conjunctures (or, to use Ballantyne's metaphor, knots) of legal and sociopolitical processes, communication technologies, transportation networks, and patterns of mobility and circulation, to name just some aspects involved, and those that form the focus of Ballantyne's discussion. Ballantyne uses the concept of 'nation space' to counter what he perceives as New Zealand 'historians' uncritical use of "New Zealand" as a primary analytical unit or site' (p. 245), arguing that just as 'the nation state's consolidation was and is dependent on projecting and actualising a nation space', so does the nation as a unit of analysis shift, as it is made and remade (p. 241–42). In using the concept of nation space, I wish to question the received art historiography of the New Zealand Centennial. In the extant literature, the art produced and exhibited during the time of the centennial is framed almost exclusively in terms of New Zealand art, thus naturalising "New Zealand" as the 'primary analytical unit' and neglecting works of art produced or that took place at this time in contexts other than that of the nation. An exception is Conal McCarthy's *Exhibiting Māori: A History of Colonial Cultures of Display* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), which charts a trajectory of the shifting status of Māori things in New Zealand museums: 'from curio, to specimen, to artefact, to various forms of art, to *taonga* [highly prized object]' (p. 1); and covers the centennial displays of Māori art and craft in relation to: Māori participation in the centennial (as audience and producer), and indigenous knowledges.

[172] Ballantyne, 'On Place', in *Webs of Empire*, p. 244. The fragment in full is: 'the consolidation of "New Zealand" as a political and cultural space between 1880 and 1940'. I am aware that in omitting the adjective 'political' in citing Ballantyne, I am censoring his statement in accordance with my own focus on New Zealand as a cultural space, and thereby risk subverting the space of the political and severing the relation between culture and politics. However, this is not my intention. Rather, this absence (or bias) in the main text points to the limitations of my own research on the centennial, which for reasons of accessibility has been confined to secondary sources, with a focus on art. Thus, I do not feel able to comment on the role of the New

The New Zealand Centennial, orchestrated by and through the state, can be understood as an exercise in nation-building, as it is indeed described on official record.[173] The multiplicity and variety of events notwithstanding, the official approach to the centennial was not with a view to representing plurality or diversity; 'the national spirit was to be the dominating factor'.[174] Nor was it bicultural; it is widely acknowledged that the principal emphasis of the celebrations was on the pioneering aspects of the nation's history.[175] The focus of the centennial celebrations was at once both backward- and forward-looking, consistent with what Ashley Thompson, in her reading of John Clark on modern Asian art, describes as the 'double imperative […] at the heart of nation-state formation'.[176] The centennial commemorations looked 'back to the past' for

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Zealand Centennial in consolidating the nation as a political space, although I do hope to draw out a particular politics of New Zealand art in relation to the centennial.

[173] The Ministry for Culture and Heritage characterises the New Zealand Centennial as 'a deliberate act of national self-definition by the first Labour government'. For further discussion, see Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'The Centennial and Progress: The New Zealand Centennial, 1940' <http://nzhistory.net.nz/centennial/the-centennial-and-progress> [accessed 05 August 2014].

[174] Minister of Internal Affairs, William Parry's opening address to the National Centennial Committee, 18 June 1936, Ms-Papers 1132-288, Heenan Collection quoted in *Creating a National Spirit,* ed. by Renwick, p. 14.

[175] See for example: 'Maori history and the centenary of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi took a back seat to the celebration of a century of European effort and progress in New Zealand.' Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'The New Zealand Centennial, 1940' <http://nzhistory.net.nz/culture/nz-centennial-1940> [accessed 05 August 2014]. See also: 'In 1940, New Zealand commemorated its centenary. This event marked 100 years since the British Crown and Maori chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi. However, the official emphasis was on celebrating a century of British government and European progress here. Pakeha boasted "the best race relations in the world" at the time, and the 1939–40 New Zealand Centennial Exhibition portrayed a picture of unity. But in reality, Maori suffered official and unofficial discrimination, and the centennial exhibition largely trivialised their culture.' Te Papa, Māori in the 20th Century: Māori Leadership and Equality <http://sites.tepapa.govt.nz/sliceofheaven/web/html/maorileadership.html> [accessed 8 August 2019].

[176] Ashley Thompson, 'Forgetting to Remember, Again: On Curatorial Practice and "Cambodian Art" in the Wake of Genocide', *Diacritics*, 41 (2013), 82–109 (p. 85). Thompson cites John Clark: 'The state and the system of knowledge it constructs are often caught between looking back to the past as a repository of values before contact with Euroamerican imperialism and looking forward to a future in the historical surge towards which the new nation fuses with the wave of an epoch.' John Clark, *Modern Asian Art* (Sydney, NSW: Craftsman House; G+B Arts International, 1998), p. 20. Clark, in turn, is making use of anthropologist Clifford Geertz's analysis of the dynamics of nationalism.

the purpose of constituting national histories for the emergent nation to come: to events of 1840, and to the arrival of Māori by *waka*. These national histories were often structured by a Māori past — considered as prehistory — in the form of a prologue to the European discovery and British settlement of New Zealand. A comparable dichotomy, between a Māori past and a Pākehā present (read assimilated European future), was also preserved, as Conal McCarthy demonstrates, in the imagery of the Centennial Exhibition itself.

Rereading the Textual Foundations of New Zealand Art History

As I have noted above, McCormick's *Letters and Art in New Zealand* and McLintock's introduction to the *NCENZA* catalogue are considered by some contemporary art historians to be foundational texts. In her 2005 essay '(Re-) Tracing Frances Hodgkins', Christina Barton avers that 'McCormick's reading [of Hodgkins in *Letters and Art*] serves as foundational text for a national art history', and, more broadly, that McCormick's 'work on Hodgkins is foundational for New Zealand art history'.[177] According to Barton's then colleague Rebecca Rice, 'McLintock's catalogue essay and McCormick's survey text are commonly considered the founding documents of New Zealand's art history'; a view partially corroborated by the Māori art historian Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, who, in his review of the "invention" of a nationalist history of New Zealand art, describes McLintock's text as a 'foundational history'.[178] While Francis Pound, in *The Invention of New Zealand*, does not use the word "foundational" to describe these two texts, which in his description were both written by 'Nationalist critics', he does treat them together at length in a

[177] Christina Barton, '(Re-)Tracing Frances Hodgkins', in *The Expatriates: Frances Hodgkins and Barrie Bates* (Wellington: Adam, 2005), pp. 5–18 (pp. 9–11). On p. 9, n. 6, Barton refers to four of McCormick's other works on Hodgkins, including his books *The Expatriate: A Study of Frances Hodgkins and New Zealand* (Wellington: New Zealand UP, 1954), and *Works of Frances Hodgkins in New Zealand* (Auckland: ACAG; London: Oxford UP, 1954).

[178] Rice, 'The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art', pp. 275–76; Mane-Wheoki, 'Art's Histories in Aotearoa New Zealand', p. 6. Rice also states that they are 'foundational documents for the writing of New Zealand's art history' in her 2012 article, 'Transforming the "Unimaginative and Literal" into an Art for the Nation', p. 2.

discussion of '[t]he invention of antecedents' that posits McCormick's 1940 survey — which Pound describes as 'the first illustrated history of New Zealand art' and as a 'pioneering work' — as its point of departure, and as thus fundamental to (his study of) the national canon of New Zealand art.[179] The contemporary view of these texts does not differ greatly from that of Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith, who refer in 1969 to these two centennial publications as 'the first attempts to evaluate local art against an historical setting'.[180] Indeed, Brown and Keith's text, which in Rice's account of New Zealand art historiography is described as being 'built upon' 'the ground-breaking efforts of McLintock and McCormick',[181] is thus itself situated so as to consolidate the contemporary refoundation of a national historiography, if not history, of New Zealand art which seems to have been largely engendered by Pound's *The Invention of New Zealand*.[182]

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[179] Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand*, pp. 331–34.

[180] Brown and Keith, p. 129.

[181] Rice, 'The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art', pp. 281–82; Rice, 'Transforming the "Unimaginative and Literal" into an Art for the Nation', p. 27.

[182] In 'The State Collections of Colonial New Zealand Art', Rice's interpretation of New Zealand art historiography seems to rely to a certain extent on Pound's notion of "invention", and indeed on his book *The Invention of New Zealand Art*, which was published the year before Rice completed her thesis. Rice cites this particular text by Pound four times, on pp. 275, 278, 282, and 291, in Chapter 5, 'Constructing a History of New Zealand Art'. Moreover, an idea of invention appears to inform Rice's text more generally. In her introductory chapter, for example, Rice states that: 'Through the materiality of objects held in state collections, there is a point at which the intellectual basis of nationalism, the invention or imaginings of a nation-state, can be embodied' (p. 16). Rice also speaks of invention and reinvention on pages 235 and 290. Mane-Wheoki's paper 'Art's Histories in Aotearoa New Zealand' is also written in the wake of, and indeed as an explicit response to, Pound's *The Invention of New Zealand Art*. It is framed as a review of 'the "invention" of a nationalist art history' (p. 1), and responds in particular to a question raised by Christina Barton in an AAANZ symposium in 2010: '"Is a nationalist agenda still operative or is Francis Pound's book its effective epitaph?"' (p. 5). And although Barton's essay '(Re-)Tracing Frances Hodgkins' was published four years before *The Invention of New Zealand*, and thus before Pound formally posed the question, in the title of the book's concluding chapter, of 'A Post-Nationalist Art?', Barton anticipates Pound's proposition in claiming for her rereading of artistic expatriation in the New Zealand context a space 'where a "post-"nationalist history might yet be written' (p. 8). Barton's *The Expatriates* project could thus be understood as heralding a call for a post-national(ist) history of New Zealand art in a broader context beyond the confines of Pound's intellectual project.

As foundational texts, McCormick's *Letters and Art* and McLintock's 'Introduction', or, more broadly speaking, the *NCENZA* catalogue, are largely remembered for what they have to say about the distance, isolation, and remoteness of (the) New Zealand art(ist) from Europe. In Mane-Wheoki's description, the NCENZA 'presented New Zealand to New Zealanders as a "small and young nation" and "a new land", and "New Zealand's geographic remoteness", "the isolation of the dominion", was lamented.'[183] Conversely, Pound, who twice cites McLintock's ostensible lament concerning 'New Zealand's remoteness and her inevitable delays in assimilating artistic development', also picks up on his apparent delight in New Zealand's remoteness: 'McLintock rejoices that New Zealand's isolation means that the extremities of modernist art have not been able to reach its shores'.[184] In fact, Pound reminds us a third time that McLintock 'celebrat[ed] the happy fact of New Zealand's remoteness from the extremities of modernist art'.[185] And McCormick's book is, of course, renowned especially for his treatment of the New Zealand expatriate artist's experience of being doubly distant and isolated from both "Home" (Great Britain) and "home" (New Zealand), an exilic condition of being '[b]etween two hemispheres'.[186] In Barton's reading of

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[183] Mane-Wheoki, 'Art's Histories in Aotearoa New Zealand', p. 3. Here Mane-Wheoki cites McLintock, 'Introduction', in *NCENZA*, pp. 7–16.

[184] Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand*, p. 332. Here, and on page 106, Pound cites McLintock's 'Introduction', in *NCENZA*, p. 16. In claiming that McLintock rejoices [in] New Zealand's isolation', Pound is referring to the end of McLintock's statement, which I have not cited in the main text above, but which reads, in Pound's citation of it on page 106: 'her inevitable delays in assimilating artistic developments have proved definite assets, for . . . she has been spared those excesses which stultify true progress in the arts'.

[185] Ibid., p. 109.

[186] 'Between Two Hemispheres' is the title of the sixth chapter of McCormick's *Letters and Art*, which deals with artistic expatriation in the colonial and dominion New Zealand contexts from 1900 to 1930. In this chapter, McCormick explains that he borrows the phrase "between two hemispheres" from Edith Searle Grossman's 1910 novel *The Heart of the Bush*, a romance in which, in McCormick's description, the protagonist Adelaide Borlase finds herself in the situation of having to choose between marrying either a New Zealand-born small-farmer or the English nephew of a neighbour who owns a large sheep station. Since McCormick's appropriation of the phrase as a metaphor for artistic expatriation, "between two hemispheres" has become a recurrent metaphor in New Zealand art(-historical) discourse.

McCormick (on Hodgkins), distance is ascribed a central and transcendental role in his account of the formation of the expatriate artist subject, and his treatment of expatriation is postulated as one of 'the formative narratives on which New Zealand art history is founded';[187] a narrative that is exemplified in the opening line of Barton's text: 'New Zealand's isolation from, yet its beholdenness to Europe has long been viewed as definitional, at least for settler culture in this country.'[188]

While these so-called foundational texts clearly speak of distance, as the tabulated study presented above shows, they also speak of contact — as does Michael Savage's brief foreword to the *CEINZA*. In fact, if we read these three centennial texts with a focus on an explicit discourse of contact, McCormick's book, the arguably more substantial art-historical text of the three, falls out of focus. Although the word "contact" is used twice by McCormick in *Letters and Art*, and although in one instance he even uses the term "direct contact" — a term that both Savage and McLintock also use, neither instance is relevant to the way in which the word is generally used in the historiography of New Zealand art.[189] Thus, a focus on a discourse of contact, rather than on a

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[187] In '(Re-)Tracing Frances Hodgkins', Barton twice singles out for discussion the operation of distance in McCormick's treatment of artistic expatriation. Stating firstly that: 'Ultimately, [McCormick] believed [Hodgkins] transcended this condition [of being 'caught "between two hemispheres"'] in her last works, by using the distance from the land of her birth to re-construct a sense of "home", where her earliest memories of her childhood environs were transfigured into potent personal symbols via the language of modern art.' (p. 10); and secondly that: 'For McCormick, the self-conscious New Zealand subject is inaugurated by modernity and from a distance.' (p. 11). In opening her essay, Barton 'postulates expatriation […] as a perennial feature of New Zealand art history' (p. 6); in claiming that 'expatriation is postulated as one of "the formative narratives on which New Zealand art history is founded"', I am borrowing a clause from Barton, which appears in conclusion to her essay (p. 18), in my (mis)reading of 'formative [narrative]' as a synonym for 'perennial feature', or indeed as an example of 'a perennial feature of New Zealand art history'.

[188] Barton, '(Re-)Tracing Frances Hodgkins', p. 5.

[189] In the first instance, McCormick uses the word "contact" in his discussion of *The New Zealand Illustrated Magazine*, in which he paraphrases what he calls 'a manifesto in the first number'; thus, when McCormick states, on page 123, that New Zealand 'had been continuously in contact with a remote stage of human development' he is not necessarily expressing his own view of New Zealand history, but rather that of (his view of) the manifesto. In the second instance, McCormick uses the word "contact" in his description of the historical, ethnological, and ethnographic scholarship of Stephenson Percy Smith, Elsdon Best, and Thomas Lindsay Buick: 'it has the colour and

discourse of distance and/or the national, frames the *CEINZA* and the *NCENZA* catalogues on equal terms, just as it disrupts the hierarchised relationship of these two exhibition–texts, which has been established in the reception of the latter as foundational and the former as trivial, if it can be said to have been received at all.

In the two centennial exhibition catalogues under discussion, the word "contact" is used in two senses and/or contexts. Firstly, it is used in the anthropological sense of "first contact", although this exact phrase is not used. In the *NCENZA* catalogue, McLintock speaks of the role that '[expedition] artists', who arrived in New Zealand aboard European sailing ships in the eighteenth century, 'had to play […] in recording the characteristics of the new scenes and peoples with whom they came in contact', a point that is reiterated in the catalogue's foreword, which opens with an announcement from the then Minister of Internal Affairs, William Parry: 'Here are displayed the works of the earliest artists to come in contact with our country'.[190] It is for this use of the word "contact" in the anthropological sense that the *NCENZA* has attracted critical attention from art historians. Indeed, McLintock's essay together with McCormick's *Letters and Art* are (dis)reputed for the way in which they frame the history of art in New Zealand as originating at the time of European contact, thereby conflating European art with art as such and eliding the long history of Māori art in New Zealand into a brief prelude of prehistory. The second sense in which the word "contact" is used in these two sources is in the sense of what in contemporary parlance we might call a curatorial discourse.

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concreteness gained from direct contact with repositories of history' (p. 149). While a notion of 'direct contact' can also be traced in the contemporary art discourse, of, for example, Savage and McLintock, who both use it in their texts that preface the centennial exhibition catalogues, McCormick's use of the term differs, however, because he is not using it to make an argument concerning the progress of a national New Zealand art. For a record of the two occurrences of the word "contact" in McCormick's text, see Table 1, p. 168 of this chapter.

[190] McLintock, 'Introduction', in *NCENZA*, p. 7; Parry, 'Foreword', in *NCENZA*, p. 6.

Reading the 'Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art' Room by Room

The *Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art* is a small, nondescript catalogue that documents an identically titled exhibition of contemporary art (Figure 2.12), which opened at the National Art Gallery in Wellington, the Dominion's capital, on 10 November 1939.[191] The exhibition was organised jointly by members of the National Art Gallery Committee and the Council of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts. At the time of the exhibition, these two institutional bodies were closely affiliated, and the Academy was housed within the National Art Gallery building itself.[192] The exhibition project was made possible through funding advanced by both private benefactors and the government to cover preliminary expenses; the interest-free loans were to be repaid only if the enterprise returned a net profit. Thus, to recuperate funds the exhibition project operated on a commercial basis. Visitors were charged a small admission fee, and in addition the exhibition catalogue or a public art union (raffle) ticket could each be bought for one shilling,[193] the same price as adult admission. However, the principle and

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[191] *Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art* (Wellington: NAG, 1939) (hereafter *CEINZA*).

[192] A merger between the Academy, founded in 1882, and the newly established NAG came about through their mutual involvement in the construction of the NAG and Dominion Museum building in Buckle Street, Wellington. Completed in 1936, the new building was only made possible through a contribution from the Academy; the payment attained largely through the sale of their Whitmore Street property, also in Wellington, where the Academy had been located since 1892. Upon taking up residence in the NAG in 1936, the Academy gifted their permanent collection to the NAG, which became the nucleus of the national collection of art. As a result of the merger, the Academy council were to hold in perpetuity: two permanent seats on the NAG board of trustees, and the right to elect seven of the nine members of the NAG management committee. Over time, this situation became a source of resentment for both parties. It was not until 1996, when the NAG and Dominion Museum, now Te Papa, moved to its present location on the Wellington waterfront, that the association between the Academy and the NAG ended.

[193] The price of the catalogue is neither printed in the catalogue itself, nor recorded in the NAG board of trustees reports. However, listed in these reports for the years ending 1940 and 1941 is a total income of two hundred and fifty-four pounds and four shillings made from the sale of five thousand catalogues, an amount equal to five thousand and eighty-four shillings. If the catalogue was priced at one shilling, then five thousand and eighty-four catalogues would have in fact been sold at this price; a figure

somewhat controversial means of revenue gathering was through the sale of artworks. According to the catalogue, all but seventeen works in the international collection and roughly ninety per cent of domestic works were available for purchase.[194] The exhibition takings, which included receipts from the sale of approximately five thousand copies of the exhibition catalogue, but largely comprised proceeds from the sale of artworks, made it possible to repay the independent guarantors, while the government agreed to reinvest their loan for the purpose of acquisitions.[195] Consequently, for the duration of the exhibition, the catalogue functioned in two ways: first, as an inexpensive memento and fundraising aid; and second, as a sales catalogue.

Dismissed as 'little more than a room-by-room listing of the exhibition',[196] the catalogue does indeed read like an inventory of the exhibition contents (Figure 2.13); yet, in lieu of photographic documentation, it remains the primary record of the exhibition hang, and as such, warrants further consideration. The catalogue is comparable in size and format to concurrent catalogues that document the Canterbury Society of Arts annual exhibitions held in Christchurch, albeit more austere in appearance (Figures 2.15–2.16). The exhibition title is typeset in bold sans-serif capitals and printed in black ink, and appears stark against the plain paper cover, which itself is not heavy enough to

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that could easily have been rounded down in the written report for the sake of convenience and impact.

[194] The former figure is inclusive of seven paintings lent by the Tate Gallery, London, and seven works by John Singer Sargent, lent by his sister Violet Singer Ormond. It is important to note that there is a discrepancy between the number of works from the international collection listed in the catalogue as on loan, thus unavailable for purchase, and the number of works that are recorded as lent or donated in the NAG annual report for 1940. See 'National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum Report of the Board of Trustees for the Year Ended 31st March, 1940', *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, Session I*, (1940), 1–14 (pp. 3–4). The latter figure is arrived at by calculating as a percentage the forty-seven of four hundred and eight works listed as not for sale: 11.5%. This leaves 88.5% for sale.

[195] Two of the seven independent guarantors, Charles Todd and Mr B. Sutherland, also allowed the trustees of the NAG to retain their loans for the purpose of acquisitions. See 'National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum Report of the Board of Trustees for the Year Ended 31st March, 1941', *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, Session I*, (1941), 1–14 (p. 3).

[196] Blackley, 'Centennial Exhibitions of Art', in *Creating a National Spirit*, ed. by Renwick, p. 229.

conceal the contours of the staples that gather the six signatures of the booklet. Following the brief front matter, the exhibited works are itemised in the body text, in two paginated sections that reflect the main division of the hang. The first section details the artworks that comprised the international art component that was on display in the main galleries (for an extended period) until 12 May 1940; the second section, the New Zealand art component, on view at the Academy galleries, adjacent to the main galleries, until late January of 1940. The catalogue entries are uniform throughout the publication: the title of each work is numbered, priced, and listed beneath the name of the artist who produced it; none of the artworks are dated. Scant biographical information about the artists is provided: an artist's art society membership is indicated by post-nominal letters, and the few deceased artists are identified by the phrase 'the late' printed in parentheses after their name. The entries are arranged by gallery, so that the order in which the artworks appear in print correlates to the sequence in which one would ideally have encountered them in exhibition; in each section, the sculpture and three-dimensional exhibits are listed last. The only counter to the logic of the hang is an index to the artists who exhibited in the Academy galleries. The clear layout of the catalogue, consonant with the hang, and the legibility of its typography means that it would have functioned effectively as a purchasing tool; a number of pencilled crosses that mark the margins of my own dog-eared copy attest at least to its utility as a reference book (Figure 2.14a). Eighteen black and white reproductions inserted between the International and New Zealand art sections are the only illustrations in the booklet. These images, printed on a coated paper that has a slight sheen, are the single sign of the paperback's expense (Figures 2.13b and 2.14b).

While the overarching objective of the exhibition was to celebrate the 'cultural advancement of New Zealand', an aspiration in keeping with the official purpose (or at least rhetoric) of the Centennial, its more tangible aim was to '[bring] the public into direct contact with the works of eminent

contemporary painters overseas as well as those of their own country'.[197] However concrete the latter may sound in contrast to the former, these two ambitions were not dissociated, at least on paper. Much of the short (one-page) text that comprises the catalogue forward, signed by Michael Savage, then New Zealand prime minister and chairman of the National Art Gallery board of trustees, is devoted to explaining how 'direct contact' with works of art imported from Europe would be 'of great educational value to the public and artists of New Zealand', and therefore 'worthy of the occasion'. According to Savage, the exhibition presented the viewer with an opportunity to compare 'the work of New Zealand-born artists […] with that of Europe's best', and thereby gauge the progress that had been made by artists in New Zealand since 1840. However, in practice it may have been difficult for the viewer to make such comparisons between works produced by artists resident in New Zealand and those imported from Europe because these two collections were exhibited in separate sections of the gallery. Furthermore, the New Zealand section of the exhibition was only on display until late January of 1940, whereas the International section continued to be exhibited in the National Art Gallery until 12 May 1940. The spatial and temporal disjuncture of the two sections suggests that the comparative framework proposed by Savage was perhaps less a pedagogical function of the exhibition and more rhetorical artifice.

In other words, the foreword implicitly outlines the ways in which the exhibition — so similar in content to previous collections of paintings that had been on view at the National Art Gallery since its opening in 1936 — was in fact an appropriate commemorative form, and thus a legitimate use of funds. Like all centennial memorials, to gain National Centennial Council approval, and thereby receive some form of government sponsorship, the exhibition was subject to official preferences concerning form. A suitable memorial had to be permanent, yet 'the stereotype bronze or marble monument was not favoured'.[198] Instead, the government privileged a notion of permanence that

[197] M. J. Savage, 'Foreword', in *CEINZA*.
[198] 'Living Memorials', *Evening Post*, 13 October 1937, p. 4.

was broader in scope than the durability of a concrete object: 'historical publications, scholarships or other permanent educational endowments' were all considered fitting memorials.[199] Thus, we can understand the emphasis that Savage places upon the 'educational value' of the exhibition in the catalogue forward as a statement of the permanence — and thus memorial status — of the exhibition. A second aspect of permanence not touched upon in the catalogue was the sale of artworks. Many of the European works that were purchased became part of public collections, which ensured their enduring presence in the country, unlike previous exhibitions that relied on the loan of overseas works.

Art historians have paid little attention to the 'Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art' (CEINZA) and the catalogue that accompanied it. Aside from criticism aired in the quarterly magazine *Art in New Zealand* around the time of the Centennial, discussion of the exhibition is limited to a handful of texts. It is first historicised by Gordon Brown in the book *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839–1967*, co-authored by Brown and Hamish Keith, first published in 1969 and updated in 1982.[200] Although he does not refer to the exhibition by name, Brown introduces it as one of 'two large exhibitions' that formed the 'main attraction' of visual art during the Centennial, but gives little information about it beyond a list of the European artists' names, which he introduces by way of the phrase 'eminent contemporary painters overseas'; this is the only quotation of the catalogue text that occurs in any discussion of the exhibition.[201] Brown privileges instead the second attraction in his account, the 'National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art' (NCENZA), which he names in full (Figures 2.10–2.11). Brown assigns the CEINZA an adversarial role in opposition to the NCENZA, which was to significantly shape the pattern of its future art-historical reception, a point

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[199] 'Memorial Proposals', *Auckland Star*, 12 December 1938, p. 4.
[200] Gordon H. Brown and Hamish Keith, *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting, 1839–1967*, 1st edn (Auckland: Collins, 1969; repr. Auckland: Collins/Fontana Silver Fern, 1975).
[201] Gordon H. Brown, 'The Nineteen-Forties', in Brown and Keith, *An Introduction* (1969), pp. 129–47 (p. 129).

that I will illustrate shortly. A more substantial discussion of the exhibition of art during the Centennial occurs in the 1975 exhibition catalogue *New Zealand Painting 1920–1940: Adaptation and Nationalism*, also by Brown.[202] In this later version, Brown provides basic numerical information about the exhibition that was absent from the earlier account, and further establishes the opposition between it and the NCENZA. The most comprehensive account of the CEINZA can be found in Roger Blackley's chapter 'Centennial Exhibitions of Art', which was presented as a seminar paper at VUW in 1999, and published in 2004, and is now the standard reference on the topic. While Blackley fleshes out Brown's argument considerably, making use of a much wider range of sources, the majority of which would also have been available to Brown, his essay is largely a rehearsal of Brown's seminal work on the subject.

Discussion of the CEINZA outside of a Centennial context occurs, albeit briefly, in the catalogues *The First Fifty Years: British Art of the 20th Century* and *Aspects of New Zealand Art 1890-1940*, published in 1981 and 1984 respectively.[203] Each of these catalogues accompanied an exhibition that was generated in the process of a significant review of the national collections of art held by the National Art Gallery, which took place between 1979 and 1984, prior to the dissociation of the National Art Gallery and the Academy in 1996. In *The First Fifty Years* the CEINZA features in a concise institutional history that charts the early formation of New Zealand's national art collection.[204] Not confined to a Centennial context, and unlike Brown and Blackley who restrict their discussion of the exhibition to the Centennial and its preparation, registrar Kate Pinkham extends her discussion of the CEINZA to the re-exhibition of the International collection of art, which, unable to be returned to Europe due to war, was shown again in Wellington between 1944 and 1945. In her account, Pinkham makes a distinction between the two exhibitions for cataloguing

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[202] Gordon H. Brown, *New Zealand Painting 1920–1940: Adaptation and Nationalism* (Wellington: Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand, 1975).
[203] *The First Fifty Years: British Art of the 20th Century* (Wellington: NAG, 1981); *Aspects of New Zealand Art 1890–1940* (Wellington: NAG, 1984).
[204] Kate Pinkham, 'Some Notes on Provenance, Exhibitions and Abbreviations', in *The First Fifty Years*, pp. 17–20.

purposes: she re-titles the CEINZA as the 'NAG Centennial 1939–40' and calls the second exhibition the 'NAG Centennial 1944–45'; these titles are entered in the catalogue under the provenance of an artwork where relevant. It is important to note, however, that the title 'NAG Centennial 1939–40' refers only to the International collection of works exhibited as one of two components of the CEINZA; the provenance of works that were exhibited in both the New Zealand section of the CEINZA and in *Aspects of New Zealand Art* is listed in the *Aspects of New Zealand Art* catalogue as 'Centennial exhibition of New Zealand art'.

There are, in my view, at least two consequences of this renaming, or redistribution. Firstly, it has served to re-inscribe Brown's polarisation of the CEINZA as an exhibition of international or European art in opposition to the NCENZA, which is regarded as an exhibition of New Zealand art despite the inclusion of works by expatriate artists whose works also featured in the CEINZA. The anonymity of the CEINZA in the catalogue essay 'Protest and Provincialism', written by curator Anthony Mackle for the *Aspects of New Zealand Art* catalogue, further entrenches this division between the two exhibitions. Although the CEINZA is mentioned only in passing, Mackle's fleeting description of the 'large exhibition organised for the centenary celebrations' recalls Brown's description of the CEINZA.[205] And secondly, the ambiguity of the designation 'NAG Centennial', which sounds as if the exhibition was held on the occasion of the centennial of the National Art Gallery itself, allows for the appropriation of the Centennial exhibition by the National Art Gallery, at a time when the National Art Gallery as an institution was endeavouring to disentangle itself from the parochial clutches of the Academy — the review process anticipated the separation of the two institutional bodies.

This general disregard of the CEINZA is in large part an effect of a certain process of national canon formation that began in the 1930s and has shaped a dominant reading of the Centennial exhibitions of art that remains as yet

[205] Anthony Mackle, 'Protest and Provincialism', in *Aspects of New Zealand Art*, pp. 9–13.

unchallenged. If read in tandem, Brown's catalogue essay in *New Zealand Painting 1920–1940* and his chapter 'The Nineteen-Forties' notably illustrate how the exhibition has been sidelined in this process that produced a discourse of New Zealand painting, which, in the absence of an abundance of scholarship, historically sufficed for a discourse of New Zealand art more broadly. In *New Zealand Painting 1920–1940*, Brown outlines criticism concerning the role of the National Art Gallery in a commercial venture, which had been aired by Harry Tombs in an article published in the June 1939 issue of *Art in New Zealand*,[206] in which Tombs frames the gallery as a space of political representation to make a claim for New Zealand art. Brown observes that Tombs ultimately questioned the relevance of the exhibition — or more specifically, an exhibition of *international* art — to the centennial occasion.[207] Tombs's objections can be more broadly understood as representative of a certain (gendered) politics that was interested in the collection and display of art in New Zealand, and manipulated concrete (sociocultural and institutional) and discursive processes to this end. Or in other words, Tombs's vociferousness is indicative of an early, practical moment of canon formation that anticipated Brown's later contribution to an art-historical canon of New Zealand painting; a moment that Brown makes strategic use of. While Brown is not obviously partisan, the sway of Tombs's complaint is evident in the skewed focus of his brief description of the CEINZA. Remarkably, for a history of New Zealand painting, Brown omits to mention the New Zealand art section of the exhibition, which included more than three hundred paintings, many of which were produced by the same artists who featured in the NCENZA; instead, he refers to the exhibition as merely the Centennial Exhibition of International Art. While Brown is not alone in refuting the conjunction of international and New Zealand art that the exhibition proposed, presumably on the basis that the Academy's annual exhibition would have been held that year in the same galleries for a similar period of time anyway, his omission is even more remarkable when we consider

[206] Harry H. Tombs, 'Our National Art Gallery as a Sales Organisation', *AiNZ*, 11.4 (1939), 180–83.
[207] Brown, *Adaptation and Nationalism*, pp. 70–71.

how careful Brown is to construct a narrative centred around a supposed lack of exhibition space for New Zealand artists during the Centennial period. This bias becomes more explicit when we turn to Brown's chapter 'The Nineteen-Forties', in which he presents the CEINZA as simply a 'large [exhibition]' that 'contained works by "eminent contemporary painters overseas"'. In citing the catalogue forward, which is in effect a reply to Tombs's criticism, Brown cuts short the stated objective of the exhibition: to '[bring] the public into direct contact with the works of eminent contemporary painters overseas *as well as* those of their own country' (emphasis added). Thus, in choosing to dichotomise these two Centennial exhibitions, Brown also suppresses the possibility of a discourse of contact in favour of an insular discourse of New Zealand art.

A Post-Colonial Reinscription: Brown and Keith's *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting*

In their *Introduction to New Zealand Painting*, Brown and Keith largely speak of contact in relation to what they refer to as a significant problem in the historical development of painting in New Zealand, namely 'the remoteness of New Zealand from any of the major centres of Western art'. In identifying this problem, which is described in some detail at the start of the book, Brown and Keith pick up on a perennial concern of New Zealand art historiography — a concern that is evident in the historical and contemporary sources that inform their text. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the decade prior to the book's publication, the problem was the subject of much art-historical discourse and debate in Auckland, where Brown and Keith were employed at the city's art gallery, which was directed at the time by Peter Tomory, who published several essays on the topic.[208]

[208] See for example Tomory, 'The Visual Arts', in *Distance Looks our Way*'.

Direct contact

In their *Introduction to New Zealand Painting* Brown and Keith pick up on the term "direct contact" used by Savage and McLintock in the New Zealand Centennial literature, although they do not cite the passages from which they borrow the term. Savage used the expression in introducing the rationale of the CEINZA, which sought to '[bring] the public into direct contact with the works of eminent contemporary painters overseas as well as those of their own country'.[209] And McLintock used it in reflecting upon the various reasons that might have 'debarred students [in early twentieth-century New Zealand] from any direct contact with the works of post-impressionists or with current movements abroad'.[210] In both instances, the term is used to signify a subject's personal experience of original works of art at first hand, and can thus be considered in a general sense as synonymous with the term "first-hand contact".

While Pound used the term "first-hand contact" rather than "direct contact",[211] Brown and Keith, however, prefer to speak of direct contact — in contrast to indirect contact, a class of experience that they classify by degree of indirectness: as either second- or third-hand contact. It is particularly striking, then, that while Brown and Keith introduce terms to specify gradations of indirect contact,[212] they do not once use the term "first-hand contact" to specify direct contact, even though it would seem to belong to the same logical order. This suggests that for Brown and Keith there is a significant difference between the apparently synonymous terms "first-hand contact" and "direct contact". At first glance, we could suppose that in their conception of direct

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[209] Savage, 'Foreword', in *CEINZA*.

[210] McLintock, 'Introduction', in *NCENZA*, p. 15.

[211] 'Having studied in Paris in 1926 under André Lhôte, a Cubist of sorts, he [John Weeks] was an extremely rare figure in Nationalist New Zealand — one who had had some first-hand contact with European modernist art.' Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand: Art and National Identity, 1930–1970* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 2009), p. 193.

[212] In the context of my study, which is not exhaustive, the terms second-hand and third-hand contact only appear in Brown and Keith (1969) and Brown and Keith (1982), (see Table 1, pp. 172–73); this is not to say that these terms do not appear earlier or elsewhere in New Zealand art historiographical texts that I have not considered here.

contact even the hand is thought to be an impediment to the directness of contact and as such is the sign of a certain indirectness or mediation. In my reading of Brown and Keith's usage of the term "direct contact", which follows below, I will look more closely at how a particular notion of directness is privileged in their text, and thus how the term takes on a different emphasis to its usage in the Centennial literature.

Brown and Keith's use of the term "direct contact", which appears four times in their co-authored book and twice in Brown's subsequent catalogue series,[213] is in a certain denotative sense no different to Savage and McLintock's use of the term. Brown and Keith use the phrase to denote a range of encounters and situations of varying duration, fleeting or long-term, through and in which an individual or a collective gains personal experience with art in the original, and thus acquires knowledge of art as such. Like Savage and McLintock, they use the term "direct contact" to refer to situations in which a spectator gains experience through viewing works of art in person, although unlike Savage and McLintock, who speak explicitly of 'direct contact with works' of art, in reading Brown and Keith we must largely infer that the subject of direct contact is a spectator.[214] And like McLintock, they also use it to refer to pedagogical situations, both formal and informal, in which an art student is taught by a more established artist, if not a master, or learns from peers, and

[213] For the exact quotations, see the entry for Brown and Keith (1969) in Table 1, pp. 172–73, and the entries for Brown (1972) and Brown (1975) in Table 1, pp. 175–77.

[214] Of the six instances in which Brown and Keith use the term "direct contact", there is only one in which they use it to refer explicitly to viewing works of art. This example can be found on the back cover of the first edition of their book, in the left-hand column of text that profiles the author Hamish Keith, who: 'In his first year at the Auckland Gallery', was affected by 'direct contact with 19th century New Zealand painting', which 'was the same kind of revelation that [works by] McCahon and Sutton had produced earlier'. In the other five instances, it is implied that direct contact involves the viewing of artworks. For example, in the following we can infer that the artists who travelled the thirty to forty days from New Zealand to France also visited the country's art galleries: 'The other main contact with French painting at the turn of the century was through the direct contact of young New Zealand artists visiting France.' Brown, *Traditions and Departures*, p. 33. And when Keith speaks of 'direct contact with painting' in the following statement, we can infer that he is referring to contact with individual works of art as much as to the practice of painting: 'Those that required a more direct contact with painting must have found New Zealand before the mid-'fifties [sic] an aesthetic wasteland.' Brown and Keith, p. 167.

thus gains experience through art practice. Although again, in reading Brown and Keith I am having to infer that when they speak of an artist's direct contact with painting, they are speaking of contact with the practice of painting as much as with individual artworks.[215] And just as McLintock referred to direct contact 'with current movements abroad', Brown and Keith also use the term more broadly to refer to a subject's encounter(s) with art in the mass, for example, 'with the modern art movements in Europe',[216] or 'with the realities of art'.[217]

Although Brown and Keith don't define or theorise the term "direct contact", in my reading of their usage of the term, direct contact can be understood as referring to an optical, bodily, and performative experience: optical and bodily because viewing a work of art is never a disembodied event involving only the eye, but always concerns the body as a whole, and performative because the practice of painting, which is as much a bodily as an aesthetic practice, involves the repeated performance of painterly tasks and processes. In the context of Brown and Keith's *Introduction*, direct contact can

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[215] The one instance in which Brown and Keith use the term "direct contact" to refer explicitly to a pedagogical situation of the type I have described in the main text above occurs in Brown's discussion of the artist James McLachlan Nairn (1859–1904), who taught at Wellington Technical School from 1891 until his death, and who, along with several colleagues, founded the Wellington Art Club in 1892. Speaking of the fate of Nairn's students after his death, Brown writes: 'As soon as his direct contact was withdrawn, a good many of his disciples either slipped into painting the picturesque or became simply ineffectual as painters.' Brown and Keith, p. 68. In other instances, direct contact with a pedagogical situation is implied. For example, in Brown's account of New Zealand-born artists in early twentieth-century France, (discussed in n. 214, p. 277 above) we can infer that 'the direct contact of young New Zealand artists visiting France' often involved the artists' tutelage. As Brown himself goes on to point out, many artists from New Zealand enrolled in classes: 'By far the most popular of these schools was the Académie Julian. It was to this school that most of the New Zealanders who studied in Paris attended, but others enrolled with the Académie des Beux-Arts or Colarossi's: some for a term, but others for one, two, or three years.' Brown, *Traditions and Departures*, pp. 33–34. For another example in which we can infer that Brown and Keith's usage of the term "direct contact" involves painting as practice, i.e., pedagogy, see also the final quotation discussed in n. 214, p. 277 above.

[216] 'Few, if any painters working in New Zealand in the decade following the First World War could claim, or would wish to claim, direct contact with the modern art movements in Europe.' Brown, *Adaptation and Nationalism*, p. 12.

[217] 'Although expatriation had the advantage of a more direct contact with the realities of art it was also an advantage dissipated by the remoteness of the painter from the sources of his individual reaction and experience.' Brown and Keith, p. 167.

also be understood to refer to a relational event that can take place between multiple subjects and objects, for example, between fellow artists and artworks, as in the case of James Nairn's direct contact with his students in Wellington, although more often than not they describe direct contact as an event involving only a single subject and an abstract if not intangible object, such as a painter's direct contact 'with the modern art movements in Europe', or 'with the realities of art', examples comparable with McLintock's direct contact 'with current movements abroad'.

In using the term "direct contact", a compound formed by attributing the quality of directness to the noun contact, Brown and Keith differentiate — as any user of the term necessarily does — between (at least) two types of experience: a particular type of contact that is qualified as direct, and a general type of contact that is by implication less direct. While the term "direct contact" implicitly differentiates itself from contact as such, Brown and Keith's use of the term further inscribes this difference as a geographical opposition. By consistently referring to the New Zealand artist's experience of modern art in Europe in terms of direct contact, in contrast to the experience of art available to the artist and public in New Zealand, which they simply describe as contact, or, if they do differentiate, second- and third-hand contact, Brown and Keith not only polarise direct and less direct or indirect contact, but map these polarities onto an already existing cultural divide, described by McCormick in 1940 as 'the basic cleavage in New Zealand life', between colonial New Zealand and metropolitan Britain, or in other words, between 'each of New Zealand's "two hemispheres"'.[218]

Just as the artist in McCormick's account travelled "Home" to London in search of cultural conditions more suitable for art than what was felt to be the 'suffocating materialism of New Zealand' (the artist 'sought in the old world more sympathetic and stimulating surroundings than those of New Zealand'),[219] in Brown and Keith's *Introduction* 'those that required a more direct contact

[218] McCormick, *Letters and Art*, p. 156; p. 129.
[219] Ibid., p. 129; pp. 130–31.

with painting' had to leave the 'aesthetic wasteland' of New Zealand for Europe. In excluding the phenomenon of direct contact from their historical account of painting in 'New Zealand's native hemisphere', Brown and Keith conceptualise direct contact differently to Savage and McLintock, neither of whom confine the phenomenon of direct contact to the cultural domain of Britain and/or Europe. The art historian Peter Tomory, under whom Brown and Keith worked at the ACAG, proposed that if a masterpiece is viewed in New Zealand it would appear different than if the same work was viewed in Europe, because of the New Zealand light.[220] Perhaps Brown and Keith do not consider viewing a European artwork in New Zealand as direct contact because they were swayed by Tomory's argument that such an artwork is at a remove from its source and is therefore unable to be directly experienced by a New Zealand viewer.

In their Centennial texts, neither Savage nor McLintock suggest that there is a qualitative difference in the experience of viewing a work of art in New Zealand compared to viewing an artwork in Europe. In arguing for the cultural value of the CEINZA, Savage asserts that the New Zealand public 'should continue to be brought into contact with the best contemporary art abroad', a statement that echoes his opening assertion of the exhibition's aim to celebrate 'the cultural advancement of New Zealand […] by bringing the public into direct contact with the works of eminent contemporary painters'. The similarity in the way Savage speaks of direct contact and contact in these statements suggests that Savage makes no distinction between contact and direct contact; in fact, he uses the two terms synonymously. I would suggest that Savage qualifies contact as direct not to emphasise the directness of contact but rather the originality of the artworks. And according to McLintock's account, it was possible for artists in early twentieth-century New Zealand to experience direct contact with works of modern art in either Europe or New Zealand, however, because the majority of these artists were 'debarred […] from any direct

[220] 'Transfer, for instance, a group of European sixteenth century Old Masters to New Zealand and several things happen. First of all, the difference in light. The bright intensity of light in an island with the nearest continental land mass 1,200 miles away, at once alters the register of colour key.' Tomory, 'Looking at Art in New Zealand', p. 157.

contact' with art, that is, they did not have the means to travel to Europe, and the conservatism of the country's art schools and institutions meant that students were neither schooled in modern art nor able to view exemplary works of modern art in the original, for most of these artists their contact with European art was, in McLintock's account, indirect by default.

In contrast to Savage and McLintock's use of the term, Brown and Keith's usage is value-laden; they generally regard direct contact as positive, and the more direct the better. They use the term "direct contact" to distinguish between encounters with art in its original and thus supposedly authentic European context, where the modern work of art played a role in its own modernity, as opposed to contact with those same artworks in New Zealand, seen out of context and belatedly, where these artworks are reduced to examples of a modernity that has taken place elsewhere. In Brown and Keith, the directness of direct contact signifies a certain cultural and aesthetic difference between Europe and New Zealand.

In Brown and Keith's systematic usage, direct contact is not only a descriptive but also a classificatory term. Insofar as direct contact can be considered a class, the six instances in which Brown and Keith use the term can be regarded as exemplifying the very characteristic that each has in common, namely directness. However, the variety of qualitative experiences that they classify as direct contact is sufficient to suggest that in their usage the directness of direct contact is also variable. In other words, in some instances the quality of the direct contact that Brown and Keith describe seems less tangible and thus less direct than in other instances. This variability is evident when we compare a subject's direct contact with a concrete object to their direct contact with a more abstract one. While it is easy for a reader to imagine how a painter might have had direct contact with a painting, for example, by standing in front of the gallery wall on which it was hung, it is perhaps more difficult for a reader to imagine how an artist might have had direct contact with 'the modern art movements of Europe', even if the artist did in fact participate in that movement. How does an individual artist touch at first hand an art movement, that is, a corporate action, motion, manoeuvre, which is to a

certain extent an art-historical abstraction, and which, while quantifiable in one sense, is, in another sense, intangible?

Although my illustration would seem to point only to the relative variability of the directness of direct contact as relative to the abstractness of the object with and through which the subject comes into direct contact, I would like to suggest that what it shows is that even when used in the most literal sense, Brown and Keith are also using the term metaphorically. It would thus seem that Brown and Keith use the term at once literally and metaphorically, to signify on the one hand an event in which some sort of knowledge of art is passed tangibly from subject(s) or object(s) to a privileged subject, who is the recipient of direct contact, and on the other hand to indicate an intangible aspect of the acquisition of art knowledge, in an attempt to speak of what is untraceable to the historian of art.

Although in both of these examples direct contact is said to have occurred or not occurred in relation to count nouns ('the modern art movements of Europe' and 'the realities of art') and is thus conceived of as a quantifiable experience, I would argue that it is not always possible, for either an artist or an art historian, to quantify an artist's (own) experience of the movements and realities of art if the artist has acted as a participant rather than as a mere observer, because as a participant an artist is implicated in the very activities that constitute these 'movements' and 'realities'. While in some cases it may be possible to identify discrete sources of art, whether an artist or artwork, with which an artist has come into direct contact, i.e. spoken to or seen in person, and thus count, or determine the extent of, contact, in other cases, such as expatriation, where the artist is a participant in that with which he is in direct contact, i.e., an art movement, there is at least an aspect of this contact which must remain unquantifiable to both the artist and the art historian, and thus to a certain extent direct contact can be considered intangible, and the art historian's use of the term can be regarded as much as an attempt to speak of what is intangible, untraceable, in art, as it is a manner of witnessing the fact of contact. Or in other words, the term "direct contact" could be thought of as referring to that which is inalienable in the experience of participating (either as

viewer–visitor or producer, for example) in the work of art; that which cannot be passed on by testimony, and therefore cannot be appropriated or inherited by anyone other than the participant.

First Contact

Although Brown and Keith appear to speak very little of first contact in the sense of the first moment that Europeans come into contact with a new land and its indigenous inhabitants, that symbolic moment in which, as McLintock describes, 'artists had to play their part in recording the characteristics of the new scenes and peoples with whom they came in contact',[221] and use the term "first contact" only once,[222] they do however speak of the 'first fresh vision' of the topographical painters.[223] This could be understood as a strategic move in which the notion of first contact is transferred from the usual interest in the characteristic racial(ised) features and the often unclothed bodies of the indigenous inhabitants of territories, and onto the experience of seeing the unpopulated virgin landscape. The qualities of freshness and directness that Brown and Keith see in the work of later painters can be understood then as upholding a truth to a certain settler colonial experience of first contact, from which emerged a particular attention to the local light conditions and landforms.

The originary encounter with a particular as-yet-unseen scene bears the potential of an immediate experience of the scene that can be captured immediately, that is, without mediation, or directly. The idea(l) of first contact thus merges with direct contact. The first encounter is the opportune moment to capture the freshness of an immediate experience directly.

And while it cannot be said that either Savage or McLintock explicitly conceived of direct contact in terms of mediation, they do treat it as an event in

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[221] McLintock, 'Introduction', in *NCENZA*, p. 7.

[222] 'However the representation of the Maori provides a considerable body of work in New Zealand painting from the very first European contact to almost the present day, and although it is peripheral to the mainstream it deserves a study on its own account.' Brown and Keith, p. 17.

[223] Ibid., p. 22.

which the artwork is thought to be capable of mediating directly between viewer and world so as to affect some sort of transformation. For Savage the outcome of this mediation would be a transformed public, newly appreciative of the role of art in the country's development, a transformation which might in turn lead to an increase in private patronage. In McLintock's view, a lack of direct contact with contemporary art is one of the reasons why there was 'no evidence of the growth of a native art' in 1914.[224]

Conclusions

In tracing the appearance of the word "contact" — and to a lesser extent the word "distance" — in the literature that constitutes the archive of New Zealand art history, I have not only shown in this chapter that a discourse of contact is legible in the archive but also that contact, like distance, is a perennial theme of New Zealand art historiography. Indeed, the research presented in the tabulated study shows that these two themes and/or discourses (of contact and distance) often appear in tandem and are thereby interrelated and not mutually exclusive. In its identification of a double discourse of distance *and* contact, this chapter thus registers a counter impression of the New Zealand art-historical archive, which, as I have shown in the introduction to this chapter, is most often characterised as being excessively concerned with the New Zealand artist's 'distance and isolation from Europe'.[225] This counter impression to some extent constitutes a revision of our knowledge of the archive in question, so that it is now possible to say that contact is a recurrent and long-standing and not only a postcolonial and contemporary concern of New Zealand art historiography.

In this chapter, I have taken a broadly deconstructive approach to the interpretation of this historically underprivileged discourse of contact. Although I have demonstrated that there is in fact an "unsaid" discourse of contact running through the twentieth-century literature of New Zealand art history, which, I have suggested, has been occluded by the repressive focus on the

[224] McLintock, 'Introduction', p. 15.
[225] Pound, 'Distance Looks our Way', p. 21.

ostensibly melancholic and nationalist discourse of distance in the dominant interpretation of these sources, and thus warrants our attention, this chapter has not attempted to recuperate a discourse of contact in order to simply discredit and/or negate the bemoaned discourse of distance, and thus reiterate the disavowal of distance which, as I have shown in Chapter 1, was so pivotal to the contemporary (re)turn to an art history of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. In other words, this chapter has not simply presented a favourable interpretation of this now "sayable" discourse of contact, which could be perceived as particularly amenable to the present task of writing global contemporary histories of art — a task that necessarily emphasises connectivity and thus contact. On the contrary, through a series of three close readings of key texts selected from the tabulated study, this chapter has explored a discourse of contact in order to highlight and to at least begin to understand the complex ways in which it is not only entwined with a discourse of distance but also entangled with(in) a wider set of (imperial, national, international, and other art-historical) discourses. In these close readings, I have resisted a wholly positive construal of contact and have not shied away from exploring aspects of this discourse which may be perceived negatively, for example, the association of contact with certain imperialist and nationalist discourses in my analysis of Arthur Hirst's article 'The Future of Fine Art', and the covert and in some cases overt sexist and racist assumptions that are tied up with a discourse of contact in the art criticism of Hirst and A. R. D. Fairburn.

On the one hand, then, by privileging a reading of contact over distance, this chapter has thus, however momentarily, reversed the hierarchy of the dichotomy between these two art-historical discourses. On the other hand, however, my reading has not straightforwardly privileged a discourse of contact, but, insofar as it has construed contact as at once a positive and a negative discourse, that is, as a discourse that is ethically ambiguous, it has thus sought to complicate rather than reinforce the distance/contact binary opposition particular to the historiography of New Zealand art — in which distance is the privileged yet negative term, and contact the underprivileged yet positive term — even while reversing this dichotomous hierarchy. My reading

of contact as an ethically ambiguous discourse is thus supplementary to: on the one hand, the dominant exegetical tradition which claims that the historiography of New Zealand art is defined by a 'topos of distance and isolation',[226] and in archivizing this claim represses yet privileges a discourse of distance over contact; and on the other hand, the contemporary art-historical discourse of contact that recently emerged in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, which, as I have shown in Chapter 1, celebrates the possibilities of an art history of contact without questioning the presupposition that such an art history would naturally be post-national(ist) and postcolonial if not decolonial, that is, inherently aligned with a certain ethics and/or politics of the left. This chapter thus contests the perspectives of both the (post)modern art history of distance that is being, perhaps unfairly, repressed and negated, and the contemporary art history of contact that is being, perhaps too readily, affirmed, for both have overlooked the art-historical discourse of contact that is identified and examined here.

The findings of the research presented in this chapter are understood to pose a challenge more broadly to the partitioning and concomitant polarisation of the discourses of distance and contact in (the dominant interpretation of) New Zealand art historiography. As my reading of the art writing of the interwar Dominion has shown, the predicament of the fine artist in New Zealand — who is at a certain remove from the art practices, collections, and institutions of Europe, and is thus arguably removed from the sources of Western art — has not only been expressed as a problem of distance, but also as one of contact. And as my reading of later texts has shown, this problem continued to manifest in the literature that constitutes the New Zealand art-historical archive in terms of both distance *and* contact. Although in their so-called foundational histories of New Zealand art, McCormick and McLintock do discuss this problem more in terms of distance than contact, if we consider the uncanonical texts of art-historical interest that were also published in conjunction with the New Zealand Centennial, then this problem is registered

[226] Ibid., p. 21.

more in terms of contact than distance. Likewise, while in their now canonical *Introduction to New Zealand Painting*, Brown and Keith's discussion of the problem of distance greatly outweighs their discussion of contact, in his individually authored histories of twentieth-century New Zealand painting,[227] Brown's use of the term "contact" exceeds his references to the theme of distance. This chapter has thus shown that the discourses of distance and contact are closely, albeit variously, entwined in these texts — an observation that could easily be understated if it did not have several key implications for our understanding of New Zealand art historiography, two of which support the present chapter's central argument for reading this particular discourse of contact as a mode of deconstruction.

First, in showing that the twin discourses of distance and contact are in fact interwoven in the New Zealand art-historical literature, this chapter has also implicitly shown that to focus narrowly (and, I might add, obsessively) on the mournful refrain of a discourse of distance to the exclusion of a discourse of contact, as Pound does in his reading of the archive, is to mistake a partial manifestation of the twofold problem in question for the whole of which it is but symptomatic, and to ultimately misread how the historical predicament of the New Zealand European (settler) artist was fully expressed if not felt by those involved in the local art world(s) of twentieth-century New Zealand.

One-sided readings of this historical predicament, which are skewed towards an understanding of the problem as simply one of distance, have correctly identified that it revolves around a perceived lack — of access to exemplary works of European art, in the country's collections and in temporary exhibitions, and of the necessary resources to produce works of art in New Zealand which could rival those produced in Europe and other so-called Western countries — which seems to have been experienced as a haunting absence that is most often explained as an effect, and indeed affect, of the geographical distance between New Zealand and Europe. I would argue,

[227] Here I am referring to Brown's three catalogue essays on the history of New Zealand painting between 1900 and 1960, which were published by the Arts Council of New Zealand in 1972, 1975, and 1981.

however, that such readings, in focussing exclusively on a discourse of distance, overlook an equally crucial aspect of the libidinal economy of New Zealand art historiography, if not of art practice in twentieth-century New Zealand, namely, the artist's and/or art lover's desire for contact with artists and artworks — not only with old and modern European masters, but also with contemporary works and practitioners of the so-called New World — a drive which can be thought of in terms of Eros, the Freudian life instinct. This is to say that one-sided readings, like Pound's, which consider this historical yet in my view poorly historicised problem through the lens of an ostensibly melancholic discourse of sublime distance, are only interpreting a single, albeit characteristic, manifestation of this problem as Thanatos, the death instinct, while ignoring its manifestation as Eros. Such readings not only render the distance–contact relationship asymmetrical, they also tend to unduly focus on the lamentation of the perceived lack around which this libidinal economy revolves — a lack which is ultimately interpreted as a deficiency of a national "New Zealand" art rather than of (a) contemporary art — while disregarding the expressions of a desire for what we might now call "the contemporary", which in my view equally drives this economy. Insofar as my reading has emphasised an erotic and lively discourse of contact as inextricable from the more familiar melancholic and threnodic discourse of distance, this chapter opens up the possibility for a more balanced reading of the relationship between these twin discourses of New Zealand art historiography, and thereby the possibility of the deconstruction of this hierarchical relationship.

Second, in showing that while on the one hand the discourses of distance and contact are, generally speaking, closely entwined, and even twinned, in New Zealand art historiography, on the other hand this chapter has also shown that in the more canonical texts a discourse of distance is privileged above that of contact — or, conversely, that the New Zealand art-historical canon tends to exclude a discourse of contact — and that these two discourses are thus implicated differently in national(ist) histories of New Zealand art. As that which is excluded from yet inextricably entwined with a discourse that has been interpreted as the theme par excellence of the canonical histories of New

Zealand art, the discourse of contact can be understood as one of the 'neglected corners' — for surely there are others — of New Zealand art history, that is, as a 'site that lends itself to a deconstruction to come'.[228] I would thus argue that to (re)read these canonical texts from the point of view of a discourse of contact and with an eye for "the contemporary" — a task that I have only been able to begin in this chapter — would be to perform a subversive shift in our perspective of these texts, so that they are not only seen as straightforwardly foundational of a national art history, but also as generative of other — for example, contemporary — art histories.

Rather than periodise an art history and/or art-historical discourse of contact as post-national(ist), in this chapter I have proposed that we understand contact as at once a nationalist and an unnational(ist) art-historical discourse. That is, as a paradoxical discourse which could equally engender national and unnational histories of (New Zealand) art. In proposing this, I have borrowed and/or adapted the term "unnational" from Butler and Donaldson's deconstructive unAustralian art-historical project, which aims to decentre the settler-colonial perspective of the national histories of Australian and New Zealand art by writing from the point of view(s) of that which such a perspective excludes. While Butler and Donaldson take up the outsider position of the 'emigrant and immigrant artists' in their reframing of these national histories of art 'from the outside in',[229] in this chapter, I have not identified an excluded subject position but rather an excluded discourse that can, in my view, provide an analytical vantage point from which to reread the literature of New Zealand art history for what I have called here the unnational — for, that is, that which does not necessarily support, and can thus be used to deconstruct, the national framework of "New Zealand" art. Such a rereading would also pay particular attention to the attendant concern with, and desire for, the contemporary,

[228] Jacques Derrida, *Memoires for Paul de Man* (New York, NY: Columbia UP, 1986), p 72.

[229] Butler and Donaldson, 'Stay, Go, or Come', p. 120; Butler and Donaldson, 'Cities within Cities', p. 4.

which, as I have suggested above, has also been occluded by and from the dominant interpretation of the New Zealand art-historical literature.

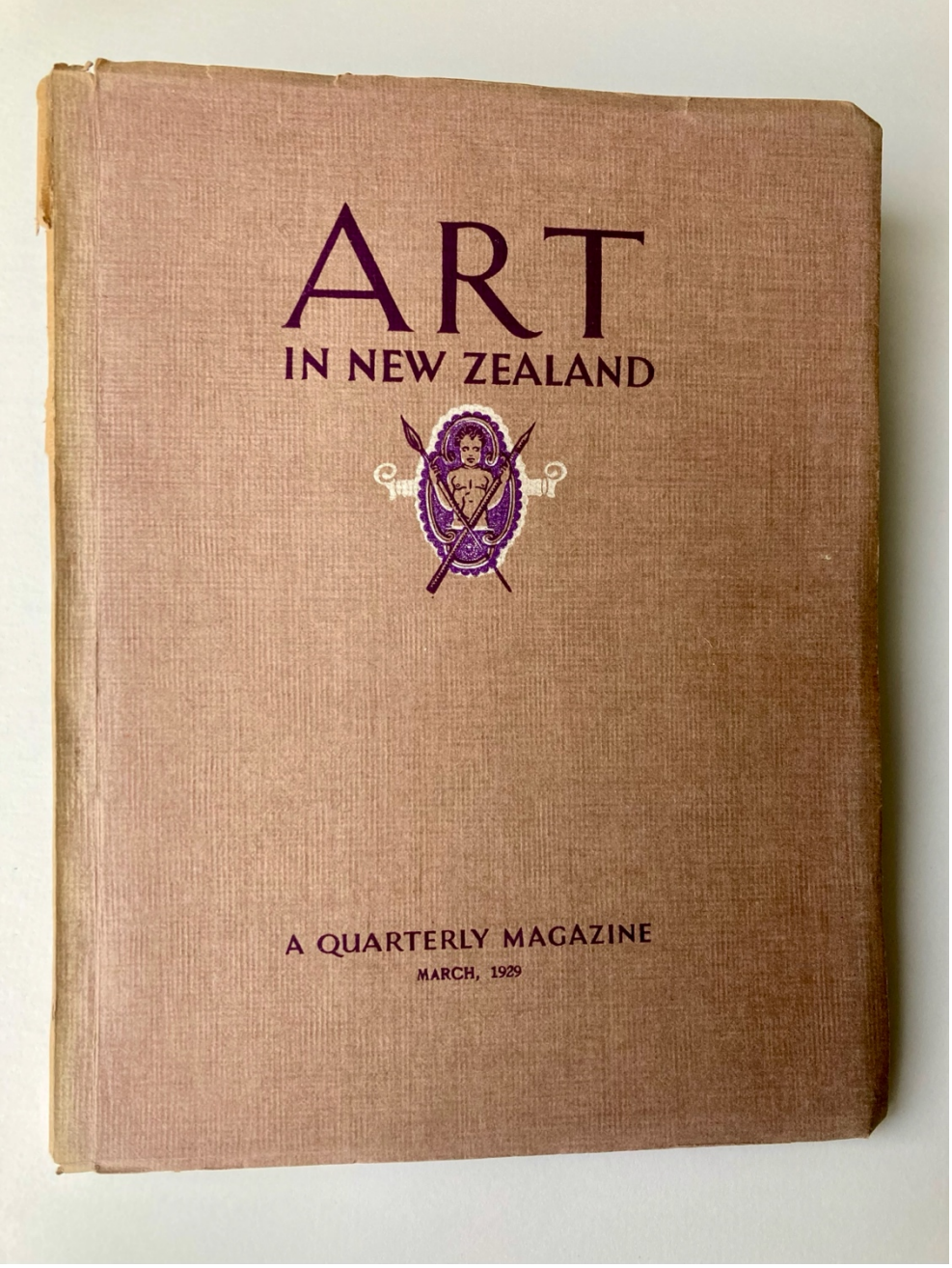
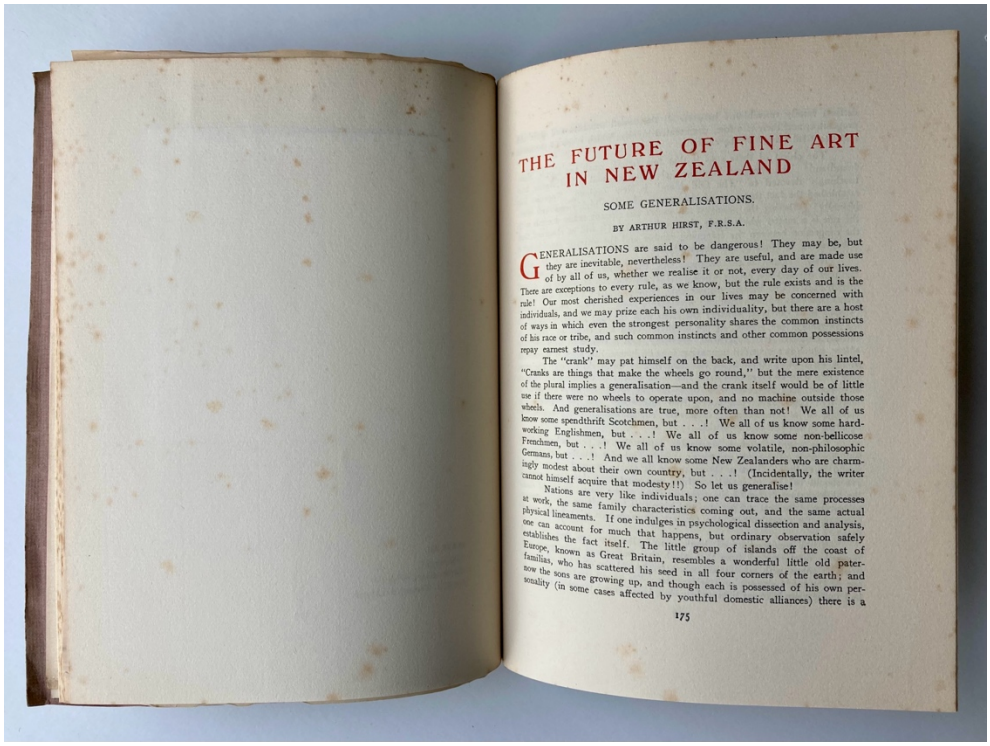


Figure 2.1 Front cover of the third issue of the quarterly magazine *Art in New Zealand*, March 1929, printed and published by Harry H. Tombs, Wellington, 60 pp., 188 × 243 mm, 5 colour plates + 18 black and white plates.



THE FUTURE OF FINE ART IN NEW ZEALAND

SOME GENERALISATIONS.

BY ARTHUR HIRST, F.R.S.A.

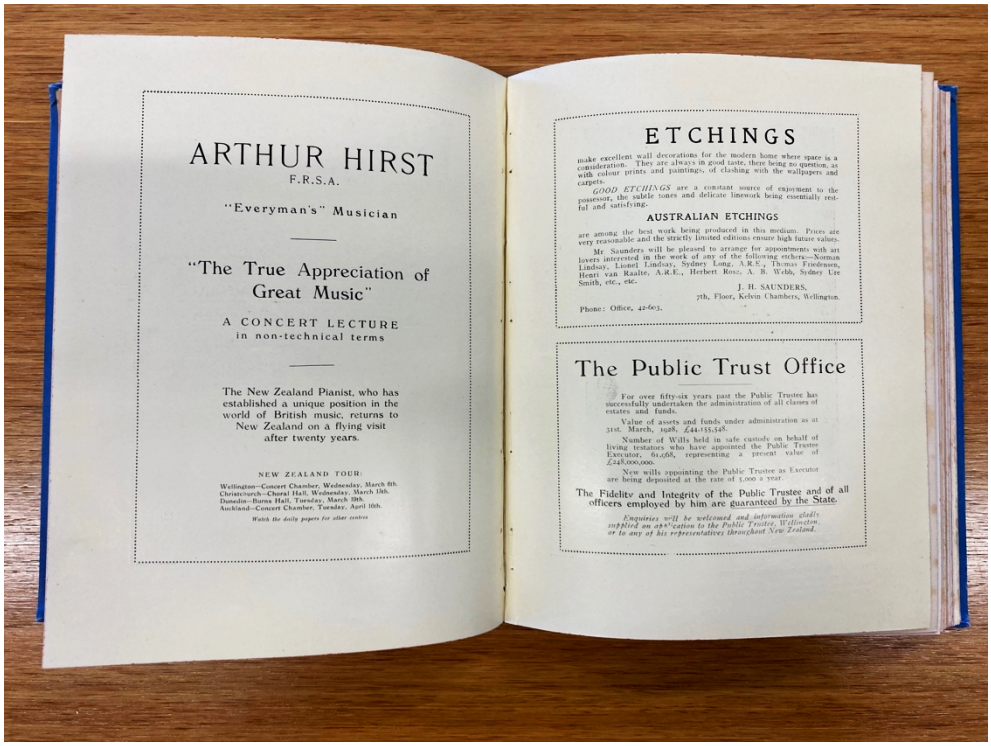
GENERALISATIONS are said to be dangerous! They may be, but they are inevitable, nevertheless! They are useful, and are made use of by all of us, whether we realise it or not, every day of our lives. There are exceptions to every rule, as we know, but the rule exists and is the rule! Our most cherished experiences in our lives may be concerned with individuals, and we may prize each his own individuality, but there are a host of ways in which even the strongest personality shares the common instincts of his race or tribe, and such common instincts and other common possessions repay earnest study.

The "crank" may pat himself on the back, and write upon his lintel, "Cranks are things that make the wheels go round," but the mere existence of the plural implies a generalisation—and the crank itself would be of little use if there were no wheels to operate upon, and no machine outside those wheels. And generalisations are true, more often than not! We all of us know some spendthrift Scotchmen, but . . .! We all of us know some hard-working Englishmen, but . . .! We all of us know some non-bellicose Frenchmen, but . . .! We all of us know some volatile, non-philosophic Germans, but . . .! And we all know some New Zealanders who are charmingly modest about their own country, but . . .! (Incidentally, the writer cannot himself acquire that modesty!!) So let us generalise!

Nations are very like individuals; one can trace the same processes at work, the same family characteristics coming out, and the same actual physical lineaments. If one indulges in psychological dissection and analysis, one can account for much that happens, but ordinary observation safely establishes the fact itself. The little group of islands off the coast of Europe, known as Great Britain, resembles a wonderful little old paterfamilias, who has scattered his seed in all four corners of the earth; and now the sons are growing up, and though each is possessed of his own personality (in some cases affected by youthful domestic alliances) there is a

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Figure 2.2 The first page of Arthur Hirst's article 'The Future of Fine Art in New Zealand: Some Generalisations', *Art in New Zealand,* 1.3 (1929), 175–78.



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F.R.S.A.
"Everyman's" Musician

"The True Appreciation of Great Music"

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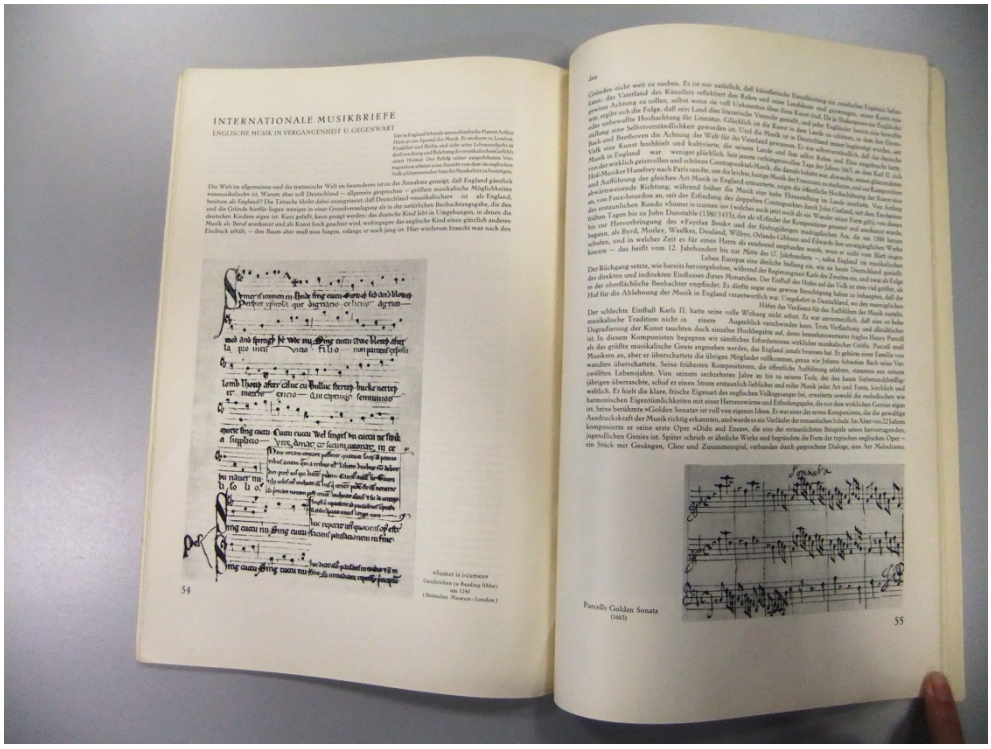
Figure 2.3 Full-page advertisement promoting the New Zealand tour of Arthur Hirst's concert lecture 'The True Appreciation of Great Music' (verso), published alongside other advertisements at the front of *Art in New Zealand*, 1.2 (1928) (recto).



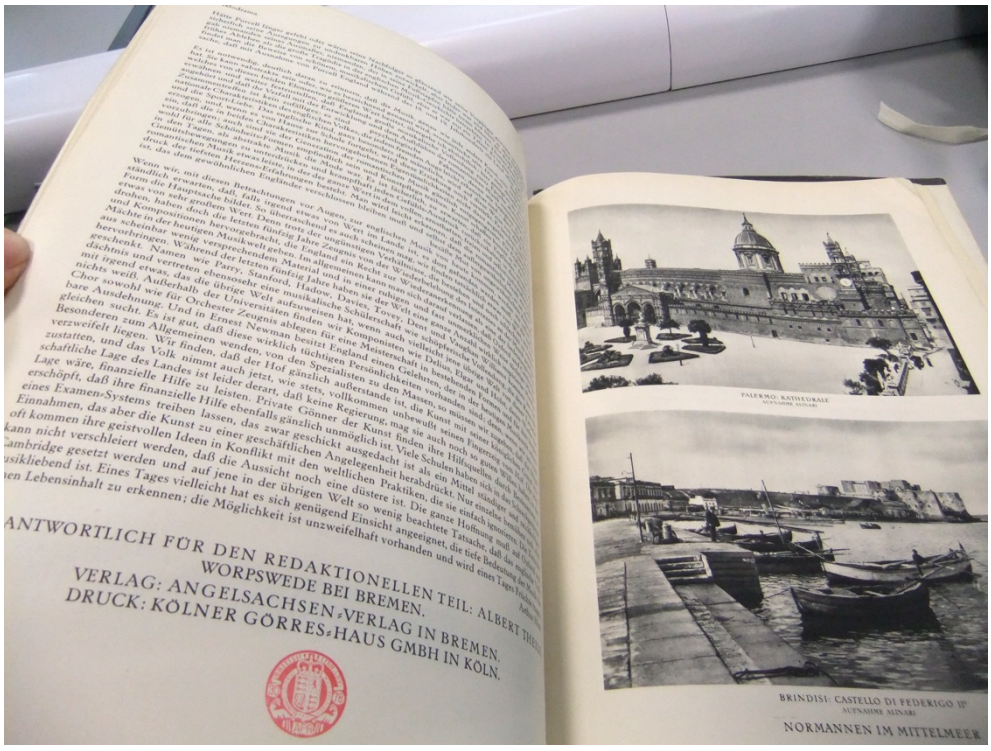
Figure 2.4 Front cover of the August 1928 issue of *Die Böttcherstrasse*, which features an article by Arthur Hirst.



Figure 2.5 Four issues of the magazine *Die Böttcherstrasse*, published in 1928, shown in reverse chronological order: (L–R) August, July, June, and May.

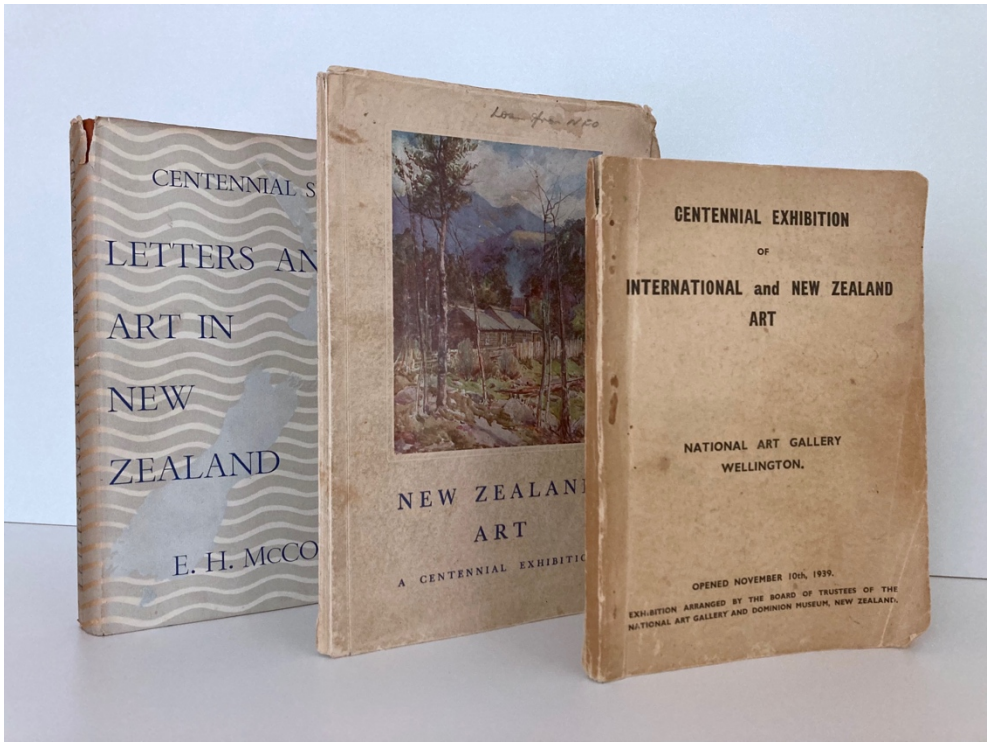


(a)



(b)

Figure 2.6 Page views of Arthur Hirst's article 'Englische Musik in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart', *Die Böttcherstrasse*, 1.4 (1928), 54–56, open at: (a) pp. 54–55; (b) p. 56 (verso).



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 2.7 Three texts documenting New Zealand art, published in conjunction with the New Zealand Centennial: (a) (L–R) E. H. McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940), *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940), and *Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art* (Wellington: National Art Gallery, 1939), standing; (b) held fanned out displaying front covers; (c) and held fanned out displaying back covers.

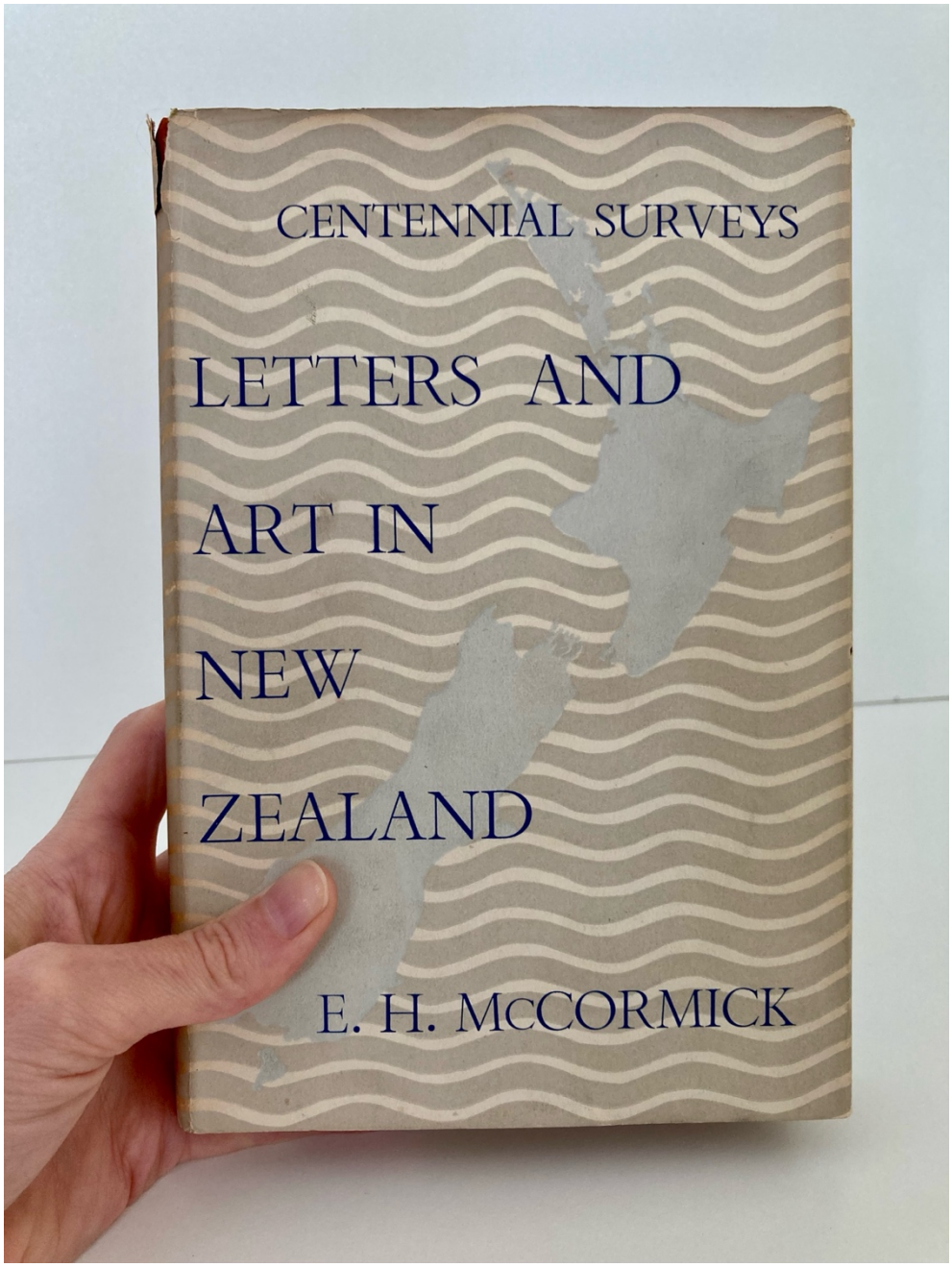
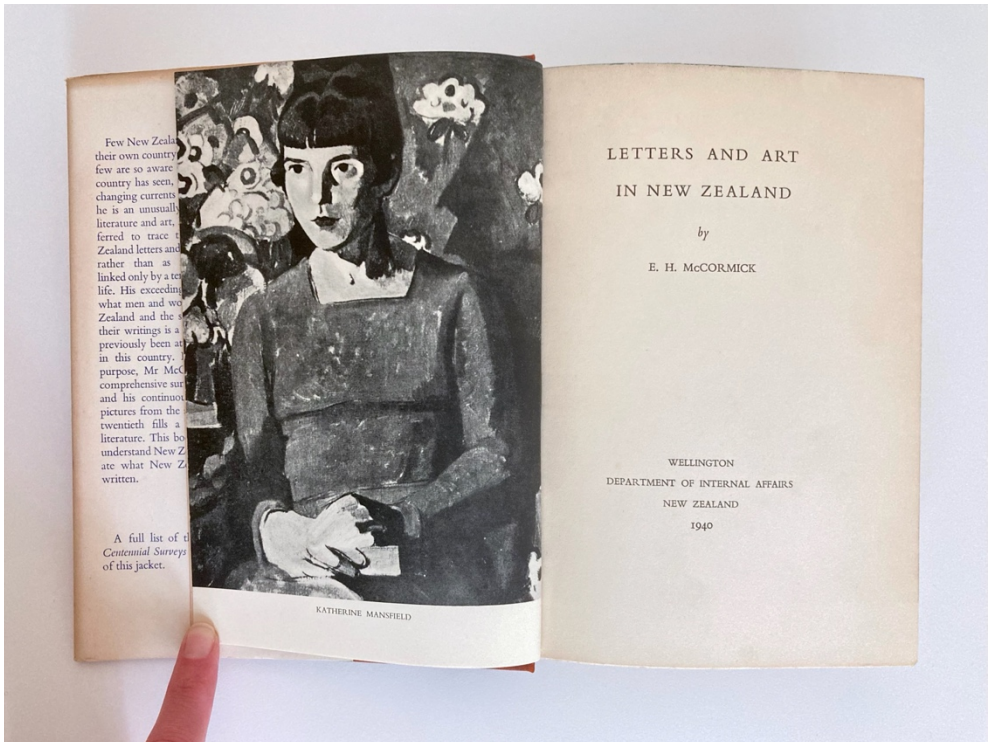
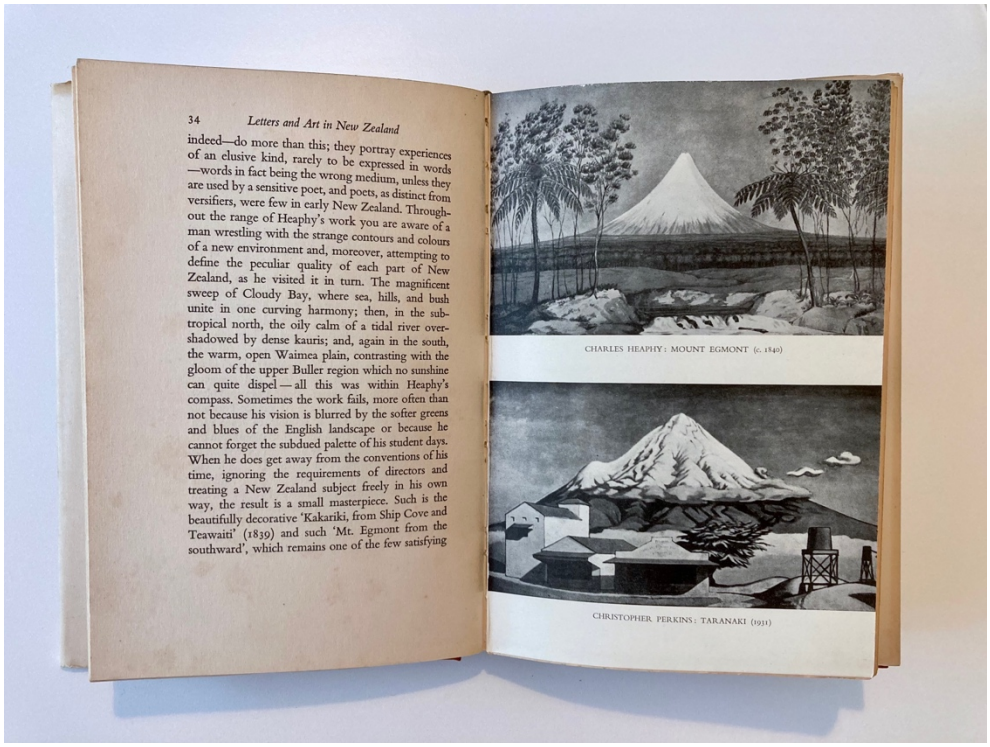


Figure 2.8 Front cover of E. H. McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand*, New Zealand Centennial Surveys, 10 (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940), 222 pp., 145 × 215 mm, 14 black and white plates.



(a)

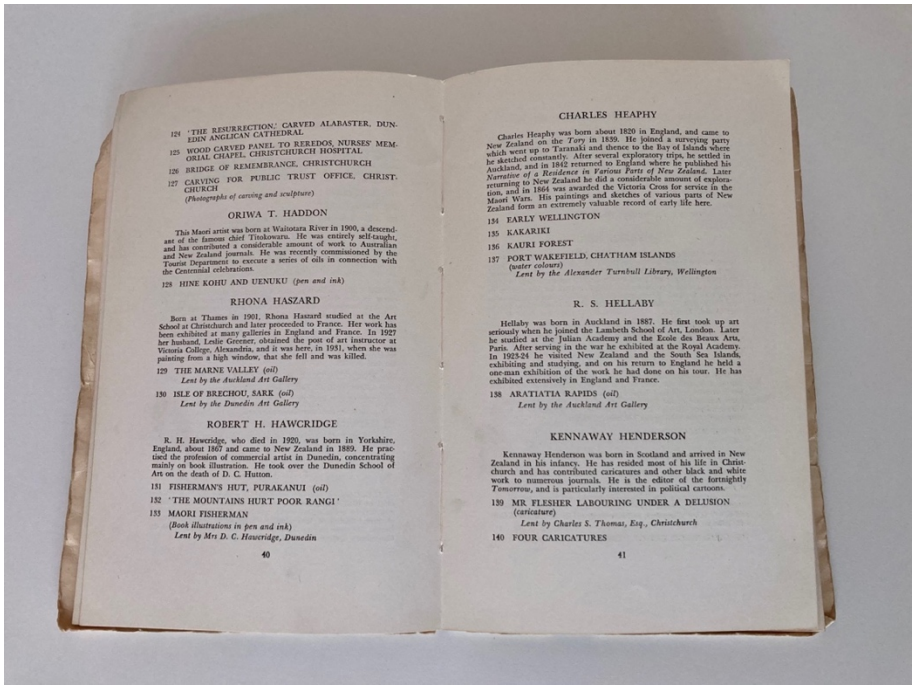


(b)

Figure 2.9 Page views of McCormick's *Letters and Art in New Zealand* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940) open at: (a) the frontispiece, Anne Estelle Rice, *Portrait of Katherine Mansfield*, 1918, oil on canvas, 520 × 655 mm, Te Papa (1940-0009-1) (verso) and the title page (recto); (b) and two illustrations of Mount Taranaki, painted by Charles Heaphy, *c*. 1840 (top recto), and Christopher Perkins, 1931 (bottom recto).



Figure 2.10 Front cover of *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940), exhibition catalogue, 80 pp., 149 × 228 mm, 32 black and white plates + 1 colour plate of a watercolour by Alfred Wilson Walsh.



124 'THE RESURRECTION.' CARVED ALABASTER. DUNEDIN ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL.
125 WOOD CARVED PANEL TO REREDOS, NURSES' MEMORIAL CHAPEL, CHRISTCHURCH HOSPITAL
126 BRIDGE OF REMEMBRANCE, CHRISTCHURCH
127 CARVING FOR PUBLIC TRUST OFFICE, CHRISTCHURCH
(Photographs of carving and sculpture)

ORIWA T. HADDON

This Maori artist was born at Waitotara River in 1900, a descendant of the famous chief Titokowaru. He was entirely self-taught, and has contributed a considerable amount of work to Australian and New Zealand journals. He was recently commissioned by the Tourist Department to execute a series of oils in connection with the Centennial celebrations.

128 HINE KOHU AND UENUKU *(pen and ink)*

RHONA HASZARD

Born at Thames in 1901, Rhona Hassard studied at the Art School at Christchurch and later proceeded to France. Her work has been exhibited at many galleries in England and France. In 1927 her husband, Leslie Greener, obtained the post of art instructor at Victoria College, Alexandria, and it was here, in 1931, when she was painting from a high window, that she fell and was killed.

129 THE MARNE VALLEY *(oil)*
Lent by the Auckland Art Gallery
130 ISLE OF BRECHOU, SARK *(oil)*
Lent by the Dunedin Art Gallery

ROBERT H. HAWCRIDGE

R. H. Hawcridge, who died in 1920, was born in Yorkshire, England, about 1867 and came to New Zealand in 1889. He practised the profession of commercial artist in Dunedin, concentrating mainly on book illustration. He took over the Dunedin School of Art on the death of D. C. Hutton.

131 FISHERMAN'S HUT, PURAKANUI *(oil)*
132 'THE MOUNTAINS HURT POOR RANGI'
133 MAORI FISHERMAN
(Book illustrations in pen and ink)
Lent by Mrs D. C. Hawcridge, Dunedin

40

CHARLES HEAPHY

Charles Heaphy was born about 1820 in England, and came to New Zealand on the *Tory* in 1839. He joined a surveying party which went up to Taranaki and thence to the Bay of Islands where he sketched constantly. After several exploratory trips, he settled in Auckland, and in 1842 returned to England where he published his *Narrative of a Residence in Various Parts of New Zealand*. Later returning to New Zealand he did a considerable amount of exploration, and in 1864 was awarded the Victoria Cross for service in the Maori Wars. His paintings and sketches of various parts of New Zealand form an extremely valuable record of early life here.

134 EARLY WELLINGTON
135 KAKARIKI
136 KAURI FOREST
137 PORT WAKEFIELD, CHATHAM ISLANDS
(water colours)
Lent by the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

R. S. HELLABY

Hellaby was born in Auckland in 1887. He first took up art seriously when he joined the Lambeth School of Art, London. Later he studied at the Julian Academy and the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris. After serving in the war he exhibited at the Royal Academy. In 1923-24 he visited New Zealand and the South Sea Islands, exhibiting and studying, and on his return to England he held a one-man exhibition of the work he had done on his tour. He has exhibited extensively in England and France.

138 ARATIATIA RAPIDS *(oil)*
Lent by the Auckland Art Gallery

KENNAWAY HENDERSON

Kennaway Henderson was born in Scotland and arrived in New Zealand in his infancy. He has resided most of his life in Christchurch and has contributed caricatures and other black and white work to numerous journals. He is the editor of the fortnightly *Tomorrow*, and is particularly interested in political cartoons.

139 MR FLESHER LABOURING UNDER A DELUSION
(caricature)
Lent by Charles S. Thomas, Esq., Christchurch
140 FOUR CARICATURES

41

(a)

The image originally presented here has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

(b)

Figure 2.11 Page views of *National Centennial Exhibition of New Zealand Art* (Wellington: Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1940), open at: (a) the catalogue entry for Oriwa T. Haddon, the only Māori artist included in the exhibition, p. 40 (verso); (b) and two of the four plates in the catalogue that illustrate works by artist-women: Margaret Stoddart, *Native Clematis*, 1931, watercolour, 463 × 607 mm, Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū (69/29), plate 289 (top verso); and A. Lois White, *War Makers*, 1937, oil on canvas, 705 × 851 mm, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 1970 (1970/15), plate 337 (bottom verso).

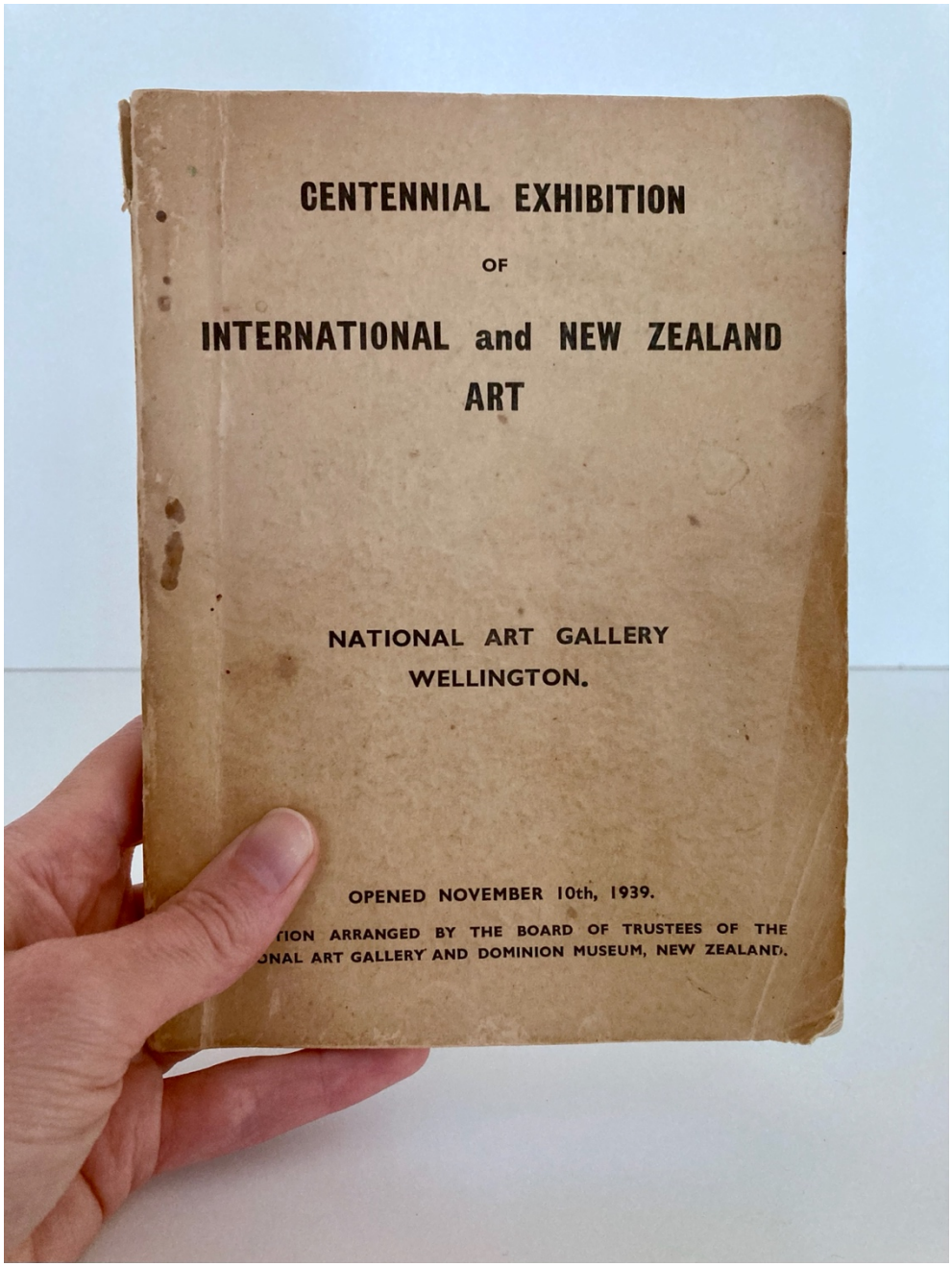
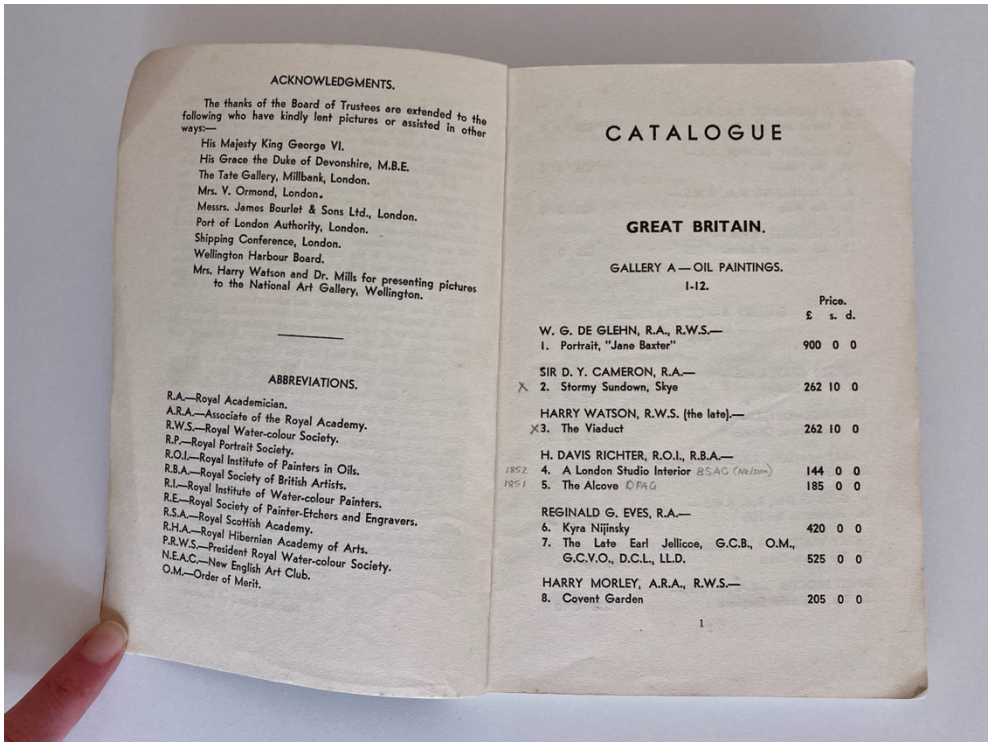


Figure 2.12 Front cover of *Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art* (Wellington: National Art Gallery, 1939), exhibition catalogue, 84 pp., 138 × 186 mm, 18 black and white plates.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The thanks of the Board of Trustees are extended to the following who have kindly lent pictures or assisted in other ways:—

His Majesty King George VI.
His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, M.B.E.
The Tate Gallery, Millbank, London.
Mrs. V. Ormond, London.
Messrs. James Bourlet & Sons Ltd., London.
Port of London Authority, London.
Shipping Conference, London.
Wellington Harbour Board.
Mrs. Harry Watson and Dr. Mills for presenting pictures to the National Art Gallery, Wellington.

ABBREVIATIONS.

R.A.—Royal Academician.
A.R.A.—Associate of the Royal Academy.
R.W.S.—Royal Water-colour Society.
R.P.—Royal Portrait Society.
R.O.I.—Royal Institute of Painters in Oils.
R.B.A.—Royal Society of British Artists.
R.I.—Royal Institute of Water-colour Painters.
R.E.—Royal Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers.
R.S.A.—Royal Scottish Academy.
R.H.A.—Royal Hibernian Academy of Arts.
P.R.W.S.—President Royal Water-colour Society.
N.E.A.C.—New English Art Club.
O.M.—Order of Merit.

CATALOGUE

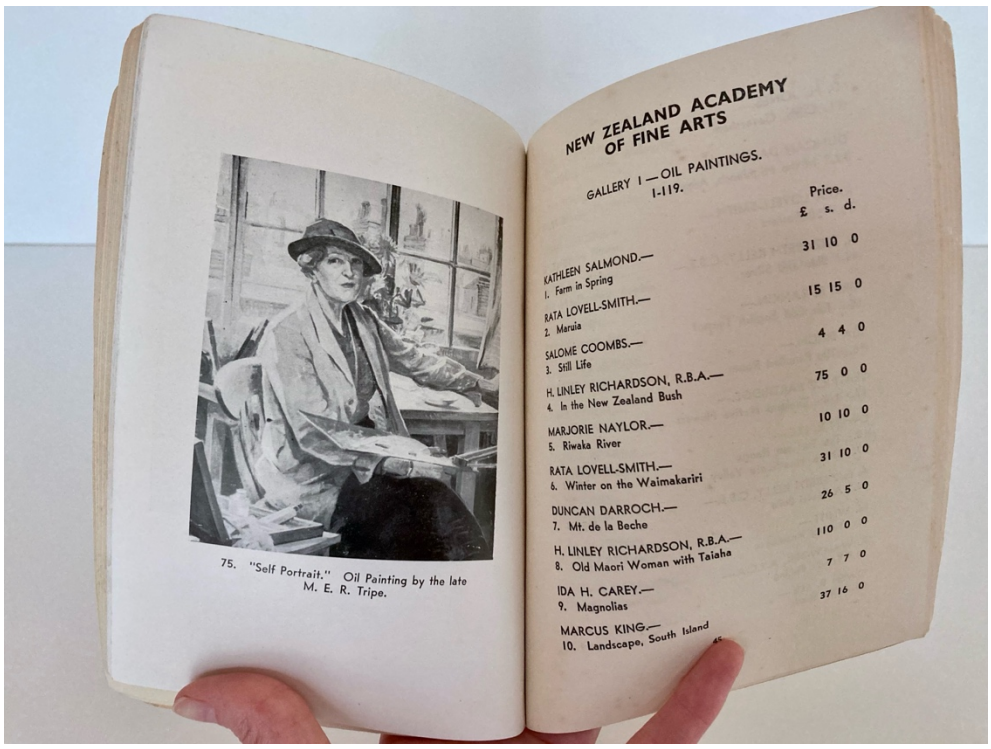
GREAT BRITAIN.

GALLERY A—OIL PAINTINGS.
1-12.

	Price. £ s. d.
W. G. DE GLEHN, R.A., R.W.S.—	
1. Portrait, "Jane Baxter"	900 0 0
SIR D. Y. CAMERON, R.A.—	
2. Stormy Sundown, Skye	262 10 0
HARRY WATSON, R.W.S. (the late).—	
3. The Viaduct	262 10 0
H. DAVIS RICHTER, R.O.I., R.B.A.—	
4. A London Studio Interior BSAG (Nelson)	144 0 0
5. The Alcove CPAG	185 0 0
REGINALD G. EVES, R.A.—	
6. Kyra Nijinsky	420 0 0
7. The Late Earl Jellicoe, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., D.C.L., LL.D.	525 0 0
HARRY MORLEY, A.R.A., R.W.S.—	
8. Covent Garden	205 0 0

1

(a)



75. "Self Portrait." Oil Painting by the late M. E. R. Tripe.

NEW ZEALAND ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS

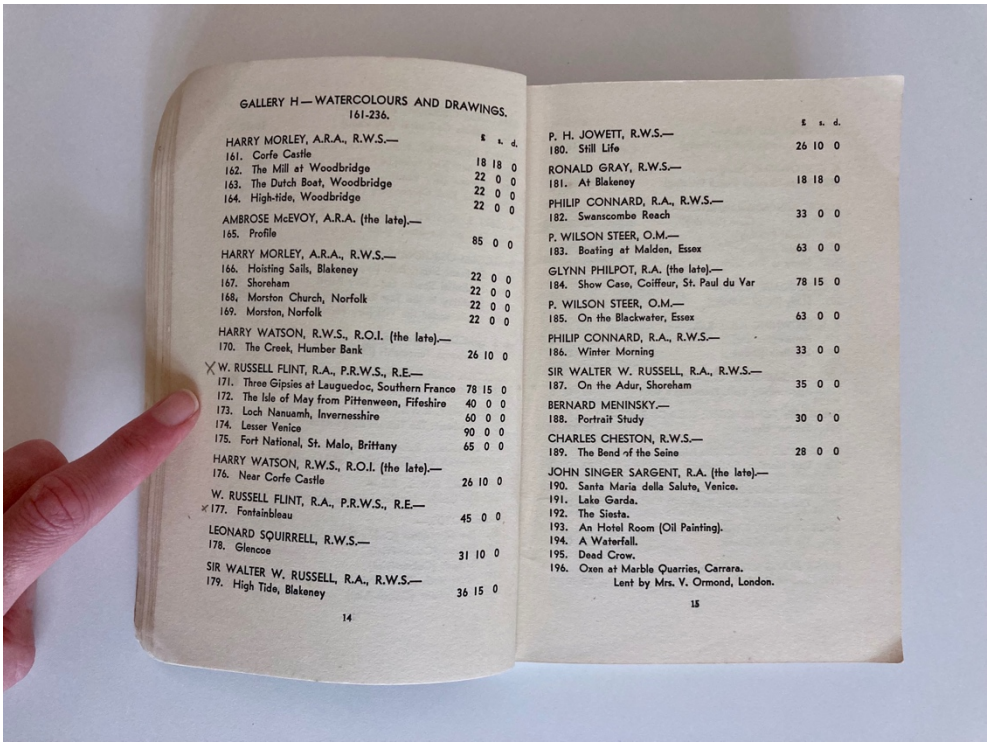
GALLERY 1—OIL PAINTINGS.
1-119.

	Price. £ s. d.
KATHLEEN SALMOND.—	
1. Farm in Spring	31 10 0
RATA LOVELL-SMITH.—	
2. Maruia	15 15 0
SALOME COOMBS.—	
3. Still Life	4 4 0
H. LINLEY RICHARDSON, R.B.A.—	
4. In the New Zealand Bush	75 0 0
MARJORIE NAYLOR.—	
5. Riwaka River	10 10 0
RATA LOVELL-SMITH.—	
6. Winter on the Waimakariri	31 10 0
DUNCAN DARROCH.—	
7. Mt. de la Beche	26 5 0
H. LINLEY RICHARDSON, R.B.A.—	
8. Old Maori Woman with Taiaha	110 0 0
IDA H. CAREY.—	
9. Magnolias	7 7 0
MARCUS KING.—	
10. Landscape, South Island	37 16 0

45

(b)

Figure 2.13 Page views of *Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art* (Wellington: National Art Gallery, 1939), open at: (a) the first page of entries in the International Art section (recto); (b) and the first page of entries in the New Zealand Art section (recto), opposite the final plate (verso) of a section of illustrations that divides the listings of International Art and New Zealand Art.



GALLERY H — WATERCOLOURS AND DRAWINGS.
161-236.

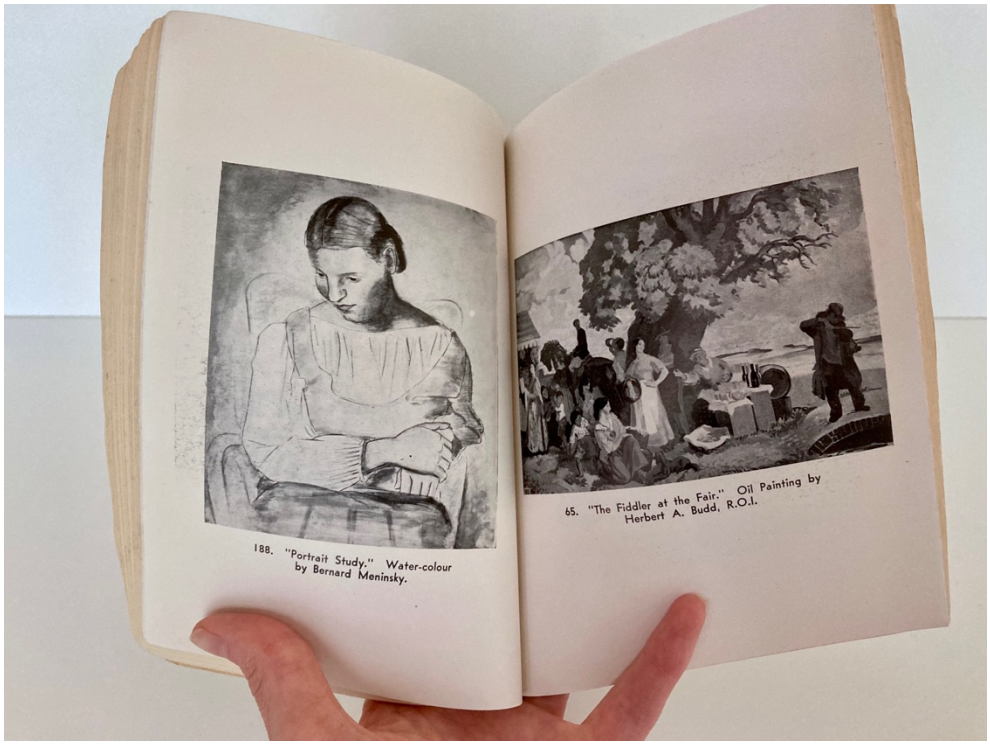
	£	s.	d.
HARRY MORLEY, A.R.A., R.W.S.—			
161. Corfe Castle	18	18	0
162. The Mill at Woodbridge	22	0	0
163. The Dutch Boat, Woodbridge	22	0	0
164. High-tide, Woodbridge	22	0	0
AMBROSE McEVOY, A.R.A. (the late).—			
165. Profile	85	0	0
HARRY MORLEY, A.R.A., R.W.S.—			
166. Hoisting Sails, Blakeney	22	0	0
167. Shoreham	22	0	0
168. Morston Church, Norfolk	22	0	0
169. Morston, Norfolk	22	0	0
HARRY WATSON, R.W.S., R.O.I. (the late).—			
170. The Creek, Humber Bank	26	10	0
W. RUSSELL FLINT, R.A., P.R.W.S., R.E.—			
171. Three Gipsies at Lauguedoc, Southern France	78	15	0
172. The Isle of May from Pittenween, Fifeshire	40	0	0
173. Loch Nanuamh, Invernesshire	60	0	0
174. Lesser Venice	90	0	0
175. Fort National, St. Malo, Brittany	65	0	0
HARRY WATSON, R.W.S., R.O.I. (the late).—			
176. Near Corfe Castle	26	10	0
W. RUSSELL FLINT, R.A., P.R.W.S., R.E.—			
177. Fontainbleau	45	0	0
LEONARD SQUIRRELL, R.W.S.—			
178. Glencoe	31	10	0
SIR WALTER W. RUSSELL, R.A., R.W.S.—			
179. High Tide, Blakeney	36	15	0

14

	£	s.	d.
P. H. JOWETT, R.W.S.—			
180. Still Life	26	10	0
RONALD GRAY, R.W.S.—			
181. At Blakeney	18	18	0
PHILIP CONNARD, R.A., R.W.S.—			
182. Swanscombe Reach	33	0	0
P. WILSON STEER, O.M.—			
183. Boating at Malden, Essex	63	0	0
GLYNN PHILPOT, R.A. (the late).—			
184. Show Case, Coiffeur, St. Paul du Var	78	15	0
P. WILSON STEER, O.M.—			
185. On the Blackwater, Essex	63	0	0
PHILIP CONNARD, R.A., R.W.S.—			
186. Winter Morning	33	0	0
SIR WALTER W. RUSSELL, R.A., R.W.S.—			
187. On the Adur, Shoreham	35	0	0
BERNARD MENINSKY.—			
188. Portrait Study	30	0	0
CHARLES CHESTON, R.W.S.—			
189. The Bend of the Seine	28	0	0
JOHN SINGER SARGENT, R.A. (the late).—			
190. Santa Maria della Salute, Venice.			
191. Lake Garda.			
192. The Siesta.			
193. An Hotel Room (Oil Painting).			
194. A Waterfall.			
195. Dead Crow.			
196. Oxen at Marble Quarries, Carrara. Lent by Mrs. V. Ormond, London.			

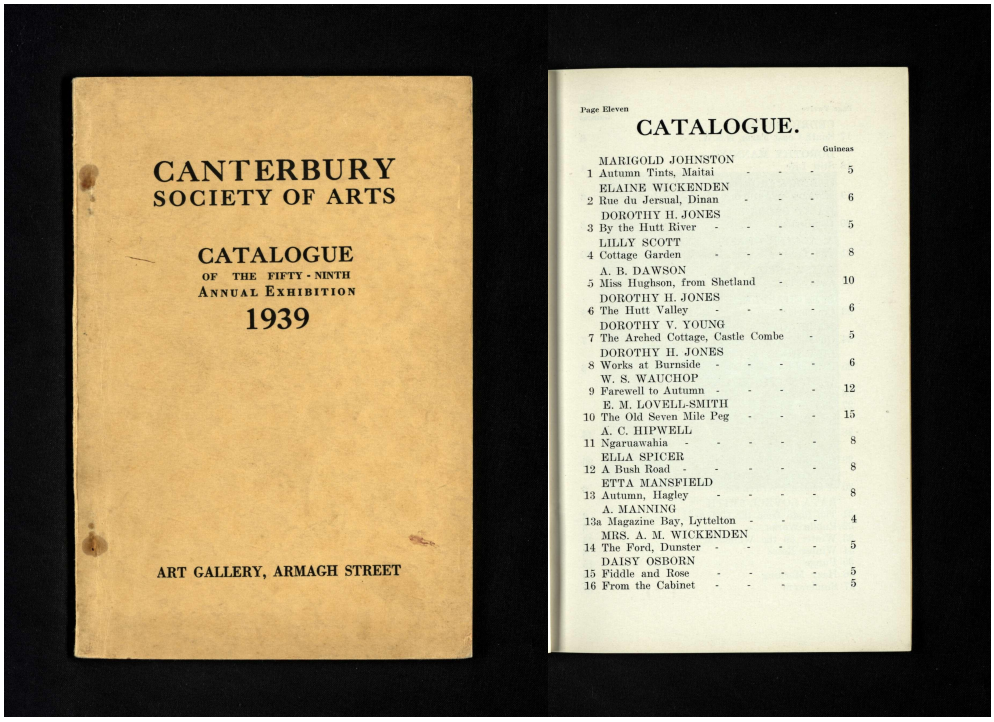
15

(a)



(b)

Figure 2.14 Page views of *Centennial Exhibition of International and New Zealand Art* (Wellington: National Art Gallery, 1939), open at: (a) pp. 14–15, showing pencil marks that indicate a purchase; (b) and illustrations of work by British artists Bernard Meninsky (verso) and Herbert A. Budd (recto).


CANTERBURY
SOCIETY OF ARTS

CATALOGUE
OF THE FIFTY-NINTH
ANNUAL EXHIBITION
1939

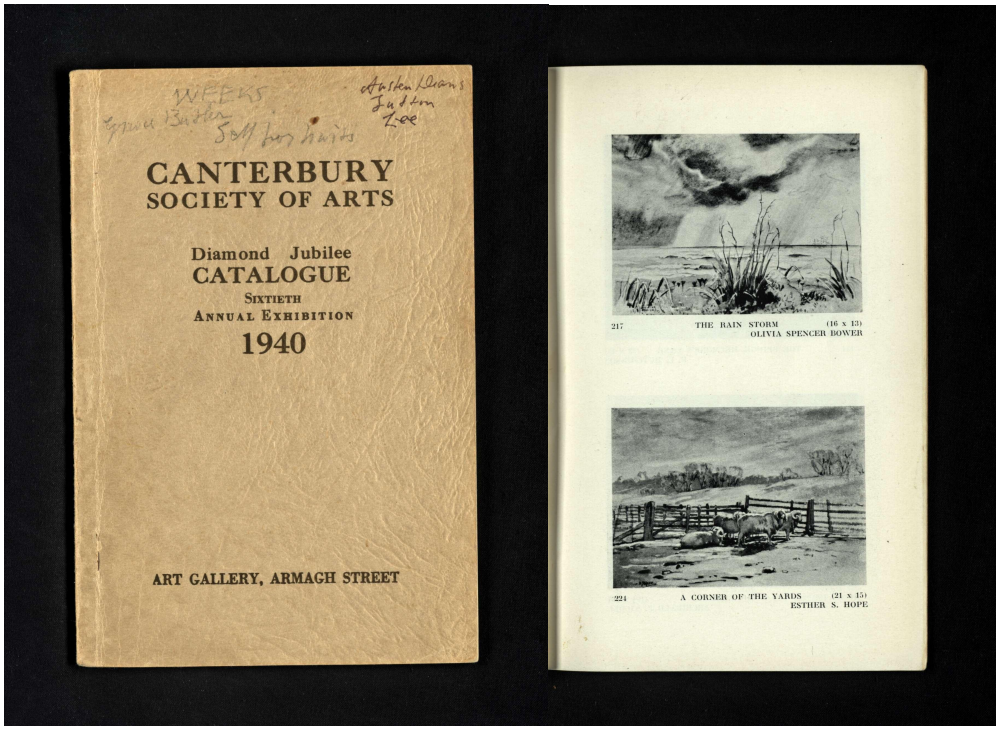
ART GALLERY, ARMAGH STREET

Page Eleven

CATALOGUE.

		Guineas
	MARIGOLD JOHNSTON	
1	Autumn Tints, Maitai	5
	ELAINE WICKENDEN	
2	Rue du Jersual, Dinan	6
	DOROTHY H. JONES	
3	By the Hutt River	5
	LILLY SCOTT	
4	Cottage Garden	8
	A. B. DAWSON	
5	Miss Hughson, from Shetland	10
	DOROTHY H. JONES	
6	The Hutt Valley	6
	DOROTHY V. YOUNG	
7	The Arched Cottage, Castle Combe	5
	DOROTHY H. JONES	
8	Works at Burnside	6
	W. S. WAUCHOP	
9	Farewell to Autumn	12
	E. M. LOVELL-SMITH	
10	The Old Seven Mile Peg	15
	A. C. HIPWELL	
11	Ngaruawahia	8
	ELLA SPICER	
12	A Bush Road	8
	ETTA MANSFIELD	
13	Autumn, Hagley	8
	A. MANNING	
13a	Magazine Bay, Lyttelton	4
	MRS. A. M. WICKENDEN	
14	The Ford, Dunster	5
	DAISY OSBORN	
15	Fiddle and Rose	5
16	From the Cabinet	5

Figure 2.15 The Canterbury Society of Arts annual exhibition catalogue for 1939, Robert and Barbara Stewart Library and Archives, Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū: front cover (left), and first page of catalogue entries (right).


CANTERBURY
SOCIETY OF ARTS

Diamond Jubilee
CATALOGUE
SIXTIETH
ANNUAL EXHIBITION
1940

ART GALLERY, ARMAGH STREET

217 THE RAIN STORM (16 x 13)
OLIVIA SPENCER BOWER

224 A CORNER OF THE YARDS (21 x 15)
ESTHER S. HOPE

Figure 2.16 The Canterbury Society of Arts annual exhibition catalogue for 1940, Robert and Barbara Stewart Library and Archives, Christchurch Art Gallery Te Puna o Waiwhetū: front cover (left), and illustrations of work by Olivia Spencer Bower (top right) and Esther Hope (bottom left).

Chapter 3

The Returning of Francis Upritchard and the Question of an Aesthetic of Contact

And What Happened to Francis Upritchard?

The work of New Zealand-born artist Francis Upritchard (b. 1976) has been well received in Europe, the United States of America and the Asia-Pacific. Upritchard graduated with a Bachelor of Fine Arts, majoring in sculpture, from the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand, in 1997. Following the completion of her studies, Upritchard chose to leave New Zealand to pursue her career as an artist.[1] In 1998 she relocated from Auckland to London, England, where she currently lives and works. From her studio base in London, once imperial metropole and significant destination for artists who journeyed

[1] In 'Stay, Go, or Come', Butler and Donaldson discuss the choice that artists have made and still do make to leave Australia, in the context of a wider discussion in which the authors contemplate the possibilities of 'unAustralian' histories of art that would not only account for artists who 'stay' in Australia but would also include emigrant artists who 'go' from Australia and immigrant artists who 'come' to Australia. The context of this choice to 'go', as Butler and Donaldson put it, is also relevant to the historical and contemporary contexts that have led and do lead artists in New Zealand to leave also, so that in the following passages where it is written Australia or Australian it could also be written New Zealand: 'it is a conscious choice for Australian artists whether to leave permanently or to live and work overseas for a period before returning. It is a choice already known to them; it has precedents from the beginnings of Australian art'; 'These three activities [staying, going, and coming] — leaving the country and then coming back, leaving the country permanently, and arriving from overseas — are in themselves significant [...] They are simply what Australian artists do. They reflect artists' experiences and what happens artistically in Australia [...] they nevertheless constitute a choice that runs throughout the history of Australian art and is still central for artists today.' (pp. 120–21). This is not to say, however, that the historical and contemporary conditions for art practice in Australia and New Zealand have been or are identical; but that the shared antipodean situation of both Australia and New Zealand make substitution valid in this case.

by sea from the South Pacific, Upritchard has been able to maintain a regular exhibition practice in New Zealand while establishing a corresponding international career. In 2003, Upritchard was shortlisted for the Beck's Futures award hosted by the Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, in which she exhibited *Save Yourself* (Figure 3.6), an installation that was acquired by the Saatchi Gallery, who subsequently exhibited it in their show 'New Blood: New Young Artists, New Acquisitions' in 2004 (Figure 3.7). And in 2006, she became the first non-New Zealand-based artist to be awarded the Walters Prize, a biennial event that aims to acknowledge an artist's recent contribution to the visual arts in New Zealand, for the (re-)exhibition (of) *Doomed, Doomed, All Doomed*, which was first shown at Artspace, Auckland, in 2005 (Figures 3.4 and 3.10–3.11).[2] Since representing New Zealand at the 53rd Venice Biennale in 2009, with another, yet very different, work entitled 'Save Yourself' (Figures 3.17–3.18), Upritchard has had major solo exhibitions in public institutions in Europe, the United States, Britain, Japan, and Australasia.[3] For an artist from

[2] In the context of the Walters Prize, Upritchard is positioned within a wider (anterior) debate concerning the constitution of New Zealand art. The Walters Prize is modelled on the Turner Prize: four artists are selected by a panel of New Zealand jurors, based on a recent exhibition; the work of the four finalists is then re-exhibited at the AAG; the prize, decided by an internationally acclaimed curator, is awarded on the merit of this presentation. In the promotional literature published by the AAG, the 2010 Walters Prize is described as 'New Zealand's most prestigious contemporary art prize', which aims to recognise 'an artist who has made an outstanding contribution to contemporary art in New Zealand in the two years prior', however, the 2012 Walters Prize is described as an '[award] for an outstanding work of contemporary New Zealand art produced and exhibited during the past two years.' In the latter description, the work is not confined to being in a certain location (New Zealand) but must be of a nominated type (New Zealand art). This change of emphasis coincides with the panel's selection in 2012, when for the first time since the award's inception in 2002, not one of the exhibitions for which the four finalists were selected had been originally staged in New Zealand. This reorientation also reflects an historical tension that pertains to the collocation New Zealand art (whether art produced in or of New Zealand or made by New Zealanders) and is indicative of a number of recent reconsiderations concerning New Zealand art. See AAG, 'The Walters Prize 2010: What is the Walters Prize?' <http://www.aucklandartgallery.com/whats-on/events/2010/july/the-walters-prize-2010> [accessed 04 August 2013] (para. 1 of 2); AAG, 'The Walters Prize 2012: Overview' <http://www.aucklandartgallery.com/whats-on/events/2012/august/the-walters-prize-2012> [accessed 04 August 2013] (para. 1 of 2).

[3] Francis Upritchard, 'In die Höhle', Secession, Vienna, 30 April – 20 June 2010; Francis Upritchard, 'A Long Wait', Contemporary Arts Center, Cincinnati, Ohio, May – September 2012; Francis Upritchard, 'A Hand of Cards', Nottingham Contemporary,

New Zealand to gain recognition in both northern and southern hemispheres simultaneously is an attainment of social and cultural significance that was certainly unimaginable when the first histories of New Zealand art were published in 1940, and was not easily within the reach of New Zealand artists working either at home or abroad prior to the twenty-first century. Upritchard thus occupies a coveted and symbolic position in the historiography if not history of New Zealand art.

And yet, despite the current interest in and historiographical significance of her practice, I would argue that Upritchard also occupies a precarious art-historical position. As an expatriate artist who lives and works between the former metropole of London and the former colony of New Zealand, Upritchard traverses the traditional British-world geography of New Zealand art history, occupying the exilic space known as 'between two hemispheres'.[4] Moreover, as an expatriate New Zealand artist, Upritchard embodies a figure that is at once notably absent from both British and, perhaps more surprisingly, New Zealand art histories. As a contemporary 'New Zealand-born, London-based' artist, however, Upritchard is not so much displaced and/or in exile from her native country but rather embedded within 'a far-flung network' of contemporary New Zealand artists practising around the globe.[5] And yet, while Upritchard's presence on the London art scene appears to place her at the centre, so to

---

Nottingham, 21 July – 30 September 2012; Francis Upritchard, 'Potato Poem', MIMOCA, Japan, 13 April – 30 June 2013; Francis Upritchard, 'Jealous Saboteurs', Monash University Museum of Art, Melbourne, 13 February – 16 April 2016, City Gallery, Wellington, 28 May – 16 October 2016, CAG, 1 April – 16 July 2017, DPAG, 12 August – 26 November 2017.

[4] The phrase 'between two hemispheres' is drawn from E. H. McCormick, 'Between Two Hemispheres', in McCormick, *Letters and Art in New Zealand*, pp. 126–68.

[5] The epithet 'New Zealand-born, London-based' is often assigned to Upritchard. See for example, Anthony Gardner, 'Francis Upritchard: Gertrude Contemporary Art Spaces', *Artforum International*, 47.3 (2008), 371 (371); Virginia Were, 'Dreaming in Colour', *Art News New Zealand*, 29.2 (2009), 78–80 (78); *Francis Upritchard: Jealous Saboteurs*, ed. by Charlotte Day and Robert Leonard (Melbourne: Monash University Museum of Art; Wellington: City Gallery, 2016), p. 6. Barton lists Upritchard among the contemporary artists which, in her view, comprise a 'far-flung network of New Zealanders operating from various centres […] whose situations can be distinguished as distinctly of this moment' in her article, 'State of the Art', p. 34. For further detail on the use of this phrase, see n. 92, pp. 339–40 of this chapter below.

speak, as a contemporary artist from the South practising in the context of an ostensibly global art world that is in fact powered by the North, Upritchard is arguably positioned outside the Euro-American gaze and thus marginalised if not occluded by the dominant perspective from which global and/or mainstream canonical art histories have largely been written.[6] Moreover, as an artist who also happens to be a woman, that is, as an artist-woman, Upritchard is likely to (have) fall(en) foul of the structural sexism of the discipline of Art History, which still affects contemporary artists who are women more than those who are men, and which I would thus argue makes Upritchard's position as an expatriate artist doubly precarious, insofar as it means that she is twice as less likely to be accorded a place in the history of art.[7]

Received as at once an expatriate and a contemporary artist, Upritchard is not only located precariously but also paradoxically, considered on the one hand to be 'caught "between two hemispheres"' and on the other to be enmeshed in 'a far-flung network'.[8] Crucially, this is not to say that Upritchard's

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[6] Anthony Gardner has repeatedly pointed to what he sees as the 'North Atlantic hegemony over the definition of contemporary art'. See for example Anthony Gardner and Charles Green, 'Post-North? *Documenta11* and the Challenges of the "Global Exhibition"', in *Documenta: Curating the History of the Present*, ed. by Nanne Buurman and Dorothee Richter (= *On Curating*, 33 (2017)), pp. 109–20 (p. 111) <http://www.on-curating.org/issue-33.html#.Xbh9qhRjVlI> [accessed 31 August 2019]; and Anthony Gardner, 'Australian Art Does Not Exist', *Broadsheet*, 40 (2011), 101–03 (p. 101).

[7] According to Griselda Pollock, throughout its development and consolidation as an academic subject and museum practice in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the discipline of Art History was '*structurally* sexist': it 'did not just ignore or neglect women' but rather '[i]t actively made art history women-free' by 'producing an image of art and the artist that was exclusively masculine'. Writing in 2013, Pollock doubts that this situation has greatly changed, suggesting that despite the many feminist interventions in art's histories the discipline retains its sexist structuration: 'It is forty years, almost half a century, since the opening salvo of a feminist initiative to challenge the erasure of women from the History of Art. Has it changed attitudes? Has it created an inclusive History of Art?'. Pollock quoted in Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, pp. xxi and xxvii.

[8] Barton is conversant with both paradigms: she coined the phrase 'a far-flung network of New Zealanders' in her article, 'State of the Art', p. 34; and she borrowed the phrase 'caught "between two hemispheres"' in Christina Barton, '(Re-)Tracing Frances Hodgkins', in Christina Barton, *The Expatriates: Frances Hodgkins and Barrie Bates* (Wellington: Adam, 2005), pp. 5–18 (p. 10). For further detail on the use of the latter phrase, see the first paragraph of the section 'Caught "between Two Hemispheres"': The Expatriate Tradition and the Crisis of Exile on p. 322 of this chapter below.

practice *is* 'caught "between two hemispheres"', but rather that the reception of her work is caught between two discursive or interpretative paradigms. As an expatriate artist who is deemed to be 'caught "between two hemispheres"', Upritchard's practice is understood as being conditioned by — and is thus viewed through the lens of a discourse of — distance. And as a contemporary artist who is imagined as being embedded within 'a far-flung network of New Zealanders', Upritchard's practice is thought to be conditioned by — and is thus viewed through the discursive lens of — contact. I would argue, moreover, that the ways in which the reception and thus the historiography of Upritchard's practice has been shaped by the twin discourses of distance and contact, which are, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 2, inextricably entwined in the case of New Zealand art historiography, means that the discursive situation of her practice is unlike that of any other contemporary artist who works both inside and outside the Aotearoa/New Zealand context; to start with, I know of no other New Zealand-born contemporary artist that has been constructed as an expatriate and thus read in terms of distance in the way that Upritchard has been.[9] It is precisely this paradoxical situation of (the reception of) Upritchard's practice — which straddles the twin discourses of distance and contact so peculiar to the historiography of New Zealand art — that recommends Upritchard for consideration here.

The absence of New Zealand-born expatriate artists from British art historiography has attracted relatively little attention from historians of British art, despite the many artists from New Zealand who have lived and worked in the United Kingdom and have played significant if minor roles in art's histories

[9] It is no longer common, as it was in the twentieth century, to refer to New Zealand-born artists based overseas as expatriates. For example, Jim Allen, who was received as a contemporary artist upon his return to Auckland after living and working for about twenty years in Australia, and Judy Millar, who divides her time between Auckland and Berlin, and who represented New Zealand at the 53rd Venice Biennale alongside Upritchard, are not discussed as such. I will suggest in this chapter that it is Upritchard's success in London, which — in addition to her adoption of the first name Francis, that is, the masculine version of the first name of Frances Hodgkins, the New Zealand expatriate visual artist par excellence — positions Upritchard symbolically in relation to British art history and is largely the reason for her reception as an expatriate artist. For further detail on Hodgkins, see n. 10 immediately below.

in Britain in the twentieth century.[10] Conversely, since the publication of Eric McCormick's monograph *The Expatriate: A Study of Frances Hodgkins and New Zealand* in 1954, which traces the career of the painter Frances Hodgkins, who worked between New Zealand and Europe, or between two hemispheres, so to speak, from the late nineteenth until the mid-twentieth century, much attention has been paid to the absence of New Zealand-born expatriates from the history of New Zealand art.[11] If McCormick was interested chiefly in the relationship of the expatriate artist to their native country, Christina Barton, in contrast, has been concerned largely with the relationship between the expatriate artist and their adopted country. Her study of Billy Apple represents a sustained attempt to come to terms with the absence of Apple, and by extension of New Zealand-born expatriate artists more generally, from Euro-American, and in particular British, art histories.[12] Her scholarship demonstrates that Apple's absence has in fact occurred gradually through a

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[10] Here I am thinking of artists such as Frances Hodgkins (1869–1947), who was a member of the Seven & Five Society and was selected to represent Britain at the (subsequently cancelled) Venice Biennale of 1940, and Billy Apple (1935–2021), born Barrie Bates, who was a colleague of David Hockney and the so-called Young Contemporaries who came to prominence in Britain in the 1960s, both of whom one, or at least I and other scholars of New Zealand art, would expect to appear in mainstream histories of British art alongside their British-born peers and, in the case of Hodgkins, compatriots; while both Apple and Hodgkins were born British subjects, Hodgkins remained so for the entirety of her life, however, Apple became a New Zealand national following the institution of New Zealand citizenship in 1948, so that when he arrived in London in 1959 he entered Britain as a New Zealander.

[11] E. H. McCormick, *The Expatriate: A Study of Frances Hodgkins and New Zealand* (Wellington: New Zealand UP, 1954). *The Expatriate* is one of two monographic studies on Hodgkins that McCormick published in 1954; the other is: E. H. McCormick, *Works of Frances Hodgkins in New Zealand*, (Auckland: ACAG; London: Oxford UP, 1954). Many exhibitions in New Zealand have been devoted to the country's expatriate artists since the exhibition 'Six New Zealand Expatriates', curated by artist Colin McCahon for ACAG in 1962, highlighted their absence for a New Zealand public. For a further example, see n. 60, p. 328 of this chapter below. Moreover, the very first issue of *Art New Zealand*, which was published in 1976 and was the only New Zealand art periodical in print at this time, featured an article on New Zealand expatriate artists.

[12] In addition to her essay-length study of Apple's career in London and, to a much lesser extent, New York, in Christina Barton, *The Expatriates: Frances Hodgkins and Barrie Bates* (Wellington: Adam, 2005), Barton has published widely on Billy Apple, including the exhibition catalogue Christina Barton, *Billy Apple®: British and American Works 1960–69* (London: The Mayor Gallery, 2010), and the monograph Christina Barton, *Billy Apple®: Life/Work* (Auckland, Auckland UP, 2020).

process of erasure, or 'a slow shift', which resulted in his 'disappearance from the historical record'.[13] Barton wonders why — and indeed goes on to offer several convincing arguments as to why — Apple, who was active as an artist in London between 1959 and 1964, has been 'incrementally written out' of histories of British Pop art:

> He may have been part of the scene, but it would seem he has not remained in the picture. How might we account for such ignorance, even when there is ample evidence of the artist's achievements in England (let alone a substantial subsequent career as an artist in America and New Zealand)?[14]

Barton was not, however, the first to question Apple's disappearance from the historiography of British art. As she reminds her readers, only a few years earlier Alan Fletcher ended his headcount of a generation of artists and designers whom he considered to have characterised the visual culture of 1960s' Britain by asking: 'And what happened to Billy Apple?'.[15] I would argue that Fletcher's question is equally applicable to the precarious and paradoxical art-historical situation of Upritchard, so that, despite her presence in London, we could, with foresight, anticipate her erasure from (at least British) art history to legitimately ask: And what happened to Francis Upritchard?

It would seem that the systematic exclusion of New Zealand artists from British art histories has indeed been, perhaps not surprisingly, a more pressing matter for historians of New Zealand rather than British art. In contrast to the New Zealand-born expatriate artist's absence and/or exclusion from the national(ist) histories of New Zealand art, which, as we have seen in Chapter 2,

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[13] Christina Barton, 'Becoming Billy Apple', in Christina Barton, *The Expatriates: Frances Hodgkins and Barrie Bates* (Wellington: Adam, 2005), pp. 3–28 (p. 21).
[14] Ibid., pp. 21–22.
[15] Alan Fletcher, 'Last Word on the 1960s', in *Rewind: Forty Years of Design and Advertising*, ed. by Jeremy Myerson and Graham Vickers (London: Phaidon, 2002), p. 82, qtd. in ibid., p. 21. Subsequently, Barton has framed Fletcher's question as '[typifying] a more general forgetfulness that dogs Apple's career, especially outside his place of birth and in those major metropolitan centres where he worked: London and New York', in her catalogue essay Christina Barton, 'Billy Apple — The 'Sixties Remembered', in Christina Barton, *Billy Apple®: British and American Works 1960–69* (London: The Mayor Gallery, 2010), pp. 8–32 (p. 10); indeed, this entire essay is framed as a response to Fletcher's question.

have come to be associated with a discourse of distance, this converse lacuna, of the New Zealand expatriate artist's symbolic 'disappearance from the historical record' of the imperial centre substantiated by Barton, has been further developed by recent scholarship presented in Aotearoa/New Zealand under the rubric of contact.[16] Notably, the subject has received attention from Damian Skinner, who became interested in the problematic while he was a research fellow at the University of Cambridge in 2013. Upon his return to New Zealand, Skinner was invited to speak on the subject as part of the Gordon H. Brown Lecture series, which had adopted the theme of contact four years earlier, when the AHRC began its sponsorship of the Lecture in 2012.[17] In the lecture publication *London Calling*, Skinner discusses a number of artists who travelled from New Zealand to study and/or practise art in London in the 1950s and 1960s, a time of post-war decolonisation — or New Commonwealth Internationalism, when many artists from former British Crown colonies were making their way to the metropole of London, a situation which, according to Skinner, gave rise to a decolonial aesthetic.[18] While Skinner quite rightly highlights, and to some extent redresses, the omission of indigenous and settler artists from the former so-called white Dominions, that is, the settler-colonies of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, in the art-historical literature of New Commonwealth Internationalism, his account focusses almost solely on artist-men, which raises crucial questions concerning the role that feminism, or more

[16] Barton, 'Becoming Billy Apple', p. 21.

[17] Damian Skinner, *London Calling: Artistic Decolonisation and the New Commonwealth Internationalism*, ed. by Geoffrey Batchen, Gordon H. Brown Lecture Series, 15 (Wellington: VUW, 2017).

[18] Skinner positions his own study within the frame of New Commonwealth Internationalism, a historical and aesthetic context proposed by Black British art historian Kobena Mercer in *Discrepant Abstraction*, ed. by Kobena Mercer, Annotating Art's Histories (London: Institute of International Visual Arts; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006). To further establish the post-war decolonisation of the British empire as an art-historical context, Skinner also draws upon the scholarship of Leon Wainwright and the volume *Visual Culture and Decolonisation in Britain*, ed. by Simon Faulkner and Anandi Ramamurthy (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006). Skinner adopts the idea of a decolonial aesthetic from Iftikhar Dadi's chapter 'Rethinking Calligraphic Modernism', in *Discrepant Abstractions*, ed. by Mercer, pp. 94–115.

specifically feminist theory and methodologies, has played and could yet play in the project for an art history of contact.[19] For example:

1. In the case of Skinner's *London Calling*, how can a text which aims to redress, or at least point to the necessity of redressing, the erasure of certain racialised colonial and settler-colonial subjects from a certain imperial metropolitan context justify the erasure of artist-women and thus the perpetuation of the noted structural sexism of Art History? This is to say, how could an art history of contact redress a particular structural exclusion on the one hand without sustaining an entrenched disciplinary bias and/or prejudice on the other? If subjectivity is not synonymous with any single identity, should art historians focus on the inclusion of artists with a certain (social, sexual, racial, or political) identity, for example, artist-men, at the expense of the marginalisation and/or exclusion of artists who identify differently, for example, as artist-women?[20] Or in other words, how

[19] With the notable exception of Halima Nalecz, who is mentioned in passing as one of the three painters who founded the New Vision Centre Gallery, London, in 1956, all of the artists mentioned or discussed by Skinner are men. In concluding, Skinner claims that: 'In London at this time [of post-war decolonisation], different practices and artworks are historically linked in ways that surprise and disturb the kinds of stories usually told' (p. 37). I would argue, however, that while some may be surprised to hear of the presence of contemporary indigenous artists and/or artworks in London in the 1950s and 1960s, there is, at least in my view, nothing surprising about the fact that artist-women have been omitted yet again from what is effectively an account of mid-twentieth-century painting; what is perhaps disturbing, however, is the way in which Skinner's recuperation of indigenous and settler artist-men, a gesture aimed at countering their 'erasure from British art history', appears to occlude the activity and/or role of artist-women in this particular London scene (p. 38). Skinner more fully redresses the omission of the indigenous (Māori) artist from British art history in his chapter, Damian Skinner, 'Humanist Modernism: Ralph Hotere and "New Commonwealth Internationalism"', in *Cultures of Decolonisation: Transnational Productions and Practices, 1945–70*, ed. by Ruth Craggs and Claire Wintle (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2016), pp. 51–66.

[20] Julia Kristeva speaks of 'the singularity of each person' on the one hand, and 'the multiplicity of every person's possible identifications' on the other. Pollock contrasts Kristeva's 'insistence on singularity' with 'the delusions of hardened notions that subjectivity and any one social or political identity — as woman, gay, black — are synonymous'. Julia Kristeva, 'Women's Time', in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. by Toril Moi (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp. 188–213 (p. 210), qtd. in Griselda Pollock, 'The Aesthetics of Difference', in *Art History, Aesthetics, Visual Studies*, ed. by Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, 2002), pp. 147–76 (p. 172).

could an art history of contact be inclusive of 'the multiplicity of every [artist-subject's] possible identifications' and thereby address multiple oppressions?[21]

2. (How) could an art history of contact achieve the aim of decolonising the discipline of Art History if it seeks to achieve this for certain colonial subjects rather than, or on behalf of, others? In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, for example, could an art history that is only interested in the liberation of artist-Māori to the exclusion of artist-Pasifika and artist-Chinese — to the exclusion, that is, of artists whose political identity is equally subject to the ongoing oppression of colonialism as it has been historically structured by the process of the British and/or European colonisation of New Zealand — claim to have achieved decolonisation? This is to say, can the decolonisation of art-historical practice and discourse be achieved in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context by simply upholding the Treaty as the only or even primary model of justice and thus liberation for *all* colonial artist-subjects, including settlers? And in the broader settler-colonial context, could an art history that is only interested in the liberation of artist-men (whether indigenous or settler) to the exclusion of artist-women claim to have achieved decolonisation, if such an account has neglected to address the arguably more delicate if not pressing issue of the double colonisation of women — indigenous *and* settler, who, in a settler-colonial context, suffer from both colonial and patriarchal oppression, albeit to various extents?

3. How could an art history of contact attend at once to (the aesthetics of) cultural *and* sexual difference, indeed to difference in its multiplicity? How could an art history of contact draw from both postcolonial *and* feminist theory, two discourses which have a somewhat uneasy relationship to each other, and thereby broaden its approach to, and understanding of, contact beyond the anthropological model of transcultural contact? Or in other words, how could an art history of contact broaden its focus beyond the

[21] Kristeva, p. 210.

concerns of mainstream postcolonial theory, to engage with feminist thought about race, power, culture, and empire, in addition to gender, class, and sexuality?[22]

While it is not my intention here to answer the above questions, these concerns do inform and drive my enquiry into the discourse(s) of Upritchard's reception as a contemporary New Zealand expatriate artist-woman, which comprises a large part of this chapter. Rather, these three clusters of questions serve themselves to constitute a feminist analysis of a certain, namely postcolonial, aspect of the contemporary art-historical discourse of contact produced in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. In posing these questions I have suggested ways in which the existing postcolonial concerns of the project for an art history of contact could potentially and fruitfully intersect with feminist concerns so as to broaden the remit of the project and its understanding of contact, to encompass models of contact that could account for not only cultural but also sexual difference. Moreover, this series of questions augment those posed in the first section of Chapter 1, especially numbers three and four, which also raise feminist concerns as regards the project for an art history of contact as it has manifested in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, and number two, which questions the project's conflation of postcolonialism with biculturalism.[23]

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[22] In their reader on feminist postcolonial theory, Reina Lewis and Sara Mills observe the uneasy relationship between postcolonial and feminist theory, noting that 'as postcolonial studies has become established in the Western academy […] the dynamism that feminism provided for the early development of critical studies in colonialism, imperialism, race and power has often been overlooked', to the extent that certain genealogies of 'feminist thought on race, power, culture and empire' have been marginalised and excluded from mainstream postcolonial theory. This disciplinary situation might explain why an art historian like Skinner could take up the contemporary postcolonial cause of decolonisation while neglecting the feminist political project, which, according to Lewis and Mills, has also sought, like postcolonialism, 'to change the oppressive power relations encoded in the name of race, nation and empire, as well as those of gender, class and sexuality', with which it is more typically associated. Reina Lewis and Sara Mills, 'Introduction', in *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. by Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2003) pp. 1–21 (pp. 1–2).

[23] For the series of four questions posed in Chapter 1, see pp. 75–77.

'Liz Maw: *Francis Upritchard*': Capturing the Multiplicity of a Contemporary New Zealand Expatriate Artist-Woman

Liz Maw's life-sized painting *Francis Upritchard* (2010) pictures the multiple, contradictory, and intersecting artistic identities that Upritchard has come to embody in the literature of her reception, namely the contemporary artist, the national (New Zealand) artist, the expatriate artist, and the artist-woman. In this full-length frontal portrait, Upritchard is depicted wearing a black-sleeved tunic and standing, almost floating, against a cloudy white background with her arms bent at the elbow and hands raised in the air, gesturing as if in supplication (Figure 3.1).[24] At once devotional painting and celebrity portrait, Maw's *Francis Upritchard* idealises and mortifies its subject,[25] on the one hand deifying Upritchard as a nationally and internationally successful contemporary, or living, artist, by depicting her draped in the garment that she wore to represent New Zealand at the Venice Biennale in 2009 (Figure 3.2), not long before the portrait was painted, and yet, on the other hand, strangely immortalising Upritchard as a canonical, or dead, New Zealand artist who appears deathly — pale, suspended, and eyeless — a spectral figure who has returned from Venice to haunt the viewer who is faced with an upright (columnar and virtuous) Upritchard represented as an eternally successful national icon of New Zealand art. Described as 'an ambiguous image of spectral presence',[26] Maw's portrait of Upritchard certainly captures the ambiguity of the contemporary expatriate New Zealand artist-woman — a paradoxically present–absent figure. The looming, life-sized, statuesque figure of Upritchard appears present (close at hand, imminent, and contemporary — Upritchard had only recently cropped her hair, so in a way the painting acts as a snapshot, revealing the artist's latest look) and yet the almost expressionless mask of

[24] For a detailed discussion of Maw's portrait of Upritchard, see Margreta Chance, 'The Cadaverous Presence: Holbein's Dead Christ and Maw's Suspended Upritchard' (unpublished thesis, Auckland University of Technology, 2013); and for a discussion of Maw's depiction of 'Upritchard as supplicant' in particular, see Chance, p. 38.

[25] For a discussion of Maw's portrait of Upritchard as a dialectical image that oscillates between the 'idealisation and mortification' of the artist-subject, see ibid., pp. 36–39.

[26] Ibid., p. 39.

Upritchard's blind face makes her appear distant (remote, detached, and departed) and thus reveals her present absence, or her absent presence.

The exhibition of Maw's portrait *Francis Upritchard* not only highlighted the returning of the contemporary expatriate artist subject, who was present in New Zealand at the time it was exhibited, it also marked the repatriation of a particularly significant body of the subject's work. The painting was exhibited in two Auckland galleries, namely Artspace and Ivan Anthony, for a four-month period between 2010 and 2011, while Upritchard herself was working on a collective project in New Plymouth in the wake of the return to New Zealand of her Venice Biennale exhibition 'Save Yourself', which had been on display earlier in the year in 'Contemporary Focus' at Te Papa, Wellington, together with the work of Judy Millar, who had also represented New Zealand at Venice in 2009 (Figures 3.17–3.18).[27] In the Artspace exhibition, Maw's portrait of Upritchard was hung about a foot above the concrete floor in the centre of an otherwise empty white wall, adjacent to an entranceway in an otherwise empty gallery (Figure 3.3) — the very gallery in which Upritchard's own work was presented five years earlier in 'Doomed, Doomed, All Doomed' (Figure 3.11), the exhibition for which she was subsequently awarded the Walters Prize in 2006, an award which arguably enabled if not secured her selection as one of the two exhibiting artists to constitute the New Zealand pavilion at Venice three years later.[28] The presence of Maw's portrait of the body of Upritchard thus

[27] 'Contemporary Focus: New Zealand at the Venice Biennale 2009', Te Papa, 26 February – 15 August 2010. Several months after Upritchard's work had been on display at Te Papa, Maw's portrait *Francis Upritchard* (2010) was exhibited in 'Liz Maw: *Francis Upritchard*', Artspace, Auckland, 4 December 2010 – 19 February 2011, and then in 'New Paintings', Ivan Anthony, Auckland, 29 June – 23 July 2011. While Maw's portrait was exhibited at Artspace over the summer of 2010–11, Upritchard herself was in New Zealand, working in New Plymouth with her husband and furniture designer Martino Gamper and the jeweller Karl Fritsch and alongside local artisans, including weaver Lynne Mackay and potter Nicholas Brandon, on a body of work that was exhibited under the title of *Gesamtkunsthandwerk*, in 'Stealing the Senses', GB, New Plymouth, 12 March – 6 June 2011, and at Hamish McKay, Wellington, 17 June – 9 July 2011; the latter exhibition overlapped with the exhibition of Maw's portrait at her (and Upritchard's) dealer gallery, Ivan Anthony.

[28] Francis Upritchard, 'Doomed, Doomed, All Doomed', Artspace, Auckland, 8 February – 5 March 2005.

recalled the absence, or absent presence, of the artist's body of work. Indeed, the bare expanse of the gallery's concrete floor summons to mind Upritchard's *Sloth Creature* (2004), which lay on its back on this same floor, arms extended upwards, for the duration of 'Doomed' (Figure 3.4). The exhibition 'Liz Maw: *Francis Upritchard*' can thus be understood to have functioned not only as a memorial to Upritchard's sharp rise to national prominence in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context but also as a commemoration of the unprecedented opportunities for local (New Zealand) artists working in the context of the so-called global contemporary.[29]

Just as little critical or scholarly attention has been paid to Upritchard as an artist-woman, that is, as an artist who also happens to be a woman and who thus embodies the negatively gendered art-historical category of woman artist by default,[30] when viewing the portrait *Francis Upritchard* it is easy to overlook Maw's depiction of her subject as a woman. Although in Maw's portrait Upritchard is captured in contrapposto, her straight left leg engaged and her bent right leg free, this pose does not enhance her figure to make it appear more curvaceous, and thus more stereotypically feminine, as it does in the case of, for example, the so-called Venus de Milo statue or even the less exaggerated asymmetrical form of Praxiteles' Aphrodite of Knidos. Rather, Maw's representation of Upritchard appears more like the slim yet athletic figure of another classical sculpture, namely Kritios Boy, whose head, with its short hair worn close to the scalp, solemn facial expression, and now empty eye sockets, also bears a notable resemblance to Upritchard's as Maw has portrayed it. Indeed, *Francis Upritchard* arguably depicts a chaste and boyish figure whose

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[29] For example, New Zealand artists now have the opportunity to exhibit at the Venice Biennale — an opportunity that was not available prior to New Zealand's first national exhibition at the 49th Venice Biennale in 2001.

[30] As Griselda Pollock points out, the effect of the term woman artist, as opposed to 'the neutral term artist', is 'to disqualify the woman artist immediately from being treated as an artist'. Pollock explains the negative gendering of the woman artist as an 'ideological effect' of the discipline of Art History, which 'structurally and actively excluded' — just as, I would add, it continues to exclude, albeit to an arguably lesser extent — 'women from being considered able to participate in the realm of art, and from being considered an artist'. Griselda Pollock, 'A Lonely Preface (2013)', in Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, pp. xxvii–xxxviii (p. xxix).

appearance affirms rather than contradicts the subject's masculine first name. Notwithstanding either the tunic's plunging yet barely revealing neckline or the length of the tunic in which she is draped, which while it does not reach her knees only reveals a pair of thin legs — limbs more reminiscent of the sticklike appendages of *Sloth Creature* than the fleshy thighs of the female form as it has been idealised in (the art of) the West, Maw's portrait of Upritchard appears more ascetic — unadorned and austere — than voluptuous.[31] This is to say that while the portrait's eyeless subject cannot return the viewer's gaze, Maw has not rendered her subject passive, as simply an object or spectacle of the masculinised mastering gaze, but has rather portrayed Upritchard as the subject–object of her (Maw's) own pleasure, that is, as pleasing to the artist-woman.

In thus disrupting the gendered hierarchies that have traditionally organised the (Western) visual field, Maw has portrayed Upritchard as an ambiguous figure who does not necessarily appear to be a woman, let alone a woman artist. The ambiguity of Maw's *Francis Upritchard* thus echoes the ambiguity of Upritchard's own sculpted figures, which in many cases cannot be identified in any straightforward manner as male or female and in general resist taxonomic classification. And while the absence of any props that could give a clue as to Upritchard's occupation means that the painting is not obviously the portrait of an artist, the costume in which Maw has chosen to portray Upritchard means that she is dressed symbolically in the garb of her artistic success and is thus represented here as an artist first and foremost, that is, as an artist who just so happens to be a woman — an artist-woman. While Maw's portrait is commendable insofar as it portrays its subject, Upritchard, in her multiplicity, refusing to gender Upritchard's body as simply that of a woman and thus fix her identity as a woman artist, I also wonder, however, if its ambiguous treatment of Upritchard does not strangely reinforce or feed into, even if it is not in fact symptomatic of, the largely gender-blind reception of Upritchard, which has

[31] For a discussion of the painting's ascetic aesthetic or aesthetic of asceticism, and for a discussion of this as a departure from 'the erotic spectacle of plenitude' that characterises Maw's previous portraits of female figures, see Chance, p. 38.

been quick to celebrate her success as an artist and slow to recognise her as either a woman artist or an artist-woman, that is, as an artist who, despite her success, surely '[makes] art under different constraints' to her male counterparts.[32]

In this chapter, I will examine Upritchard's reception as a contemporary New Zealand expatriate artist-woman, that is, as an artist with multiple professional identities which, while they do intersect in the discourse of her practice, are emphasised to different extents and are not represented equally. Of these four identities, that of artist-woman appears notably less than the others in the literature on Upritchard. Indeed, as I will show, there has been relatively little consideration of Upritchard's practice in relation to that of other artist-women; nor has her work been explicitly discussed in terms of either women's art practice or the aesthetics of sexual difference. Moreover, while Upritchard is more often regarded as a contemporary artist or — if marked — a contemporary New Zealand artist, rather than a contemporary artist-woman, there has, however, been little sustained analysis of the ways in which her work could be understood as either contemporary or New Zealand art. Rather, it is generally assumed by critics and curators that Upritchard's work is self-evidently contemporary art because it is made by a living artist in the present and appears to share a contemporary aesthetic, and that it is self-evidently New Zealand art because it is made by an artist who was born, raised, and educated in New Zealand and appears to possess a peculiarly national aesthetic. While there has been some consideration of the topicality of her work to the global contemporary and postcolonial conditions, and of the contemporariness and New Zealandness of her work, lacking, however, is a more rigorous academic assessment of the aesthetic dimension of her practice.

My reading of the reception of Upritchard's sculptural practice, which constitutes the latter section of this chapter, reveals an interpretation that views certain works of hers as representative of postcolonial concerns and other works as idiomatic of contemporary art and as thus unconcerned with the

[32] Parker and Pollock, p. xli.

postcolonial. Arising as an explanatory force in the face of an apparent change in the direction of Upritchard's practice from the postcolonial to the contemporary, this binary interpretation tends to categorise individual works as either postcolonial or not postcolonial, and as thus either concerned with contact or not concerned with contact, depending on their apparent subject matter, and thus conflates contact — which it tends to reduce to the anthropological paradigm of cultural contact — with the postcolonial. I will argue that this opposition of the postcolonial and the contemporary has dominated the critical and curatorial interpretation of Upritchard's practice. Moreover, I will suggest that it maps onto a critical geopolitical divide in the reception of Upritchard, who, broadly speaking, has been received in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context as a contemporary New Zealand artist whose work speaks to the postcolonial condition, and in the global contemporary context as an unmarked contemporary artist whose work speaks to the ostensibly more universal condition of global contemporaneity.

In raising questions of the aesthetic and aesthetic practice, my examination of the literature on Upritchard aims to lay the groundwork for a future reading of her work in terms of an aesthetic of contact. I will ultimately argue that a close reading of Upritchard's work that focusses on an aesthetic of contact rather than the representation of contact could counter the polarising effect of the hermeneutic binary that structures the discourse on her practice and divides her oeuvre into early postcolonial "New Zealand" works and later contemporary works. I will suggest that certain postcolonial and contemporary concerns could be seen to intersect across the body of her work if we take a broader view of the ways in which contact operates as an aesthetic dimension of Upritchard's practice and do not confine our understanding of the artist's treatment of contact to overt depictions of cultural difference. And I will argue, moreover, that if we read Upritchard's aesthetic practice as that of an artist-woman, we can again broaden our understanding of the ways in which her work critically engages with a concept of contact that is informed by the artist's singular experience of sexual and not only cultural difference.

Before proceeding to review the literature of Upritchard's reception, I will turn to the New Zealand art-historical literature in order to provide a context for Upritchard's reception as a contemporary expatriate. Just as there is a well-established expatriate tradition among New Zealand-born artists, who, since the mid-nineteenth century, have often made 'a conscious choice […] to leave [the country] permanently or to live and work overseas for a period before returning', there is an equally well-established discourse on expatriatism that runs throughout the historiography of New Zealand art, which at once mourns the loss of expatriate artists from the local art scene while marginalising their role in the historical development of art in New Zealand.[33] While many countries can, of course, claim to have a national expatriate tradition in the arts, I will explore the mythopoetic discourse of exile and expatriatism that is considered peculiar to New Zealand art historiography and which has shaped the contemporary discourse of Upritchard's reception as an expatriate artist. While the predicament of the New Zealand expatriate artist is perhaps best illustrated by the phrase 'caught "between two hemispheres"',[34] I will also look more broadly, beyond this metaphor, at what I will call the double bind of New Zealand art (history) that has affected not only expatriate but all New Zealand-born artists, who were, even in the twentieth century, regarded as being neither at Home in Europe nor at home in New Zealand. While the phrase 'caught "between two hemispheres"' may evoke the conditions that have led to the double disappearance of the expatriate New Zealand artist from the national(ist) art histories of both their native and adopted countries, I would argue that the situation of the expatriate cannot entirely explain the systematic exclusion of New Zealand art and artists from mainstream (Euro-American) canonical art histories. I will thus consider the broader conditions of the disappearance of New Zealand art(ists) pertinent to Upritchard's own arguably precarious art-historical position.

[33] Butler and Donaldson, 'Stay, Go, or Come', p. 120.
[34] Barton, '(Re-)Tracing Frances Hodgkins', p. 10.

‘Caught “between Two Hemispheres”’: The Expatriate Tradition and the Crisis of Exile

Upritchard’s favourable, contemporaneous reception in Europe, the United States and the Asia-Pacific poses a challenge to longstanding art-historical and literary narratives that have positioned (expatriate) New Zealand artists as being ‘caught “between two hemispheres”’.[35] The expression ‘caught “between two hemispheres”’ has entered New Zealand art historiography via Christina Barton’s reading of E. H. McCormick’s biographical work on the expatriate New Zealand artist Frances Hodgkins: ‘McCormick posed Hodgkins as emblematic of a New Zealand condition specific to her historical moment that saw her caught “between two hemispheres”.’[36] As Barton herself acknowledges, she draws the phrase “between two hemispheres” from the title of a chapter in McCormick’s centennial publication *Letters and Art in New Zealand*, in which he discusses the situation of New Zealand expatriate artists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the expression ‘caught “between two hemispheres”’ is not Barton’s own; as far as I can tell it was coined by Dennis McEldowney, who, in an essay that pays tribute to McCormick, ‘the New Zealand nationalist whose great theme has been exile’, refers to ‘the state of being caught “between two hemispheres”’ which McCormick first described in *Letters and Art*.[37]

The idea of being caught between New Zealand and Europe has proved a productive and enduring vexation that has concerned cultural critics, art historians, writers, poets and artists in New Zealand since the mid-twentieth century.[38] In national histories of New Zealand art, this bind has been located in the social and cultural conditions for artistic production in New Zealand

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[35] Barton, ‘(Re-)Tracing Frances Hodgkins’, p. 10.
[36] Ibid., p. 10.
[37] See Dennis McEldowney, ‘Following On’, in *Writing a New Country: A Collection of Essays Presented to E. H. McCormick in his 88th Year*, ed. by James Ross, Linda Gill and Stuart McRae ([n.p.]: [n.pub.], 1993), pp. 29–37, p. 35.
[38] For a critical overview of this cultural hang-up as it has broadly played out in New Zealand cultural production, see Jo Smith, ‘Aotearoa/New Zealand: An Unsettled State in a Sea of Islands’, *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1 (2011), 111–31.

between 1890 and 1930, 'when many of the most ambitious artists left [New Zealand], and the only hopeful sign was the arrival of a new generation of more adventurous European artists'.[39] The departure of artists from New Zealand has been lamented most vehemently by those who remained (caught out) in New Zealand, engaged in the arts during what is generally regarded as a period of cultural nationalism, a period that dates from the 1930s and dwindles into the mid-1980s, which art historian Francis Pound has referred to as 'Nationalist time',[40] when the task, assigned retrospectively by Pound, was no less than 'the invention of New Zealand', that is, the construction of an indigenous, albeit European, literary and visual (high) culture.[41] In this cultural and social climate,

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[39] Barton demonstrates this period to be an anomaly that has troubled nationalist art-historical narratives, even until 1998: 'Gordon H. Brown called it "a time people preferred to forget" (*New Zealand painting 1900–1920. Traditions and departures*, QEII Arts Council of New Zealand, Wellington, 1972, p.3; Gil Docking thought it "schizophrenic" (*Two hundred years of New Zealand painting*, A. H. & A. W. Reed, Wellington, 1971, p.110); E. H. McCormick describes the "basic cleavage" of these decades (*Letters and art in New Zealand*, Dept of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1940, p. 156); and Peter Tomory condemns the times for their "inverted nostalgia" ('The visual arts' in *Distance looks our way: one hundred years of art in New Zealand*, Keith Sinclair (ed), University of Auckland Press, Auckland 1961, p.71). Most recently the exhibition *Dream collectors: one hundred years of art in New Zealand*, organized by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (1998), simply left it out altogether.' Barton, '(Re-) Tracing Frances Hodgkins', p. 8.

[40] Francis Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand*, p. xviii. Whereas Pound, in *The Invention of New Zealand*, defines cultural nationalism in the New Zealand context as 'the inextricability of the literary and the painterly endeavour' (p. xviii), James Smithies, in his essay 'Post-War New Zealand Literary Critique', *Thesis Eleven*, 92 (2008), 87–107, uses the term "cultural nationalism" more broadly to describe 'a demand for unity between the social, cultural and artistic elements of New Zealand society' (p. 94). Smithies does not periodise cultural nationalism in the strict way that Pound does, and so allows for the mutability of social and cultural activities. Smithies contends that although 'the collapse of the cultural nationalist position' was signalled in the 1970s (p. 98), cultural nationalism 'remained dominant until the set of cultural shifts associated with the fourth Labour government after 1984' whose 'sweeping economic and social reforms [...] altered the cultural composition of the country and accelerated a movement away from cultural nationalism towards globalization' (104).

[41] Pound cites two texts that speak of the invention of New Zealand, which he posits as 'key pre-texts' of his own book *The Invention of New Zealand*. The first is by poet Allen Curnow, who wrote in 1945 that 'strictly speaking New Zealand doesn't exist yet, though some possible New Zealands glimmer in some poems and some canvases. It remains to be created – should I say *invented* – by writers, musicians, artists, architects, publishers'. The second is by painter Colin McCahon, who, according to Pound, spoke in 1966 of his 'endeavour […] to convey to New Zealanders a vision of "something … belonging to the land and not yet its people. Not yet understood or communicated,

the departure of New Zealand-born artists was often felt as counterflow to the efforts of New Zealand artists to make New Zealand art in New Zealand.[42] In 1954, McCormick, principal biographer of painter Frances Hodgkins, stated that 'the era of the expatriates is not over'.[43] And in 1966, 'the continuing steady exodus of our painters and designers overseas' was mourned as an expatriate phenomenon.[44] And even as recently as 2003, art historian Michael Dunn portrayed the first generation of New Zealand-born expatriate artists as having 'deserted' their compatriots, who suffered in isolated abandonment.[45] In contrast, curator Christina Barton, also writing in 2004, postulated expatriatism less drastically (and divisively) as 'a perennial feature of New Zealand art history'.[46] However, in the context of nation-building, at the time McCormick was writing on Hodgkins,[47] it was the crisis of exile, which, as we shall see, has also been rendered by Bernard Smith as a crisis of European vision and the visibility of art in Australia (and New Zealand), that drove the historical

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not even really yet invented. My work has largely been to communicate this vision, and invent the way to see it.' Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand*, p. xviii.

[42] Although the following observation lacks an accurate temporal coordinate, is almost reminiscent in tone, and runs the risk of replicating the very ignorance it wishes to expose, it does perhaps ironically convey an impression of the insularity by which expatriate and immigrant artists were excluded from the canonical project of New Zealand art: 'In the early days, the New Zealand art scene was relatively small, provincial, and enclosed. New Zealand art was largely made in New Zealand, by New Zealand artists, for New Zealand audiences. It was shown in New Zealand galleries, bought by New Zealand collectors and museums, and written up in New Zealand journals by New Zealand critics. It was called "New Zealand art" and sometimes it was about New Zealand.' Leonard, *Nostalgia for Intimacy*, p. 10.

[43] E. H. McCormick, *The Expatriate*, p. 258.

[44] Stewart Bell Maclennan, 'Art in New Zealand: Surveys, Trends and Influences, 1938 to Present', in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand 1966* <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/art-in-new-zealand/2> [accessed 06 August 2011] (para. 19 of 21).

[45] In the most recent, revised edition of his book, Michael Dunn writes: 'When the expatriates deserted New Zealand in the years between 1900 and 1920, the painters who remained coped in various ways with the isolation and remoteness from Europe.' Michael Dunn, *New Zealand Painting: A Concise History*, rev. edn (Auckland: Auckland UP, 2003), p. 69.

[46] Barton, '(Re)Tracing Frances Hodgkins', p. 6.

[47] McCormick was writing on Hodgkins at a time of nation-building in New Zealand. The country had only recently gained a certain independence from Britain. In 1931, the Dominion declined to ratify the Statute of Westminster. It was not until 1947 that New Zealand adopted the statute to gain legal and formal independence from Britain and was thus no longer a dominion.

formation of the canon of New Zealand art in the twentieth century.[48] And it is upon this 'basic cleavage' between the artist who stayed, the New Zealand artist, and the artist who went, the expatriate New Zealand artist, that the canon of New Zealand art has been organised.[49]

The first account of the conditions for artistic expatriation in colonial New Zealand can be found in 'Between Two Hemispheres', a chapter in McCormick's centennial publication *Letters and Art in New Zealand*, which has been described by historian James Smithies as an 'exploration of what he [McCormick] believed was an ambiguous and troubling relationship between New Zealand and the outside world'.[50] This 'ambiguous and troubling relationship' is depicted metaphorically in the phrase "between two hemispheres": an image of a divided globe. While not strictly cartographical, McCormick does use this metaphor 'to communicate something of the real',[51] to map the often intense personal and professional dilemmas that affected early generations of New Zealand-born artists as a consequence of their eccentric cultural and global positioning. More literally, the phrase "between two hemispheres" recalls the original displacement of the European colonial

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[48] 'A canon, in general, is a system of reference produced in a certain cultural context. Canon formation as a historical process may occur especially, as Jan Assmann argues in his survey of cultural memory in early advanced civilizations, if a society is in crisis.' Hubert Locher, 'The Idea of the Canon and Canon Formation in Art History', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*, ed. by Matthew Rampley and others, pp. 29–40 (p. 32).

[49] McCormick, *Letters and Art*, p. 156.

[50] Described by James Smithies in 'Modernism or Exile?: E. H. McCormick and Letters and Art in New Zealand', *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, 39 (2004), 93–106, as the 'chief accomplishment of the 1940 Centennial Celebrations' (p. 93), McCormick's *Letters and Art* was commissioned by the Centennial branch of the Department of Internal Affairs and published in 1940 to coincide with the Centennial Exhibition, which 'in Wellington alone attracted 2,641,031 visitors over a twelve-month period (one million more than the entire population at the time). New Zealanders obviously relished the opportunity to celebrate their nation and its achievements' (p. 96). *Letters and Art* has now become a staple text of New Zealand art history, but as Smithies (2004: 97) points out, at the time of publication the text was intended for a general public readership: 'Moreover, in keeping with the close governmental involvement, McCormick was required at the very least to ensure that the series would "be national in scope; authoritative, yet suitable for the general public"' (p. 97).

[51] 'Cartography is a system of information which is used to communicate something of the real world to other people'. *A Dictionary of Geography*, ed. by Susan Mayhew, 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).

settlers who in the nineteenth century travelled by ship from the northern to the southern hemisphere to arrive in New Zealand; a journey that artists in the early twentieth century, faced with the decision, as Butler and Donaldson put it, to either stay at home in New Zealand or to return Home to Europe, would have, no doubt, contemplated. If we understand these journeys not only as travel across the earth through geographical space, but also, as art historian Leonard Bell suggests, as transit, that is, as voyages 'through various and diverse socio-cultural and psychological spaces',[52] then the phrase "between two hemispheres" also nominates 'a psychic space […] "in which trauma comes into being, into language and representation through articulated memory"'.[53] However, while the phrase "between two hemispheres" may signify 'a space hospitable to the encountering of traumatic traces' for Pākehā or New Zealand Europeans,[54] it does not structurally accommodate the trauma of colonisation experienced by Māori, the first human inhabitants of Aotearoa/New Zealand who migrated to the archipelago by *waka* about eight hundred years ago, well before they encountered Europeans, who did not arrive until the mid-eighteenth century.

For McCormick, exile was a metaphor for the trauma of colonisation and the subsequent 'dilemma of existence in New Zealand'.[55] Smithies notes that 'throughout his career McCormick retained a mordant interest in the concept of

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[52] In his essay *In Transit*, art historian Leonard Bell suggests that in order for us to understand what it may mean for there to be 'a "home" in art', we must re-think not only our notion of home but also our notion of travel: '"Travel" also needs to be re-conceptualised to mean not just geographical travel, but rather or also, the transit through various and diverse socio-cultural and psychological spaces' (p. 14).

[53] Here I am drawing an understanding of transit from Griselda Pollock's discussion of Irit Rogoff's work on trauma. Pollock writes: 'As a psychic space, Rogoff sees the space of transit in which history operates within it as trauma. "What is realized is not the place of departure and not the place of arrival but the space in which trauma comes into being, into language and representation through articulated memory."' Irit Rogoff, 'Moving On: Migration and the Intertextuality of Trauma' in *Vera Frenkel: . . . from the Transit Bar/ . . . du transitbar* (Toronto: Power Plant; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1994), 27–43 (p. 34) quoted in Griselda Pollock, *After-Affects | After-Images: Trauma and Aesthetic Transformation in the Virtual Feminist Museum* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2013), p. 259.

[54] Pollock, *After-Affects*, p. 259.

[55] Smithies, 'Modernism or Exile?', p. 101.

both personal and cultural exile'.[56] McCormick thought that exile, an inability to be at home or to return home, a perpetual absence, was equally experienced by New Zealand-born European artists, whether they returned "Home" to Europe or remained at home in New Zealand.[57] This double bind perhaps explains the equilibrium of the world McCormick imagined metaphorically split into two symmetrical halves: cut either latitudinally along the equator to divide north from south, or longitudinally along the prime meridian to separate east from west; being somehow in a non-place "between two hemispheres" then is premised on what is an imperial bifurcation.

This is very different to the antipodean situation that Australian art historian Bernard Smith postulates in his book *European Vision and the South Pacific,* first published in 1960.[58] Peter Beilharz, author of a landmark study of Smith's academic oeuvre published in 1997, explains the consequence of Smith's argument: 'the antipodes is not a place, but a relationship. To be antipodean is to be placed within a relationship of asymmetrical recognition based on asymmetrical power relations.'[59] Like McCormick's observation of New Zealand-born artists who lived 'between two hemispheres', Smith's antipodean thesis is grounded in the real conditions of the production of early Australian art. And yet Smith's thesis makes a position visible (and viable) and in doing so can account for the disparity that Australian and New Zealand artists have been subjected to by the workings of mainstream art history. Whereas the space "between two hemispheres", as both operational concept and

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[56] Ibid., p. 101.

[57] 'There was an equal sense in McCormick's use of the concept that even those that had left remained in exile; exile from an inadequate New Zealand. McCormick's conception of exile was not as simple as mere physical distance from Europe (which he often pointed out was a matter of relativity). The issue for him was one of "spiritual" exile, or exile from experience.' Ibid., p. 101.

[58] See also, Bernard Smith, *The Antipodean Manifesto: Essays in Art and History* (Melbourne: Oxford UP, 1976).

[59] Peter Beilharz, 'Introduction: Thinking Within Pacific Horizons', *Thesis Eleven*, 55 (1998), iii–xiv (p. viii). See also Peter Beilharz, *Imagining the Antipodes: Culture, Theory and the Visual in the Work of Bernard Smith* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997).

curatorial framework, ultimately situates the disappearance of New Zealand artists geographically.[60]

When the paperback edition of Smith's *European Vision* was released in the 1960s, it contained a recommendation by the New Zealand historian J. C. Beaglehole, who stated that the book "really helps us, who live in the Pacific, to see our world as part of the world at large".[61] While Beaglehole recognised at the time that Smith's account could, perhaps, provide relief from the disjuncture of modernity experienced peripherally, it was not until the reassessment of Smith's antipodean project in the 1990s that his model of thinking was taken up by art historians in New Zealand.[62] As I have already discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, during the 1990s artists and curators ironically appropriated the phrase "distance looks our way" in order to challenge the discursive dichotomies that have polarised cultural and artistic life

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[60] The exhibition 'Six New Zealand Expatriates', curated by artist Colin McCahon for ACAG in 1962, effectively utilised, and in doing so popularised, McCormick's notion of "between two hemispheres" as a curatorial framework to make visible a gap in the history of New Zealand art through which to recuperate absent, missing or lost, expatriate artists. This format has become a curatorial convention. The exhibition 'Owen Merton: Expatriate Painter', curated by Roger Collins for CAG in 2004, is a recent example of the use of such a framework: 'the expatriates as a group are so numerous, the gap created within the New Zealand art establishment by their departures so substantial, and the advantages for the artists themselves so profound, that they must be considered a major subset of New Zealand-born artists, however tenuous their ties eventually became.' Roger Collins, 'Owen Merton: Expatriate Painter' <http://christchurchartgallery.org.nz/exhibitions/owen-merton-expatriate-painter/> [accessed 10 August 2019].

[61] 'From its first publication in the 1960s, European Vision and the South Pacific was welcomed by a broad audience. The paperback edition proudly highlighted a prediction from the flagship British anthropology journal *Man* that "Students of taste, art historians, literary scholars and anthropologists . . . will long honour and use this book".' Tom Ryan, 'Revisioning the Pacific: Bernard Smith in the South Seas', *Thesis Eleven*, 82 (2005), 16–28 (p. 22).

[62] 'Smith recalls that "anthropologists and geographers were the first to take it seriously"; at the time art historians "were still preoccupied with the study of European old and, to a lesser extent, European modern masters". But with its several re-editions during the 1980s, in both Australia and the United States, with coloured illustrations and enlarged format, *European Vision and the South Pacific* was claimed by a fresh generation of scholars and students, many of them working in new academic fields such as postcolonial theory, travel literature, and cultural studies. This process gained further momentum with the publication in 1992 of *Imagining the Pacific*.' Ryan, 'Revisioning the Pacific', p. 22. The title that Ryan refers to is Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific: In the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1992).

in New Zealand and the art world at large. It is only now, in the twenty-first century, that art historians in New Zealand are actively 'rethinking New Zealand art's relation to the world', including the New Zealand expatriate artist's relation in terms of connection: contact and elective proximity.[63]

Loved at Home and Noticed Abroad: Renegotiating the Double Bind of New Zealand Art (History)

Historically, New Zealand artists have been positioned at a disadvantage in a way that is comparative to 'the imperial measure which placed the Caribbean "behind" and "outside" the time and space of the modern and the metropolitan'.[64] Despite the quality of the art that was produced by New Zealand artists in the twentieth century, the dominant paradigm of modernist art history did not admit New Zealand art into mainstream canonical spaces of modern art.[65] This disciplinary 'refusal to accept the coevalness or simultaneity

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[63] For example, the 2013 issue of *Reading Room*, one of the few peer-reviewed journals of art published in New Zealand, took the concept of elective proximity as its theme and invited contributors to use this concept to '[rethink] New Zealand art's relation to the world' and to '[re]consider various historical and contemporary models of interaction that conceive and realise alternatives to the prevailing discourses of centre and margin, local and global, isolation and assimilation'. See E H McCormick Research Library, '*Reading Room*, Issue 6, 2013, "Elective Proximity": Call for Papers' <http://www.aucklandartgallery.com/library/reading-room-journal/issue-6-2013-elective-proximity> [accessed December 2013]. As I have argued in Chapter 1, the theme of elective proximity is adopted for this issue of *Reading Room* partly in response to curator Okwui Enwezor's keynote lecture entitled 'Intense Proximity', which he delivered at the AAANZ annual conference hosted by the AHRC at VUW in 2011, which, like its publication outcome — a special *Contact* issue of the *ANZJA*, addressed the theme of contact, defined broadly as 'including encounter, exchange, contestation, conversion, transmission, absorption, pollution and translation' (Batchen, 'Art History Research Cluster'). The conference and these two publications constituted a significant effort to '[rethink] New Zealand art's relation to the world' not only through the concept of elective proximity but also in terms of contact more generally.

[64] Leon Wainwright, *Timed Out: Art and the Transnational Caribbean* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2011), p. 8. Wainwright's study of Caribbean art could be the basis for a comparative approach to the reception of New Zealand art in a British context.

[65] 'In dealing with the study of the history of nineteenth and twentieth century art the dominant paradigm has been identified as modernist art history. It is not so much that it is defective but that it can be shown to work ideologically to constrain what can and cannot be discussed in relation to the creation and reception of art.' Griselda Pollock, 'Feminist Interventions in the Histories of Art: An Introduction', *Vision and Difference:*

of art stories across continents' has meant that while many New Zealand-born artists have, like Upritchard, positioned themselves in transnational or alternative national and local networks of art practice throughout the twentieth century, their inscription in mainstream art history and curating has been largely neglected.[66] And although the progressivist and avant-gardist teleological narrative drives of modernist art history have been discredited by scholars in the 1970s and 1980s, very few New Zealand artists, their work or influence, have since been considered belatedly by mainstream art history.[67]

Femininity, Feminism and Histories of Art, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 1–17 (pp. 1–2).

[66] For example, in an investigation into the inexplicable absence of New Zealand-born artist Barrie Bates (who changed his name to Billy Apple in 1962) from mainstream art history, art historian Christina Barton asks, 'How might we account for such ignorance, even when there is ample evidence of the artist's achievements in England (let alone a substantial subsequent career as an artist in America and New Zealand)?' In reply, Barton writes: 'in themselves these factors [his nationality; the short period of time Bates spent in England; his training in advertising rather than fine art; his name change] do not explain Bates' absence, nor do they account for the continuing difficulty of returning him to the history of this period. For here we must contend with the larger workings of mainstream art history, to which Bates/Apple is inevitably subject. Within its unavoidable ideological frame he is a casualty.' Barton, 'Becoming Billy Apple', p. 21. The Bates/Apple case could also be thought of in terms of the 'refusal' that art historian Leon Wainwright has identified in his recent study of the histories of Caribbean art. See Wainwright, *Timed Out*, p. 3.

[67] A notable exception is renowned New Zealand modernist painter Colin McCahon (1919–87). McCahon was "discovered" by curator Rudi Fuchs, who exhibited his work in 'Thin Ice' at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, in 1999. Fuchs writes: 'For once his painting could be seen surrounded by contemporaries like Karel Appel and Asger Jorn, Willem de Kooning and Jackson Pollock — where I thought it belonged.' Rudi Fuchs in 'Julian Dashper, 1960–2009: A Tribute', ed. by Simon Ingram with Wystan Curnow, *RR*, 4 (2010), 6–41, p. 25. The works from New Zealand included in 'Thin Ice' were part of an exchange: the first installment was 'The Exhibition of the Century: Art in the 20th Century: Modernist Masterpieces from the Collection of the Stedelijk Museum' exhibited at City Gallery, 1998. In the context of this exchange, McCahon's belated European reception is facilitated by the very modernist discourses that structured the exclusion of his work at the time of its production. For a critique of Fuchs' curatorial approach as anachronistic and culturally repressive, see Ian Wedde, 'Fleeing the Centre Again: Locating the Metropolis', in Ian Wedde, *Making Ends Meet: Essays and Talks, 1992–2004* (Wellington: Victoria UP, 2005), pp. 94–106, see in particular pp. 102–05. In 1999, the same year that McCahon's work was exhibited at the Stedelijk Museum, Wystan Curnow discussed the work of Colin McCahon at a conference in Wroclaw, Poland, as an example of the way in which influence in reverse, from the margin to the centre, is overlooked in mainstream art-historical accounts. Curnow first demonstrates the influence of Colin McCahon's painting *A Grain of Wheat* (1970) on the painter John Walker, who had viewed this painting and a large number of McCahon's works in 1981

Conversely, and perhaps more ironically, this 'refusal to accept the coevalness or simultaneity of art stories across continents', described so accurately by Leon Wainwright,[68] has also meant that many New Zealand-born artists working outside of New Zealand have not been sufficiently accommodated within the canon of New Zealand art as it accrued during the twentieth century, to such an extent that, as Butler and Donaldson have pointed out, even New Zealand-born artists who emigrated to Australia have been overlooked by New Zealand art historians.[69] Moreover, those expatriate artists who did return to New Zealand were often heavily criticised and marginalised within local art scenes.[70] The desire for a singular national story of New Zealand art has not only excluded artists on the basis of their whereabouts; equally overlooked have been those artists whose work has been perceived to fall stylistically outside of the national canon of art, and the work of immigrant artists to New Zealand.[71]

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and shows how McCahon's influence on Walker went unacknowledged, and Walker's stylistic innovation subsequently attributed to his dialogue with the painter Robert Motherwell. Curnow, 'Writing History on the Margins: New Zealand', para. 6 of 11.

[68] Wainwright, *Timed Out*, p. 3.

[69] 'For if from the perspective of Australian art history New Zealand immigrants to Australia are excluded, so from conventional New Zealand art history are those New Zealand emigrants to Australia also rendered invisible.' Butler and Donaldson, 'Cities Within Cities', p. 4. For an indication of the lost Australian periods of well-known New Zealand artists, see ibid., pp. 13–14.

[70] For example: 'Several of the artists who worked overseas, such as Mina Arndt, Edith Collier and the sculptor Margaret Butler, developed a high degree of professionalism — only to find on their return an indifference and even hostility on the part of their compatriots.' Anne Kirker, *New Zealand Women Artists*, (Auckland: Reed Methuen, 1986), p. 3. Kirker observes that it was not until 1961 that Hermina Arndt (1885–1926) was posthumously rediscovered as an artist for a New Zealand audience; slight compensation for the 'basic lack of appreciation [that] nearly broke her spirit' following her return to New Zealand from Europe in 1914 (pp. 55–60). Kirker documents the 'thwarted career' that Edith Collier (1885–1964) 'suffered […] on her return to New Zealand', describing the public reception of her painting as 'apathetic' (pp. 60–65). Of Margaret Butler (1883–1947), Kirker writes: 'It was another matter in New Zealand, where she was hardly remembered and on her return faced a period of near obscurity and neglect' (p. 162).

[71] For example, Leonard Bell has identified the work of New Zealand-born artist Bryan Dew (1940–2006), New York resident and frequent visitor to New Zealand, as not 'belonging' to the story of New Zealand art. Bell reveals that Dew was 'advised a few years ago that if he wanted to become part of the New Zealand art world he would need to produce work that could be identified as "New Zealand"; work that was

The supposed lack of a distinct national context has also contributed to the reception of New Zealand artists as behind or outside the modern, perhaps most noticeably in Britain. In an account of New Zealand's art history written by Māori art historian Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, the city of London can be regarded as the original scene of the invisibility, or non-recognition, of New Zealand art:

> Although paintings of the New Zealand landscape and its indigenous inhabitants were exhibited in the Royal Academy, London, in the late 18th century following the return of James Cook's voyages to the south seas, and as part of the tiny New Zealand display at the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, a consciousness of New Zealand's distinctiveness as an art culture did not begin to emerge until the 1930s. New Zealand art shown at the Empire Exhibition in London in 1924 made no impact at all, unlike contemporary Canadian art which was lauded to the skies by art critics.[72]

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location-specific, that showed he belonged.' Bell proposes that in the scheme where 'the products of people who identify with New Zealand as New Zealanders are defined as New Zealand art', an artist like Dew, 'someone who is not so-placed, or who does not so identify, who is a "foreigner", not one of "us", is thus likely to be excluded from the national story.' Bell, *In Transit*, p. 13. However, Bell is tentative towards the topic of exclusion in relation to New Zealand art history; in presenting this anecdotal tit-bit, Bell does not go so far as to conclude that Dew was excluded from a nationalist narrative of art. Again, in the case of Douglas MacDiarmid, a New Zealand-born artist of Scottish descent who has lived and worked in Paris since 1952, of whom Bell writes at length in this same essay, Bell refutes a notion of exclusion, writing: 'MacDiarmid's name and work have rated barely a mention in the standard histories of New Zealand art. It is not that he has been written out. Rather, he has never been written in' (pp. 20–21). In comparison, in their essay 'Stay, Go, or Come', Butler and Donaldson have identified specific instances in the discourse of Australian art that demonstrate its discriminatory framework (p. 119). To identify the particular discursive formations of exclusion that have governed a history of New Zealand art is an analytical task that has not yet been (successfully) attempted by art historians in New Zealand. Art historian Francis Pound has made the most exhaustive attempt in this regard. See Pound's *The Invention of New Zealand*. Butler and Donaldson have produced what is perhaps the most attentive account of the nationalist discursive underpinnings of New Zealand art history. On Pound's attempt they observe, 'what is notable about Pound's book is that, for all of his criticism of the rhetorics of nationalism, he is unable to present a positive alternative; if he ends with a "post-national" situation for New Zealand art, he is precisely unable to write the history of this post-nationalism. Indeed, the reader ultimately gets the sense that the book, which was written over a 20-year period, was originally a nationalist history, and for all of its change of heart along the way cannot get itself beyond a nationalist horizon.' Butler and Donaldson, 'Cities within Cities', p. 11. See also ibid., pp. 4–5.

[72] Mane-Wheoki, 'Art's Histories in Aotearoa New Zealand', p. 2.

Moreover, in New Zealand art discourse Britain became the mythical site of the New Zealand artist's disappearance from the world of art, as evident in the following statement made by artist and curator Colin McCahon in the introduction to the exhibition 'Six New Zealand Expatriates' held at the Auckland Art Gallery in 1962:

> New Zealand born artists […] seeing no future for "Art" in New Zealand, went "Home". "Home" was primarily England, but all of Europe was its doorstep. Painters must see paintings; and there was little to see in New Zealand. Painters must have an audience; and there was, and still is, only the most rudimentary audience available.[73]

The expatriate New Zealand artist Frances Hodgkins (1869–1947), included in the 'Six New Zealand Expatriates' exhibition, was the first New Zealand-born artist to achieve national visibility within the British art scene and thus defy the systematic disappearance of the New Zealand artist as described by McCahon. In 1939, she was selected to represent Britain at the 1940 Venice Biennale. Although the biennale was subsequently cancelled, her selection indicates that she was considered a contemporary of modern British artists: 'Hodgkins demonstrated that not only did British artists contribute to New Zealand's artistic development but that New Zealand artists were capable of reciprocal

[73] 'The history of painting in New Zealand is very largely a record of painters' travels, their arrivals and departures, and often of their subsequent disappearance from the world of art. It is not only in New Zealand that this pattern is found; but here it can be studied in present usage differing in no significant way from the pattern established here in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The artists who came and went with Tasman, Cook and D'Urville, were in the nature of visitors. Many of the missionary and explorer-surveyor artists came and went as visitors too. Some stayed and made their contributions to New Zealand landscape painting, and men like Albin Martin and J. C. Hoyte helped build the foundations of the persisting European–New Zealand art amalgam. Refugees From [sic] Europe's art world came, taught painting and went away again, or stayed in increasing bitterness and frustration. New Zealand born artists, becoming infected by this frustration and the restrictive smallness of their isolated world, and seeing no future for "Art" in New Zealand, went "Home". "Home" was primarily England, but all of Europe was its doorstep. Painters must see paintings; and there was little to see in New Zealand. Painters must have an audience; and there was, and still is, only the most rudimentary audience available.' Colin McCahon, 'Introduction', in *Six New Zealand Expatriates: Grace Joel, Rhona Haszard, Frances Hodgkins, Francis McCracken, Raymond McIntyre, Owen Merton: The Auckland Art Gallery, April 1962* (Auckland: Pelorus Press, 1962), pp. 5–7 (p. 5).

influence.'[74] However, following the second world war and independence from Britain, the social and political conditions for the reception of New Zealand and Australian expatriate artists had changed considerably. No longer British as such, New Zealand and Australian artists living and working in London found themselves without a distinct national context and were less likely to be received as contemporaries; instead, in the context of decolonisation, they were categorised as commonwealth artists.[75] By identifying the discursive frameworks that have contributed to the New Zealand artist's disappearance in post-war Britain, in the case of New Zealand-born artist Billy Apple (born Barrie Bates in 1935), who attended the Royal College of Art in London between 1959 and 1962, art historian Christina Barton has done much to demythologise the marginalisation of expatriate New Zealand artists as 'caught "between two hemispheres"'.[76]

The discipline of art history has been notoriously slow to recognise what is commonly referred to in Australia and New Zealand as "Australian art" and "New Zealand art". At the outset of Bernard Smith's research project at the Courtauld Institute in London, which eventually resulted in his book *European Vision*, Anthony Blunt told him that it 'was pointless, for there was no such thing as Australian art'.[77] Blunt's remark resonates with a similar comment made by American art critic Clement Greenberg, who was reported to have said at one of three public addresses delivered during a trip to New Zealand in July 1968, 'that

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[74] Neil Roberts, *A Commemoration: Frances Hodgkins' Works, 1929–1946* (Christchurch: Robert McDougall Art Gallery, 1997), p. 1.

[75] For a discussion of the distinction between the Young Contemporaries and the Young Commonwealth Artists exhibitions in London, see Barton, 'Becoming Billy Apple'. For a discussion of the disadvantages of the commonwealth context, see Wainwright, *Timed Out*, p. 6.

[76] 'Bates' disappearance from the historical record is a process of a different order to that of his transformation into Billy Apple. While the latter was a radical, instantaneous and positive gesture, the former can be characterised as a slow shift, one which is inextricably linked to the production of a nationalist history of specifically British Pop Art, that saw the artist incrementally written out, as historians policed the culture's borders and defined its key directions.' Barton, 'Becoming Billy Apple', pp. 21–22. See also, Christina Barton, 'Mind the Gap: Billy Apple: Between British and American Pop, 1960–64', *ANZJA*, 9 (2008), 163–87.

[77] Beilharz, 'Thinking Within Pacific Horizons', p. vii.

he had never heard of New Zealand art, and that no-one could expect New Zealand to turn out anything of any worth — not major art — because it was too far away from New York, Paris and London, the art centres of the world'.[78] Greenberg's comment was recalled by Francis Pound in a reflection on his career as an art historian: 'More and more over the years I had come to understand that to write about New Zealand art was like writing at the heart of a black hole — that no trace of one's words could ever reach a world outside.'[79] Pound's comment echoes a similar reflection made by Bernard Smith, who had said several years earlier that 'writing art history in Australia at a conceptual level is a bit like dropping a tiny pebble into a deep well and hoping for an echo, but all that I hear is silence'.[80] While it certainly seems that certain art historians working in a North Atlantic context have acted as gatekeepers to exclude or deny the disciplinary fields of Australian and New Zealand art, Anthony Gardner 'wonder[s] whether this state of exclusion is, to an extent, as much of Australian artists' and writers' making as anyone else's', and questions the value of insisting upon "Australian art".[81]

Career in full swing, it would seem that Upritchard's reception as an artist contradicts the unfavourable disciplinary bias that left New Zealand artists in the mid-twentieth century 'feeling unloved at home and unnoticed abroad'.[82]

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[78] Ria Bancroft, 'Reflections on the Visit of Mr. Clement Greenberg', *The Journal of the Canterbury Society of Arts*, 21 (1968).

[79] Pound, *The Invention of New Zealand*, p. xviii.

[80] Bernard Smith, 'On Writing Art History in Australia', *Thesis Eleven*, 82 (2005), 5–15 (pp. 14–15).

[81] Gardner, 'Australian Art Does Not Exist', p. 101.

[82] The phrase 'unloved at home and unnoticed abroad' is drawn from the art criticism of human geographer Nigel Clark, who aptly (and somewhat sardonically) summarises a number of the tendencies of the discourse of cultural nationalism in New Zealand, the dominant mode of art discourse in operation from the 1930s until the mid-1980s: 'The old literary and artistic culture of outcast eyes looking longingly seaward, as Francis Pound pointed out, tended to be as much about craving for an answering gaze or voice than it was about really getting to grips with ocean, wind, rocks and stuff. It was about the need to be recognised by the rest of the world, a desire always ensnarled with a yearning to be appreciated on the domestic front: about a dual alienation of cultural producers feeling unloved at home and unnoticed abroad.' Nigel Clark's 'Acquiescence: Fluid Realities and Planned Retreat', *RR*, 4 (2010), 42–59, p. 56. For further information on cultural nationalism in a mid-twentieth-century New Zealand

Indeed, it could be said that Upritchard is loved at home and noticed abroad. Not only has Upritchard received a warm reception in Britain since a review of her work published in *Frieze* magazine in 2002 kick-started her public profile as an artist working in London,[83] she has also been invited to exhibit in a number of significant contemporary art institutions worldwide and is steadily expanding her exhibition practice across the globe. What is more, Upritchard has come to stand out in New Zealand art discourse as one of the foremost contemporary artists from New Zealand to have successfully developed an international career in an expatriate capacity. As early as 2005, Upritchard was earmarked for success by her Auckland dealer Ivan Anthony, who declared her to be New Zealand's 'greatest ever art export' and claimed that: 'No New Zealand artist has ever got to this level overseas before, not even McCahon.'[84] But what distinguishes Upritchard from her compatriot artists, who also share their time between New Zealand and Europe, or other metropolitan centres worldwide, and are equally well-recognised, exhibited, and collected internationally? For example, what distinguishes Upritchard from the artist Judy Millar (b. 1957), who lives and works between Berlin and Auckland, and who, alongside Upritchard, also represented New Zealand at the 2009 Venice Biennale? How is it that Upritchard has come to be so acclaimed in London, a city of New

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context see the previous section 'Caught "between Two Hemispheres"' in this chapter above.

[83] Benedict Seymour's review of Upritchard's work is perhaps the most influential at this moment in her career. See Benedict Seymour, 'Bart Wells Gang', *Frieze*, 66 (April 2002) <http://www.frieze.com/issue/review/ bart_wells_gang/> [accessed 22 March 2013]. In 2007, Upritchard was selected by curator Alex Farquharson as an artist to watch in an article also published in Frieze magazine. Alex Farquharson, 'Looking Back: Emerging Artists', Frieze, 104 (2007) <http://www.frieze.com/issue/article/ looking_back_emerging_artists/> [accessed 22 March 2013]. Upritchard is still regularly interviewed by art critics in the British press. See for example, Karen Wright, 'In the Studio: Francis Upritchard, Artist', *Independent*, 25 August 2012 <http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/features/in-the-studio-francis-upritchard-artist-8076688.html> [accessed 22 March 2013]; and Skye Sherwin, 'Artist of the Week 205: Francis Upritchard', *Guardian*, 30 August 2012 <http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2012/aug/30/artist-week-francis-upritchard> [accessed 22 March 2013].

[84] Anthony quoted in Smithies, 'Art Throbs', pp. 16–19.

Zealand's 'colonisation and cultural marginality',[85] a place associated with the repeated art-historical ignorance of the New Zealand artist? And how has Upritchard's reception in London affected her New Zealand reception as an expatriate artist?

It is no wonder that Upritchard's success as an international artist has been narrated and rehearsed at every opportunity, as her individual achievement is also attributable to the institutions and institutionalisation of New Zealand art and reflective of the efficaciousness of its recently developed cultural hardware — or new vision, so to speak.[86] Yet, although Upritchard's career represents a breakthrough for the possibilities of artistic practice in New Zealand and for New Zealand artists,[87] an analysis of the multiple national and institutional contexts for Upritchard's success, and for the reception of her practice more generally, is a task that has not yet been attempted.

The Returning of a Contemporary Expatriate in/and the Context of 'a Far-Flung Network'

Upritchard has resided permanently in London since first arriving from New Zealand approximately twenty-five years ago; she returns annually to New Zealand, to visit and to work. In that she moved away, and that she commutes, Upritchard can be considered an expatriate, according to the *OED* definition: 'a person who lives outside their native country', and someone who maintains

[85] In 'Cities within Cities', Butler and Donaldson's alternative, non-national 'UnAustralian' history of art, we are reminded that London and Paris are 'ultimately cities of Australian's colonisation and cultural marginality' (p. 3). Equally, it can be said that London is 'ultimately [a city of New Zealand's] colonisation and cultural marginality'.

[86] New Zealand's belated arrival at the Venice Biennale in 2001 represents the government's investment in creative arts infrastructure during the fifth term of the New Zealand Labour government. Helen Clark, the country's first elected female prime minister, became the spearhead for Labour's commitment to the arts between 1999 and 2008. The official New Zealand presence at the Venice Biennale results from an original commitment made by the country's Arts Council to host three pavilions beginning in 2001 as part of a long-term international arts strategy.

[87] Butler writes: 'our expatriate artists living overseas [...] almost inevitably do influence artists working back in Australia. The possibility of living overseas, even if it does not directly affect local art, does affect the way artists living in Australia think about their practice.' Butler and Donaldson, 'Stay, Go, or Come', pp. 119–20.

'their relationship with the country from which they departed'.[88] Yet neither sense wholly defines Upritchard as an expatriate artist. Rather, it is the historical specificity of her position as an artist and a New Zealander in London that allows Upritchard to be considered thus. The singular intention with which Upritchard made her way to a metropolitan centre, and the familiar trajectory of her journey from New Zealand to London, with its focus on Europe, places her clearly in relation to the historiography of the expatriate New Zealand artist: a subject who is conscious of the necessity to leave New Zealand in order to make art,[89] and a figure that embodies the passage from New Zealand to the art world, which had until recently been regarded as being located outside of New Zealand, most typically in Paris, London, and New York.[90] However, as a

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[88] In his study of Australian expatriates, Stephen Alomes places an emphasis on the continuity of expatriate identity, defining expatriates as 'those who keep up their relationship with the country from which they departed'; some so much so that Alome describes them as 'serial commuters'. Alomes is not in the business of discovering or recovering Australian expatriates 'lost' in, or to, Britain, so to speak; he has a particular interest in those already visible, whose 'often public relationship self-selects them as expatriates for this study'. Stephen Alomes, *When London Calls: The Expatriation of Australian Creative Artists to Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), p. xii.

[89] The necessity to leave New Zealand in order to make art is a (mythical) tenet of New Zealand art discourse, grounded as a response to both the professional working conditions for artists and the structure of art education in New Zealand in the twentieth century. In 1962, in ruminating on the phenomenon of expatriatism amongst New Zealand-born artists, modernist painter Colin McCahon wrote, 'Painters must see paintings; and there was little to see in New Zealand. Painters must have an audience; and there was, and still is, only the most rudimentary audience available.' McCahon, *Six New Zealand Expatriates*, p.5. In a later example, feminist filmmaker Stephanie Beth speaks of her own motivation to travel in the context of her time spent as a student at the School of Fine Art, University of Canterbury, 1975–78: 'The delivery of an arts culture was still enormously tenuous in New Zealand […] There were no artists making a living in 1975. A primary school art curriculum was only formalised in the 1960s. The New Zealand fine arts scene still reached out to London's Royal College as a link. Overseas travel to art galleries filled in a lot of my understanding about 20th century art.' Stephanie Beth, interview with Tracy McCaw, August 2007 <http://www.artschool125.co.nz/Interviews/S_Beth/> [accessed 31 July 2013]. Upritchard herself has spoken on numerous occasions of the necessity to leave New Zealand in order to be able to make art. For example, when interviewed by a reporter from New Zealand in her London squat, she explains: 'to make this kind of work I really needed to get out of New Zealand'. Francis Upritchard quoted in Grant Smithies, 'Art Throbs', p. 18.

[90] The physical journey that artists have made from the South Pacific to Europe is of particular significance in national histories of New Zealand art, which trace the arrivals and departures of artists to and from the country; in these narratives, the expatriate

contemporary artist situated in London operating within the global networks and cultural flows through which artists and artworks are mobilised and dispersed in the twenty-first century, Upritchard is not subject to the patterns of 'provincialism's relentless entrapment' in the way that earlier generations of New Zealand (expatriate) artists might have been.[91] Instead, Upritchard's practice appears to traverse national and cultural boundaries with ease, and her oscillation between her permanent residence and the country of her birth does not threaten her reception but rather multiplies an appreciation of her work. In fact, Barton has identified Upritchard's situation as an expatriate artist who is able to frequently return home, so to speak, as 'distinctly of this moment'.[92] So

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embodies the symbolic passage from New Zealand (Erewhon or nowhere) to the art world, located elsewhere. For example, in 1926 the expatriate artist Len Lye, incited by reproductions of art he had seen in magazines, worked his way from Western Samoa (via Sydney) to London as a stoker aboard a steamship, when travel was more arduous and less fleeting than contemporary images of cultural mobility. As a labourer, the explorer-artist becomes hero. For an account of Lye's journey, see Anne Kirker, 'The Early Years in London', *ANZ*, 17 (1980), 48–53, 72.

[91] Terry Smith writes: 'The complex history of the "expatriates," most of whom eventually return, highlights this dilemma [provincialism's relentless entrapment]'. Smith illustrates the departure and return of the expatriate: 'With variations, the pattern of expatriation is this: As soon as he is able the young provincial artist leaves for the metropolitan center, where he picks up competencies for art-making in terms of the most obviously "advanced" style, along with a taste for at least some aspects of the center's community dynamism (for example, the ready availability of a number of active audiences). Returning home, he proselytizes his new vision of artwork and art world around Sydney and Melbourne, often winning converts, throwing others into the position of reactionaries, and competing with acolytes of different metropolitan avant-gardisms until his initiative runs aground. Having at no point been "in on" the seminal impulses which generated his adopted style, he no longer knows how to continue within its framework; and the local art world is incapable of acting as a dynamic audience. He might then return to the metropolitan center only to discover that the style to which he has committed himself has changed in incomprehensible or unbridgeable ways. Also, its authority will probably have diminished, the singularity of its energy and confidence abated, its proponents engaged in the futile rear-guard actions against the newest avant-gardism. The provincial artist returns home to find to his dismay, the same crisis building up for him. Most artists are flexible enough to go one or two rounds in this circus, but after that it becomes increasingly debilitating.' Terry Smith, 'The Provincialism Problem', repr. in *Australian Art Historiography*, ed. by Anderson, pp. 1–14 (pp. 7–8).

[92] '[O]ur new more mobile situation' refers to recent transformations in the conditions for art practice in New Zealand and for New Zealand artists. Under the sub-heading 'No More Distance', Barton discusses this situation in three components, comparable to Butler and Donaldsons three activities (staying, going and coming): 'there is a far-flung network of New Zealanders operating from various centres […] They are matched

why is it that, at a time when 'we expect artists to come and go',[93] Upritchard's voluntary displacement continues to be understood in terms of artistic expatriation, a socio-political and cultural phenomenon associated with twentieth-century modernity?[94]

Since she first began to attract the attention of art critics in New Zealand, following her first major solo exhibition 'Doomed, Doomed, All Doomed' held at Artspace, Auckland in 2005 (Figure 3.11), Upritchard has often been referred to as an expatriate artist.[95] While Upritchard's connection to her country is generally acknowledged either in terms of national origin (New Zealand-born) or citizenship (New Zealander), the description of Upritchard as an expatriate New Zealand artist, or as simply an expatriate artist, occurs almost exclusively in reviews or articles written for a New Zealand, often general public, audience.[96]

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locally by a growing number of artists who travel as much as they can afford to and who take opportunities to show in other places whenever they arise […] Equally, a new crop of talented and ambitious foreigners have chosen to come to New Zealand not as a nice place to which to escape, but as somewhere to further their careers […] These people may not settle permanently, but they prove the substance of our new more mobile situation and have helped create conditions for new modes of practice that are tuned to the specificities of place but not freighted with the demands of being representative.' Upritchard is one of nine artists Barton names as exemplifying a 'far-flung network of New Zealanders operating from various centres.' Barton, 'State of the Art', pp. 34–35, emphasis added.

[93] Robert Leonard, 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', p. 43.

[94] My own question is somewhat indebted to Daniel Katz's concern: 'The association of modernism with expatriation and exile is venerable to the point of being a cliché; around a century after the fact, it might seem strange to revisit the issue now.' Daniel Katz, *American Modernism's Expatriate Scene: The Labour of Translation* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2007), p. 1.

[95] While based in London, Upritchard showed in a number of group exhibitions ('Outcome of Probability: Francis Upritchard and Saskia Leek', Ivan Anthony Gallery, Auckland, 2000; 'Break', GB, 2002; 'Curiosity Kills the Gab', Artspace, 2003; 'Iki and thanks for all the Ika', Artspace, 2004; 'Albino' (with Rohan Whellans), Ivan Anthony Gallery, 2004; 'Prospect', Adam, Wellington) and solo exhibitions ('Ich Dien', Ivan Anthony Gallery, 2001; 'New Work', Ivan Anthony, 2003) in New Zealand prior to 'Doomed, Doomed, All Doomed' held at Artspace in 2005, however, according to art critic Marcus Moore, her work 'received its first serious attention in New Zealand in 2005'. Marcus Moore, 'Expatriate Voyager: Concerning Works by Francis Upritchard', in *Flung: The Expat Issue*, ed. by Paula Morris (= *Landfall*, 217 (2009)), 129–36 (p. 133).

[96] See for example Grant Smithies, 'Art throbs'; Linda Herrick, 'Doom and Gloom Scoops $50,000 Walters Prize', NZ Herald, 4 October 2006 <http://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=10404190> [accessed 02 October 2013]; and Paula Booker, 'Rainbow Connection', NZ Listener, 213

Moreover, the description of Upritchard as such has tended to document not so much her absence from the country but her return to New Zealand and her presence on the local art scene.[97] These reviews typically place an emphasis on her international success as a New Zealand artist and celebrate her homecoming. For example, in 2005 Upritchard was advertised in the New Zealand press as 'an expat Kiwi artist making huge waves in London and New York'; a pioneering voyager who 'sailed off into the midst of an indifferent foreign art scene with no money, no contacts and nothing but her determination and her prodigious talent'.[98] When expatriate artists have for so long been portrayed as having deserted their compatriots, and such accolades have been reserved only for those expatriates who finally return to New Zealand, we might wonder: what has changed?

Upritchard's welcome reception as an expatriate artist would appear to coincide with a popular re-imagination of the New Zealand expatriate population in the context of what geographer and sociologist Wendy Larner has identified as a neoliberal 'diaspora strategy' by which 'offshore New Zealanders are being rethought and put to new purposes', 'without requiring them to return'.[99] This has resulted in the public championing of expatriates in the

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(2008) <http://www.listener.co.nz/culture/art/rainbow-connection/> [accessed 07 December 2010].

[97] For example, 'While she was in New Zealand for the launch of her first public sculpture, Loafers, expatriate New Zealand artist, Francis Upritchard, talked to Virginia Were about her Vienna Secession exhibition and life since the Venice Biennale.' Virginia Were, 'Flying Solo in Europe and America', *Art News New Zealand*, Autumn (2012) <http://www.artnews.co.nz/autumn-2012-profile/> [accessed 2 October 2013]. Alternatively: 'Expatriate artist Francis Upritchard spent a happy summer in her hometown New Plymouth, as the Govett-Brewster's New Zealand Artist in Residence.' Booker, 'Rainbow Connection'.

[98] Although the reporter doesn't resort to the term expatriate in the main body of the article, Upritchard is advertised as an expatriate in the paragraph that occurs above the heading: 'Grant Smithies meets Francis Upritchard, an expat Kiwi artist making huge waves in London and New York'. Grant Smithies, 'Art Throbs', p. 16.

[99] 'Population movements in and out of New Zealand, particularly Trans-Tasman flows, have always been strongly associated with the relative strength of the New Zealand economy. In the 1980s and 1990s, for example, significant numbers of New Zealanders reacted to increased levels of unemployment and the "more market" political agenda by seeking economic opportunities elsewhere. What has changed recently, however, is the assumption that New Zealanders who leave their home country are somehow "lost" unless they subsequently decide to return. While the new diaspora strategy is

national media, Larner observes, at exactly the time that Upritchard was welcomed as an expatriate in New Zealand.[100] This re-visioning of expatriates mobilises language associated with nationalist discourse and yet it promises to redress the ostensibly isolationist and/or nationalist discourse of distance which had characterised discussion of expatriates in twentieth-century New Zealand:

> In an interview broadcast on national television Ross McConnell, the chief executive of Kea [Kiwi Expats Association] New Zealand, explained: "We want to think about New Zealand as a globally connected nation of five million rather than an isolated nation of four million stuck at the bottom of the South Pacific . . . that's a much more powerful way to think" (TVNZ 8 March 2006).[101]

Notably, the broadcasting of McConnell's vision of New Zealand as 'a globally connected nation' coincided with the publication of Barton's depiction of 'a far-flung network of New Zealanders', which was thus evidently in step with popular opinion on expatriatism.[102]

Originally, Barton had intended to include Upritchard in the exhibition 'The Expatriates: Frances Hodgkins and Barrie Bates' held at the Adam, Wellington, from October 2004 until February 2005. Barton's curatorial project examined the reception of Hodgkins, who 'left New Zealand at the apogee of the British Empire' in 1901, and Bates, who 'arrived on the eve of a new era of post-war prosperity' in 1959, as two distinct moments of New Zealand art in Britain in the early and mid-twentieth century.[103] However, funding limitations meant that the exhibition did not explore a third contemporary, or late-twentieth-century, moment. Consequently, an analysis of Upritchard's early reception in Britain, the scene of her emergence as an artist, remains outstanding. And while Barton

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bound by these earlier geographies of connection and exchange, it is giving rise to distinctive governmental configurations in which relationships with offshore New Zealanders are being rethought and put to new purposes'; 'a range of new techniques are being used to engage expatriates in activities in their countries of origin without requiring them to return'. Wendy Larner, 'Expatriate Experts and Globalising Governmentalities: The New Zealand Diaspora Strategy', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 32 (2007), 331–45 (p. 332 and pp. 337–38).

[100] 'Media articles and government websites regularly feature high-profile expatriate "success stories".' Larner, 'Expatriate Experts', p. 339.

[101] Ibid., p. 331.

[102] Barton, 'State of the Art', p. 34.

[103] Barton, 'Becoming Billy Apple', pp. 5–6.

did not (re)consider the expatriate situation of Upritchard's practice in terms of a discourse of distance, it was not long before she discussed Upritchard's situation in terms of a discourse of contact.

Although Barton was unable to include Upritchard in 'The Expatriates' project, in 2006 Barton identified her as one of nine artists who exemplify a 'far-flung network of New Zealanders operating from various centres […] whose situations can be distinguished as distinctly of this moment'.[104] As I have noted in Chapter 1, the context for Barton's analogy is a reconsideration of the state of the visual arts scene in New Zealand approximately a decade after CNZ's commissioning of the *New Vision* report of 1997.[105] Barton's dual consideration of Upritchard, as expatriate artist and contemporary artist, not only situates her at the overlapping of contexts, but also paradoxically at the overlapping of the competing discourses of distance and contact. Yet, although in this article Upritchard's situation is directly linked with state and private investment in New Zealand's cultural sector, of which New Zealand's representation at the Venice Biennale and the Walters Prize are both direct results, there has been no corresponding analysis of the discourses that have privileged Upritchard's practice under these conditions. And there has been no critique of Barton's use of a network. (How) is Barton's vision of 'a far-flung network of New Zealanders operating from various centres' different to the 'new vision of globalising networks' discussed by Larner?[106]

It was not until 2009 that the expatriate situation of Upritchard's practice was first discussed at length by an art historian, namely Marcus Moore, who positioned Upritchard in the context of what he calls 'a tradition' of expatriation among New Zealand artists:

> The move to London echoed the journey of a number of past New Zealand writers and artists. Frances Hodgkins — a namesake, of sorts — typified a tradition of artists in New Zealand who decided that departing these shores was really the only option to advance one's career. This literal and figurative embarkation — on the quest to become a significant

[104] Barton, 'State of the Art', p. 34.
[105] McDermott Miller, *New Vision*.
[106] Barton, 'State of the Art', p. 34; Larner, 'Expatriate Experts', p. 337.

> artist — meant a decision very early in Upritchard's career to seek out a metropolitan centre in the northern hemisphere.[107]

Moore not only compares Upritchard's journey to those of earlier generations of expatriate artists, he begins by sketching a genealogy of expatriate artists that have preceded Upritchard: Hodgkins, Apple, and Julian Dashper (1960–2009). In effect, he relates Upritchard to Barton's incomplete curatorial project 'The Expatriates: Frances Hodgkins and Barrie Bates', updating his own account with the addition of Dashper, 'a contemporary artist who frequently roams international centres and holds exhibitions, then returns home to New Zealand'.[108] But the links are tenuous. The discussion of Upritchard in relation to Hodgkins centres around a comparison of the artists first names; and the gesture of name change is all that Upritchard is shown to have in common with Apple, not even a reflection on the fact that, like Upritchard, Apple lived in London. Near the end of the article Moore states that, 'New Zealand artists have always travelled to the art centres of the "old world"', yet, with such a long history of artists to choose from, Moore goes on to exemplify this tradition that Hodgkins is said to typify by discussing three more male artists: Charles Frederick Goldie (1870–1947), Len Lye (1901–80) and Bill Culbert (1934–2019).[109]

According to Moore's account, Upritchard is the most recent in a trajectory of intrepid male travellers. What is more, he undercuts the art-historical position of Hodgkins as foundational figure of this tradition of artistic expatriatism with the earlier example of Goldie. Why? Is it a coincidence that, at a moment in New Zealand when expatriates are being thought of positively, Moore replaces the original female expatriate with a male founding figure? This unsettling of Hodgkins, who came to exemplify the New Zealand expatriate artist at a time when expatriatism was in general received negatively in New Zealand, makes me wonder if it is no coincidence that it was a woman who in national (and nationalist) histories of art came to represent so iconically the

[107] Moore, 'Expatriate Voyager', p. 130.
[108] Ibid., p. 131.
[109] Ibid., p. 134.

loathed deserter. If Upritchard is to be the most recent in a trajectory of expatriate New Zealand artists, what would that trajectory look like if those artists were all artist-women? This raises the broader question: why is it that so many artist-women left New Zealand in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? What if the problematic of artistic expatriatism in New Zealand art history was not framed in terms of the nation but in terms of gender?

The Reception of a Contemporary (New Zealand) Artist(-Woman) and the Question of the (Aesthetic) Specificity of Artistic Practice

Whereas in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context Upritchard has come to embody the oxymoronic figure of the contemporary expatriate artist, who is by definition both present and absent, local and global, and thus neither present nor absent, located nor dislocated, in the literature of her reception Upritchard is more often received as simply a contemporary artist — or if a distinction is made concerning her identity, it is most likely that she is referred to as a New Zealand contemporary artist, an epithet that, in denominating her nationality and thus qualifying the seemingly universal term "contemporary artist", marks Upritchard with a certain local particularity which, while it may, in theory, disqualify her from occupying the unmarked and thus privileged position of the contemporary artist, in practice, lends a measure of authenticity to her contemporariness that legitimates her position as a contemporary artist in a globalised art world.[110] By contrast, Upritchard has not generally been

[110] Here I am suggesting that in the context of the contemporary, the ubiquitous term "contemporary artist" reads as a neutral and thus unmarked term, and as such has displaced (the function of) 'the privileged and seemingly universal term, artist' that is described in Pollock, 'A Lonely Preface (2013)', in Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, p. xxix. Or if it is read as a marked term, that is, if the noun "artist" appears to have been qualified by the adjective "contemporary", the effect is not to '[load] it with local particularit[y]', as Pollock has described in the case of the term "woman artist", but rather with a certain global universality, insofar as the first word in the collocation "contemporary artist" signifies an artist's coexistence with a plenitude of other artists working across localities in the present, and thus an artist's global, or at least shared, relevance to the contemporary context. Either way, I would argue that the apparently inclusive term "contemporary artist" retains by default a certain universality and thus signifies to some extent the 'unspoken […] space for masculinity, whiteness, [and] heterosexuality' that has historically been the preserve of the neutral term "artist",

received, and indeed does not explicitly identify, as either a woman artist or an artist-woman.[111] This is to say that while her practice is often thought to be shaped by a certain national cultural difference, it is not recognised — even by Upritchard herself — as being equally shaped by her experience of sexual difference. Indeed, while her work is thought to somehow speak to the global contemporary and postcolonial conditions that have shaped her practice as a contemporary New Zealand artist, because Upritchard's gender is not generally taken into account, the ways in which her work speaks to the practice of other artist-women and to the condition of sexual difference have largely been overlooked.

The discourse of Upritchard's reception is thus unevenly structured by these competing professional identities in a manner that is symptomatic of the deep-rooted social and political prejudices that structure not only the academic

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which is why it requires further qualification in order to signify an artist's difference from the straight white masculine, and I would add Eurocentric, norm. If the term "contemporary artist" is qualified, by adding an adjective, for example "queer contemporary artist" or "New Zealand contemporary artist", it does have the effect of disqualifying the artist from the contemporary to some extent, however, in the context of a globalising contemporary art world conditioned by liquid modernity, that which is disqualified is also rapidly, or always already, recuperated by the contemporary art market, which, in so doing, assigns a value to certain marked differences. Thus, contemporary artists whose identifications would otherwise disqualify them from the universal category of artist are at a strategic advantage in the global marketplace of contemporary art. It has been observed that while on the one hand 'the contemporary artist frequently rejects a national identity and instead prefers the role of the nomad', on the other hand '[a]ncestry as well as nationality seem to be a strategy for artistic legitimization and a tool for authenticity in a globalized art world', in Peter J. Schneemann, 'Contemporary Art and the Concept of Art History: Influence, Dependency and Challenge', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, ed. by Matthew Rampley and others (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 59–73 (p. 73). Thus, I would argue that far from disqualifying her from the position of contemporary artist, Upritchard's identity as a New Zealand contemporary artist in fact legitimates her position in the global contemporary art world context.

[111] While Upritchard often refers to the practice of other artist-women when she is interviewed, and indeed her work seems to be in conversation with that of an array of artist-women, she does not explicitly identify herself as a woman artist and her work is not often included in exhibitions of work made exclusively by artist-women or in exhibitions with a feminist theme. This suggests that Upritchard herself sees no strategic advantage to be gained in the contemporary art marketplace by identifying as either a woman or a feminist artist.

domain of Art History, but also the curatorial field and, consequently, contemporary art discourse. Whereas her reception as an expatriate artist has been largely confined to the contemporary art(-historical) discourse of a single national context, she has barely been received as an artist-woman in any context.[112] Upritchard's identity as an expatriate artist-woman thus signifies (the extent of) the liminality of her position as a contemporary artist. Given the state of the cultural industry, whose beguiling (re)presentations of recent and ostensibly new works of art serve to distract its publics from the ways in which the curatorial field is in fact structured by the same old set of underlying prejudices entrenched within the discipline of Art History, it is perhaps not surprising, then, that the two identities which are most marginalised and/or excluded from the discourse of her reception and thus, we can deduce, most disqualify Upritchard from simply being a contemporary artist, namely her gender and expatriate status, are also those shared by artists who have

[112] I know of only one instance in which Upritchard has been received and/or positioned as an expatriate outside of the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, and that is in the group exhibition 'Ulla von Brandenburg, Haris Epaminonda, Francis Upritchard', Galerie Art : Concept, Paris, 9 January – 6 February 2016, which billed all three of the participating artist-women as expatriates, but did not make any mention of their shared gender. While Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev's reading of Upritchard's exhibition 'Doomed, Doomed, All Doomed', for which Christov-Bakargiev awarded Upritchard the 2006 Walters Prize, is perhaps the most explicit statement of a certain — feminist surrealist — relationship between Uprtichard's work and that of other artist-women, this reading, as I will argue in this section, has been repressed in the contemporary art (-historical) discourse on Upritchard's practice. Moreover, this feminist surrealist connection was overlooked in an earlier review of what is now the first of only a very few exhibitions in which Upritchard's work has been shown exclusively with that of other artist-women, namely 'Outcome of Probability', a joint exhibition of work by Upritchard and Saskia Leek which was held at Ivan Anthony, Auckland, in 2000; while the reviewer Tessa Laird considered both Upritchard's and Leek's work individually in relation to a certain (psuedo-surrealist) regional style, she did not directly discuss Upritchard's work in relation to Leek's but rather in relation to the work of two artist-men, Ronnie van Hout and Peter Robinson. I know of only two other exhibitions in which Upritchard's work was exhibited alongside that of artist-women rather than artist-men, namely: 'Mad, Bad and Sad: Women and the Mind Doctors', Freud Museum, London, 10 October 2013 – 2 February 2014 (although this did include works by Richard Dadd and Salvador Dalí); and 'In the Round: Portraits by Women Sculptors', New Zealand Portrait Gallery Te Pūkenga Whakaata, Wellington, 23 February – 14 May 2023. See Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, 'Walters Prize 2006: Judge's Statement', 02 October 2006; and Tessa Laird, 'The UnHeimlich Maneuver: Outcome of Probability: Saskia Leek and Francis Upritchard', *Eyeline*, 42 (2000).

generally been marginalised and/or excluded from the national(ist) canonical histories of modern art written in the twentieth century.[113] It is also not surprising, given that '[contemporary art] discourse has become anti-academic', to find that although Upritchard has been embraced as a contemporary artist there has been relatively little serious critical and/or art-historical enquiry into the specificity of the contemporaneity of her practice — into, that is, what makes Upritchard's work specifically contemporary art, as distinct from postmodern or modern art.[114] Indeed, while Upritchard's identity as a contemporary artist is predominant in the discourse of her reception, a critical understanding of her work as contemporary is, paradoxically, lacking. Rather, it is her national cultural identity as a New Zealand artist which has received the most (critical) attention.[115] Again, this is not surprising, art-historically speaking, given 'the continuing dominance of the national paradigm' in contemporary art-historical scholarship, and the preservation of 'the paradigm of the modern nation state and national art' within the institutional structures and discourses that constitute the globalised contemporary art world/market.[116]

While the discourse of Upritchard's reception is indeed shaped by the same hierarchies and prejudices that structure the discipline of Art History, the dearth of art-historical scholarship on Upritchard is, however, not only due to the discipline's bias against artist-women or its exclusion of New Zealand artists

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[113] My observation of the cultural industry draws heavily upon Terry Smith's observation: 'The "contemporary art" juggernaut operates primarily in terms of frameworks — managerial, curatorial, corporate, historical, commercial, educational — imposed by art institutions, themselves a key part of a now pervasive, beguilingly distractive but at bottom hollow cultural industry.' See Terry Smith, 'Contemporary Art and Contemporaneity', *Critical Inquiry*, 32.4 (2006), 681–707 (p. 695). Smith's description of the superficiality of the contemporary cultural industry reiterates and affirms Arthur C. Danto's earlier observation that 'the art market […] thrives on the illusion of novelty', made in his *The Philosophical Disenfranchisement of Art* (New York: Columbia UP, 1986), p. xv.

[114] Schneemann, 'Contemporary Art and the Concept of Art History', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*, ed. by Rampley, pp. 59–73 (p. 71).

[115] While the few texts that consider the New Zealandness of Upritchard's practice are critical to some extent, the arguments for the cultural specificity of her work presented therein are not entirely convincing in my view, and thus lack a certain criticality.

[116] Rampley, 'Introduction', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*, ed. by Rampley, pp. 1–3.

from Euro-American canonical histories of modern art, but is, I would argue, also indicative of a certain tension between (the concept of) art history and contemporary art.[117] Moreover, I would argue that this tension concerning contemporary art and art history, which I will describe below in more detail, has not only shaped the discourse of Upritchard's reception, but has done so in ways that at once exacerbate and mask the doubly precarious and paradoxical art-historical situation of Upritchard described in the opening of this chapter. As we shall see, the precarity of Upritchard's position as an expatriate New Zealand artist-woman is, for example, exacerbated by Upritchard's own intervention into the historiography of her practice, which has effectively discouraged art-historical analysis of her work, and is masked by the proliferation of contemporary art criticism on Upritchard, whose volume conceals within it a lack of concern with the historicisation of her practice. Indeed, the considerable amount of texts that serve 'as immediate legitimation' of Upritchard's artistic practice disguises not only a dearth of art-historical scholarship but also a lack of the kind of 'critical evaluation' that 'historicization […] might require'.[118]

On the one hand, this tension that I refer to above arises not only out of a conflict between the so-called two art histories, that is, Art History as it is practised in the university and in the museum, but also, I would argue, out of a

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[117] Here I am referring to Schneemann's description of the relationship between contemporary art and the concept of art history, in his eponymous chapter 'Contemporary Art and the Concept of Art History', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*, ed. by Rampley, pp. 59–73. While, as Schneemann observes, 'the historiography and production of art have lately strengthened their relationship', so that it can be said 'there exists a strong interrelation between [contemporary art and art history]' (p. 59), and that the relationship between the two is thus less antagonistic than it had been in the twentieth century, I would still argue — and I do not think Schneemann would disagree — that there exists a productive tension between contemporary art and Art History.

[118] Griselda Pollock describes one of the pitfalls not so much facing but luring and enticing art historians who choose to study contemporary art: 'Many an art historian decides his or her topic by seeing upon what the market and the collector has conferred status, which their scholarly writing then endorses as immediate legitimation (not historicization for that might require critical evaluation rather than the supplementation by affirmative or explanatory discourse). This situation is seductive.' The art critic arguably faces this same temptation to legitimate rather than critically evaluate an artist's work and/or practice. See Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns', p. 15.

productive encounter 'between these two branches of the discipline' and what could be called a third art history, that is, the art history practised by contemporary artists themselves.[119] While Upritchard does not participate

[119] The idea of the two art histories was first proposed by Charles W. Haxthausen, who organised a two-day conference entitled 'The Two Art Histories: The University and the Museum', which was held at the Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts, in 1999, in order to 'examine relations between the museum art historian and the university art historian […] and to see whether the tensions between these two branches of the discipline that were so evident in America also existed in other countries' (Haxthausen 2014: 1). The conference papers were subsequently published in a book of the same name: *The Two Art Histories: The Museum and the University*, ed. by Charles W. Haxthausen (Williamstown, MA: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2002). In 2005, a further symposium on this topic was held at the Institute of Art and Design at the University of Tsukuba, Japan, at which Haxthausen was invited to speak; his paper, which was originally published by the University of Tsukuba, was later re-published with the aim of reaching a wider audience as: Charles W. Haxthausen, 'Beyond "the Two Art Histories"', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 11 (2014), 1–11 <https://arthistoriography.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/haxthausen.pdf> [accessed 26 March 2023]. In proposing the idea of the two art histories in 1999, Haxthausen suggested that there was in his view a certain tension in the field of Art History that had arisen out of a 'gap between museum art historians and academic art historians', a divide which had effectively produced two camps of art historians, namely, the museum scholars and the university scholars, and which he saw, in 2005, as ever widening due to the difficulty of pursuing a scholarly agenda in the monetised and marketised context of the museum (Haxthausen 2014: 4–5). Here I am suggesting that the engagement of contemporary artists with Art History, described, for example, by Terry Smith and subsequently elaborated by Schneemann, who understand such artistic engagement to be a certain mode of Art History, whereby 'the artist has come to challenge and test the domain of the art historian' (Schneemann 2012: 61), constitutes a third branch of art-historical practice. As a mode and/or branch of art history, contemporary art practice serves to highlight, challenge, and even foster differences between it and the academic practice and concept of Art History. See Terry Smith, 'The State of Art History: Contemporary Art', *Art Bulletin*, 92.4 (2010), 366–83, especially the section entitled 'Contemporary Artists Do Art History as Art', pp. 366–69; and Schneemann, 'Contemporary Art and the Concept of Art History', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*, ed. by Rampley, pp. 59–73. While the challenge that contemporary art poses to Art History can indeed be seen in terms of conflict and confrontation, it can also be seen in terms of friendship, at least according to Griselda Pollock's reading of this challenge, as it has been posed in the British context since 1970, as a productive encounter, that is, as an unexpected event, which, while it may involve conflict and confrontation, also involves intimacy and contact: 'One distinctive feature of British art history results from intimacy with the practice of art'; 'British Art History's distinctive features after 1970 were [in part] born of […] the creative energies generated by close contact with the upheavals of contemporary art at the "end" of modernism'. Griselda Pollock, 'Art History and Visual Studies in Great Britain and Ireland', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe: Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, ed. by Matthew Rampley and others (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 355–78 (pp. 369 and 371). It is thus important to note here that the

directly in art-historical debate, she does engage in some of the many strategies, 'methods, rhetorics and gestures' that have come to be associated with contemporary artists' interventions into art's histories and their consequent encroachment of the traditional domain and role of the academic discipline of Art History.[120] The most obvious example of which is her insistent involvement, or hand, in the documentation of her practice, which has meant that in the publications accompanying (the exhibition of) her work, her practice has not been framed art-historically, but rather it has largely been presented through the lens of contemporary fiction and in the format of the artists' book.[121] Although Upritchard is not obviously involved in institutional critique,

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historiography of the challenge and/or encounter between contemporary art and art history has not only been captured in the debate on contemporary art history.

[120] Schneemann discusses not only the types of strategies that contemporary artists deploy to intervene in art's histories, but also the effect of such interventions on 'the contemporary art system', in which, according to his account, 'the pattern of traditional roles has […] been suspended. The old reference system that told the story of the creation and reception, of intention and interpretation as sequential steps, clearly separated the activities and responsibilities of the artist and the art historian. Curating, displaying, archiving and the development of a canonical narrative were unambiguously assigned to the latter. This constellation has been investigated and questioned by artistic practice; now it is fractured.' Schneemann, 'Contemporary Art and the Concept of Art History', pp. 67–68.

[121] This is to say that Upritchard's practice has not been framed in the traditional manner or terms of Art History as such, for example, through the convention of an essay written by an art historian who would treat her work in terms of period, movement, style, medium, influence, and intention, et cetera, which is not to say that the fiction and/or art writing written by novelists and artists that accompanies Upritchard's work shouldn't be regarded as art-historical literature in the broadest sense — even if it is 'not necessarily the art history of the art historian', to borrow a phrase from Harold Rosenberg, 'Criticism and its Premises', in *Art on the Edge: Creators and Situations* (Chicago, IL: Chicago UP, 1975), pp. 135–52 (p. 146). In describing 'the publications accompanying (the exhibition of) [Upritchard's] work', I have parenthesised the phrase 'the exhibition of' because not all of Upritchard's artists' books have been published in conjunction with, or at least they do not document, a specific exhibition, but rather a particular body of work. A good example is Francis Upritchard, *Every Colour by Itself* (London: Dent-De-Leone, 2009), which documents a body of figurative sculpture produced between 2007 and 2009, and was exhibited in, for example, Francis Upritchard, 'rainwob i', GB, 2008 (Figure 3.11), Francis Upritchard, 'rainwob ii', Artspace, Sydney, 2008 (Figure 3.12), Francis Upritchard, 'rainwob ii', Gertrude Contemporary, Melbourne, 2008, and Francis Upritchard, 'Save Yourself', 53rd Venice Biennale, Palazzo Mangilli-Valmarana, Venice, 2009. While *Every Colour by Itself*, which presents full-length portraits of forty modelled figures photographed in full colour, was released in time to be sold alongside Upritchard's exhibition 'Save Yourself' at the Venice Biennale in 2009, it was not in fact published in conjunction with

her authorial involvement in the production of these artists' book–catalogues can indeed be considered as representative of the ways in which 'the formats of [the] discipline [of Art History], like the catalogue […] have been taken over by artists themselves'.[122] While such a 'gesture of authorization' may 'confirm [Upritchard's] sovereignty towards art history' on the one hand,[123] on the other hand, however, her preference for a fictional rather than an art-historical interpretation of her work has arguably foreclosed the possibility of a sustained art-historical analysis of her practice, which might have resulted if she had solicited art historians (or critics) rather than novelists to engage with her work in the conventional form of the catalogue essay.[124] Thus, while Upritchard's intervention into the historiography of her own practice can be understood to have successfully resisted a certain mode of subjection to art-historical scholarship, I would argue, moreover, that the exercise of 'her sovereignty towards art history' could also inadvertently disenfranchise Upritchard from her rightful place in the history of art, if such a place can be said to exist prior to the historicisation of her work.[125]

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this exhibition, but rather funded in part by Saatchi & Saatchi in conjunction with the Walters Prize, which was awarded to Upritchard three years earlier, in 2006.

[122] Schneemann, 'Contemporary Art and the Concept of Art History', p. 67.

[123] Ibid., p. 67.

[124] In pointing out what could be regarded as a limitation of Upritchard's 'preference for a fictional rather than an art-historical interpretation of her work', I am not meaning to suggest that a conventional catalogue essay written by an art historian who would treat her work in terms of the traditional concerns of Art History (for example, period, movement, style, medium, influence, and intention) would necessarily be preferable to the texts that have been published in Upritchard's artists' book–catalogues; nor am I meaning to suggest that such a catalogue essay would necessarily provide 'a sustained art-historical analysis of her practice'; but rather that an art historian could potentially utilise the traditional convention of the catalogue essay to produce an example of serious art criticism, which, notwithstanding its scholarliness or its seriousness, may well offer an interpretation of Upritchard's work that, while it would certainly differ from the fictional texts on Upritchard's practice, could also rival them in its inventive approach to reading her work.

[125] Ibid., Schneemann, p. 67. Here I wish to suggest that the conventional catalogue essay could indeed be viewed, especially from an artist's perspective, as a 'mode of subjection' whereby the art historian, in interpreting an artist's work, masters the work of art and thus brings it under not only their own personal intellectual control but also under the jurisdiction of the discipline of Art History. Indeed, in the context of Cambodian (art) history and historiography, in her analysis of the bilingual inscription of the Sdok Kak Thom stela, Ashley Thompson discusses, and indeed deconstructs, a

On the other hand, this tension between contemporary art and Art History arises out of the contradiction inherent in the very concept of contemporary art history itself. Indeed, the collocation "contemporary art history" can be read as a condensation of the particular disjunction between art and history with which art historians of the contemporary are now attempting to grapple.[126] It is only

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comparable relationship between a framing text (Sanskrit) and the cultural object which is framed (Khmer) in terms of the master–slave dialectic: 'The Khmer follows the lead and the opening of the Sanskrit. The Khmer is in a sense, framed, guarded, mastered by the Sanskrit text. Like a subsection, it is subsumed by it. Yet, in reading, we might think that it is the vernacular — the slave language itself — which guards the Sanskrit, in serving it.' (Thompson, *Engendering the Buddhist State*, p. 30.) With recourse to Thompson's analysis of Khmer–Sanskrit relations in the Sdok Kak Thom stela, I would thus suggest that the traditional function of the conventional catalogue essay — which operates within the art world as a frame for the interpretation of an artist's work and/or practice, which itself masters the work of an artist by subjecting it to an interpretation that complies with the conventions of the master discipline, namely, Art History (for example, by positioning an artist's work in relation to a certain teleological narrative while disregarding the historical and cultural specificity, and indeed the irreducible singularity, of the work itself), in order to authorise and legitimate not only the work of an individual artist but also the social role of the art historian, and to guard, that is protect and control, the discourse and historiography of an artist's practice, by guarding against other unauthorised interpretations — could also be regarded in terms of the master–slave dialectic. Indeed, I would argue that it is the master–servant relation of art historian to artist which artists are resisting when they investigate, question, and deconstruct the conventional format of the exhibition catalogue as an art-historical system of meaning. Such an artistic project, which is most likely to be considered a form of institutional critique, could also be thought of in terms of enfranchisement, in which the artist-slave, in 'becom[ing] increasingly involved in the creation of his or her own catalogue' (Schneemann 2012: 67), and in thus seizing the means to define the interpretation of their own practice, is seeking artistic freedom. Indeed, artists themselves have used the language of enfranchisement to speak of their right to a say in the interpretation of not only their own work but also the history of art. For example, according to Danto, 'Michael Kelly contends that turning over the definition of art to philosophers amounts to a disenfranchisement of art' (Danto 1998: 134).

[126] Many art historians have pointed to the contradiction inherent in the term "contemporary art history", a term which raises many (philosophical and methodological) questions that seemingly pose a threat to an, if not *the*, existential task of Art History, namely, writing *histories* of art. As Terry Smith reminds us in his 2010 article 'The State of Art History', Pamela M. Lee refers to the collocation as a 'useful catachresis' in her review of the co-authored textbook, Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss, Yve-Alain Bois, and Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, *Art since 1900: Modernism, Antimodernism, Postmodernism* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2005), which was published in 'Book Reviews', *Art Bulletin*, 88.2 (2006), 373–402 (p. 380). In 'The State of Art History', Smith himself describes a widespread disdain for the term "contemporary art", which, according to him, 'is rarely granted an entry of its own' in 'English-language visual art dictionaries, encyclopedias, companions, glossaries, and

relatively recently that resistance to the seeming impossibility of writing a history of the present — an aversion common in the art-historical scholarship of the late twentieth century — has given way to the pressure of the contemporary period, and contemporary art has generally been admitted as a field of investigation within Art History, which has thus opened up to the disciplinary task of writing contemporary art into history, so to speak.[127] While

collections of art terms', or 'if so, it receives either derogatory comment as to its impossibility as a concept or is blandly sketched' (p. 375). Smith asks: 'How have art historians dealt with this challenge, this sense of the *impossibility* of the contemporary?' (p. 375); 'Can we *do* history *of* contemporary art?'; and he wonders if art historians are not instead 'doing criticism or perhaps theory' (p. 366). The paradox of contemporary art history raises similar questions for Amelia Jones, who asks: 'How can what is defined as *in existence now* — the contemporary — be written into (a) history? Is the notion of "contemporary art history" or a "history of contemporary art" a contradiction in terms?', in her essay 'Writing Contemporary Art into History, a Paradox?', in *A Companion to Contemporary Art since 1945*, ed. by Amelia Jones (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 3–16 (p. 3). The historiographical problem of writing a history of the present has been described in some detail by Danto in a much earlier essay: 'For the most part, historical narratives do not belong to the events they transcribe, even if their writers in fact were part of them. To be sure, one writes a narrative only when something is felt to have come to an end — otherwise one is writing a kind of diary of events, never certain of what will belong to the final narrative and what will not. Still, the narrative is itself external to what it transcribes: otherwise a further narrative must be written which includes the writing of the first narrative among the events narrated — and this can run to infinity.' Arthur C. Danto, 'The End of Art: A Philosophical Defense', *History and Theory*, 37.4 (1998), 127–43 (p. 127).

[127] While the challenge and/or existential threat which contemporary art poses to Art History was recognised in the mid-1980s by Hans Belting and Danto, who in being challenged by contemporary art proposed the end of art history and the end of art respectively, it was not until the twenty-first century that the discipline of Art History began to respond to their 'demand for art historians to concern themselves with the contemporary', a shift in focus which ran counter to the view of 'generations of university professors [who] have been convinced that contemporary art should not be a field of investigation for art historians' (Schneemann 2012: 59–60). Despite the problematics of contemporary art history, which poses a number of pressing concerns for art historians, such as whether or not 'the contemporary […] will demand a different kind of history' or if it will indeed '[favor] historical consciousness at all', in Terry Smith's view 'academic opportunities [were] opening up' at the time he was writing in 2010, however, '[w]hile "Contemporary Art" [had] appeared in the title of chairs for some time "Contemporary Art *History*" remain[ed] rare' — the first, perhaps, dating from 2001', according to Smith in 'The State of Art History', p. 366. For Belting on the end of art history, see: Hans Belting, *Das Ende der Kunstgeschichte?* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984); and/or the English translation, Hans Belting, *The End of the History of Art?* (Chicago, IL: Chicago UP, 1987); and the revised and expanded English edition, Hans Belting, *Art History after Modernism* (Chicago, IL: Chicago UP, 2003). And for Danto on the end of art, see: the essay, Arthur C. Danto, 'The End of Art', in *The Death of Art*, ed. by Beryl Lang (New York: Haven Publications, 1984), pp. 5–

such resistance has indeed been in part a response to 'the sense of the *impossibility* of the contemporary', I would argue that it has also been in part motivated by a fear of 'doing criticism' instead of history,[128] that is, by a disciplinary anxiety symptomatic of a general unwillingness on the part of academic art historians to acknowledge that there is in fact — at least ideally — an historical aspect of art criticism, a practice that while it is largely conducted outside the university is yet considered by some art historians to be a (in this case, fourth) '*kind* of art history'.[129] In surveying the literature on Upritchard, it would appear that her practice has benefitted very little from contemporary art-historical scholarship, insofar as it has not often been the subject of art-

35; or the republication, Arthur C. Danto, 'The End of Art', in Danto, *The Philosophical Disenfranchisement of Art*, pp. 81–115; and the book, Arthur C. Danto, *After the End of Art: Contemporary Art and the Pale of History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1997).

[128] In following up his initial question, 'Can we *do* history *of* contemporary art?', by asking if we are '*really* doing criticism', Smith implicitly opposes art history and art criticism in an attempt to express 'the *impossibility* of [a history of] the contemporary', which seemingly cannot be done. We could thus infer that if we are '*really* doing criticism' we are not really doing history, and, moreover, that criticism is not what we are really meant to be doing if we are art historians working in the university; in this article, Smith is very much addressing an academic audience who may be interested in the ins and outs of the disciplinary problematic he poses. Although I do not think that Smith necessarily holds either of these views, my point is simply that his line of enquiry exemplifies a default tendency to oppose history and criticism within academic art-historical discourse. Terry Smith, 'The State of Art History', pp. 366 and 375.

[129] In recalling 'the North American art critic Harold Rosenberg [who in 1965] declared: "Art criticism today *is* art history, though not necessarily the art history of the art historian"', and thus 'assert[ed] the independence of the historical dimension of criticism from the discipline of art history', Peter Osborne calls our attention to 'the historical aspect of criticism of contemporary art', and in particular to 'the question of the specific character of that art history which art criticism is, or might be'. In contextualising his own exploration of 'the questions implicit in Rosenberg's declaration — namely, *what kind* of art history art criticism (ideally) is and what its relations to "the art history of the art historian" might be — from the standpoint of philosophy', Osborne does acknowledge, however, that while art criticism is 'ideally' art-historical, and indeed ideally critical, it is not necessarily, or even generally, so in practice: 'Intellectually serious art criticism — [is] nowadays, for the most part, little more than a dream — [and] has fallen prey to a seemingly permanent (or at least, constantly renewed) crisis […] contingent upon transformations in the social character of art institutions during the 1980s and 1990s, and their diminishing need for the mediations of a historically oriented criticism'. See Peter Osborne, 'Art beyond Aesthetics: Philosophical Criticism, Art History and Contemporary Art', *Art History*, 27.4 (2004), 651–70 (pp. 651–52). Rosenberg, 'Criticism and its Premises', p. 146, qtd. in ibid., p. 651.

historical scholarship at all, let alone the subject of "Contemporary Art History". Thus, the large majority of what has been written on Upritchard falls into the category of art criticism, although of this cluster of texts there is little that may be described, in my view, as '[i]ntellectually serious art criticism'.[130] As a result, the (historical, cultural, and aesthetic) specificity of her practice has received little serious — academic or critical — attention, let alone analysis.

Although Upritchard has literally been accorded a place in the history of New Zealand art, insofar as she is included in Michael Dunn's updated edition of *New Zealand Sculpture*, there has been little historicisation of her practice, but rather her work has generally been aestheticised as New Zealand and/or contemporary art.[131] This is to say that while consideration has been given to the ways in which her work appears to share a certain aesthetic with that of her compatriots and to capture a certain apparently contemporary look or quality, the specificity of the — not only historical, but also cultural, social, political, and

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[130] Osborne, p. 651.

[131] Michael Dunn, *New Zealand Sculpture: A History* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 2008). When Upritchard is treated historically, it is often through a biographical lens; while much more attention has been paid to the chronology of Upritchard's life and career, especially to her movements between New Zealand and the United Kingdom, than to the historicity of her work and/or practice, there has been some attempt, however, to historicise her practice in relation to histories of art, in particular to the aftermath of the Young British Artists phenomenon, and to (sub)cultural practices in a London and/or British context. See for example, Heather Galbraith, 'Introduction', in Luke Gottelier and Francis Upritchard, *Bart Wells Institute* (London: Debt-De-Leone, 2009), pp. v–viii; Katsura Kunieda, 'Notes on Potato Poem: These Honest Liars', in *Francis Upritchard: Potato Poem*, ed. by Mizue Nakamura and Katsura Kunieda (Tokyo: Masakazu Takei, 2013), pp. 96–89 (p. 95); and Megan Dunn, 'False Histories', in *Francis Upritchard: Jealous Saboteurs*, ed. by Charlotte Day and Robert Leonard (Melbourne: Monash University Museum of Art; Wellington: City Gallery, 2016), pp. 106–21. For the historicisation of Upritchard's practice in a curatorial context, see also the following exhibitions: 'A Journey through London Subculture: 1980s to Now', ICA Off-Site, The Old Selfridges Hotel, Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 13 September — 03 November 2013, which re-presented work made by Upritchard during her involvement in the Bart Wells Institute, an artist-run project space that she co-founded with Luke Gottelier in London's East End in 2001, in the broader historical context of London's urban (sub)cultures; and Francis Upritchard, 'A Hand of Cards', Nottingham Contemporary, Nottingham, 21 July – 30 September 2012, which positioned Upritchard's emergence as a contemporary artist in the London of the 1990s in relation to a context of urban regeneration and gentrification, in the public event 'Regenerate Art Debate', chaired by Benedict Seymour at Nottingham Contemporary on 9 October 2012.

institutional — conditions that have given rise to Upritchard's artistic practice have been given little consideration. This lack of historicisation — which is, of course, not particular to the historiography of Upritchard's practice but is common to that of many if not the majority of contemporary artists — is, I would argue, not only symptomatic of contemporary art criticism's 'preoccup[ation] with synchronic relations […] between art and other cultural forms' rather than the diachronic relations that constitute Art History's 'privileged' and 'cherished series' of 'a special kind of [authored] object (art)';[132] or of the 'substantial shift in the historical imagination that once fed into Art History', that is, of 'the loss of the historical' incurred in '[t]he shift to the contemporary';[133] but also of a more fundamental 'inability to think [about] art at once philosophically [or aesthetically] and historically', which is due in part to 'the de-historicizing function of [the] "aesthetic"' itself.[134] Or in other words, the reception of Upritchard's artworks as essentially aesthetic — and thus ahistorical — objects has precluded the possibility of also thinking about her work historically, not because it is impossible to think at once historically and

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[132] Osborne observes that Rosenberg's 'assertion [that "[a]rt criticism today *is* art history"] appears remarkable […] nearly forty years later […] because of its insistence upon the historical dimension of a practice that has become ever more preoccupied with synchronic relations' (Osborne 2004: 651). My description of Art History's canon is drawn from Griselda Pollock's description of the canon as a 'privileged series [of] art objects', and a 'cherished series of objects', and a 'series of authored objects'. See Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns', pp. 6 and 10. My description of art as 'a special kind of object' is drawn from Osborne's discussion of the autonomous work of art on p. 661.

[133] Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns', p. 9.

[134] Osborne identifies an 'inability to think the concept of art at once philosophically and historically', which 'derives, in part, from the de-historicizing function of "aesthetic"', and in part from 'the conflation of art and aesthetic' (Osborne 2004: 655–56). He explains that 'in both philosophical and popular discourses on art […] the term "aesthetics" (*Ästhetik*) has long been used, and continues to be used, as the very name for the philosophical discourse on art', and thus it has come to be generally assumed, by art historians and art critics alike, that art is an essentially aesthetic object — that it is the aesthetic quality of art that makes it 'an ontologically distinct object of experience' (p. 655); such a 'conflation of art and aesthetic', which is, in Osborne's view, a 'misrecognition of the art work' (p. 664; see also p. 662), has come, via the 'nineteenth- and twentieth-century tradition of "art as aesthetic"', to exclude 'art's other aspects from the philosophical concept of art, reducing it to a single plane of significance' (p. 660). The ontological reduction of art to an aesthetic object thus functions to de-historicise (the concept of) art because the aesthetic is by definition ahistorical (Osborne 2004: 655–64).

ahistorically, but because it requires a certain proficiency that no longer seems to be expected of the art critic, and, moreover, a certain commitment on the part of the art historian to working across, and indeed to deconstructing, the entrenched opposition of the isolated and thus ordered and orderly aesthetic object and the mess of art's histories, including its social and political contexts.

Ironically, the aesthetic specificity of Upritchard's artistic practice has been overlooked, despite the aestheticisation of her work. While it is frequently taken as a given by critics and curators that her art works are aesthetic objects — a reading that is perhaps suggested by the artist's own representation of her works as isolated and thus singular and autonomous objects pictured in detail for the pleasure of visual consumption,[135] there has been little discussion of the ways in which the aesthetic functions as a particular dimension of her work in relation to the 'other — cognitive, semantic, social, political and ideological — aspects of [her] art [work]'.[136] Indeed, the dominant ontological presupposition that Upritchard's works of art are aesthetic objects has often meant that the blatantly political aspect of her work, evident in, for example, its sculptural depiction of bodies of colour and its imitation of ethnic artefacts, has been regarded as in fact apolitical and hence problematic.[137] Although several critics

[135] Perhaps the best example of Upritchard's representation of her artwork as isolated aesthetic objects are the colour plates in her artists' book–catalogues *Human Problems* and *Every Colour by Itself*, in which individual works are reproduced, often floating, against a monochromatic background that appears analogous to the aestheticised non-space of the museum cabinet or, in the case of *Every Colour by Itself*, the white cube of the modern art gallery. In highlighting Upritchard's mimicry of a type of formal presentation associated with high modernism and modern ethnographic display, it is important to note, however, that this is only one of the modes of representation employed by Upritchard in the documentation of her work; indeed, in other of her artists' book–catalogues, such as Francis Upritchard, *Echo* (Amersfoort: Kunsthal KAdE, 2011) and *Potato Poem*, which both use montage to propose virtual relationships between art works (including preparatory drawings and works in progress as well as finished works), her works are represented in contact rather than in isolation, and thus as relational objects.

[136] Osborne, p. 661.

[137] In concluding his essay written for the artists' book–catalogue documenting Upritchard's first Australasian retrospective, curator Robert Leonard makes an observation that corroborates mine: 'Upritchard's work is generally seen as gloriously apolitical, but she calls it "slippery politics".' Robert Leonard, 'Adrift in Otherness', in *Francis Upritchard: Jealous Saboteurs*, ed. by Charlotte Day and Robert Leonard

of Upritchard have highlighted a certain tension between the aesthetic and political dimensions of her practice, rather than opening up discussion of the complex relations between these two dimensions, this criticism has taken a moral position on the issue.[138] This inability to think at once the aesthetics and politics (or indeed any of the 'other […] aspects') of Upritchard's work is in part indicative of an art-historical tendency to oppose form and content — a dualism which has certainly shaped the interpretation of Upritchard's practice. While the aesthetic properties of Upritchard's sculptural forms have been much commented upon, especially their materiality and tactility, lacking is a more comprehensive reading of her work in terms of "the aesthetic" — a reading, that is, of the ways in which (an) encounter, or contact, with the affective 'concretely sensuous particularity' of Upritchard's art works leads to and indeed transforms our knowledge of the work of art, including its content or subject.[139]

(Melbourne: Monash University Museum of Art; Wellington: City Gallery, 2016), pp. 132–43 (p. 142).

[138] See for example, Ikechukwu Onyewuenyi, 'Uncluttering the Imaginary in Francis Upritchard's "African" Sculptures', *Arts.Black*, 26 September 2016 <https://arts.black/essays/2016/09/uncluttering-the-imaginary-in-francis-upritchards-african-sculptures/> [accessed 10 April 2023]; and Lana Lopesi, 'The Moral Argument: A Review of "Jealous Saboteurs"', *Pantograph Punch*, 17 October 2017 <https://www.pantograph-punch.com/posts/review-jealous-saboteurs> [accessed 10 April 2023].

[139] I am aware that there is no singular concept denoted by the term "aesthetic", but that this term designates a multitude of ideas and/or theories concerning a certain kind of object, judgement, attitude, experience, and value, which constitute a particular (Western) intellectual tradition of enquiry into the interrelationship of perception and reason that can be traced to eighteenth-century European philosophical discourse, and in particular to the theory of taste that emerged in European thought at this time. In the Euro-American context, the European philosophical tradition informs the philosophy of art and thereby art criticism, both of which are variously concerned with questions of art and/or aesthetic judgement, including 'the critical estimation of sensuous representations' and the conceptualisation of the 'concretely [emphasis omitted] sensuous particularity' of art works (Osborne 2004: 659). In using the phrase "the aesthetic", I am not referring to any particular aesthetic concept or theory, but rather to one of the multiple 'plane[s] of significance' that comprises not only 'the philosophical concept of art' (Osborne 2004: 660), but also the production and reception of art; as a plane or dimension of the conception, production, and reception of art, "the aesthetic" may be variously (re)conceived, for example, as a 'form of sense-affective-sub-knowledge' or 'sense-knowing' (Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns', pp. 2–3), and as a 'subjectivising dimension' and 'supplementary stratum' which, while it 'never displac[es] the phallic structure' that is 'necessary for full-blown symbolic structuration and language', offers the potential for experiences subjacent to language', such as

Rather, the forms sculpted by Upritchard are most often read as signs according to "the visual" — a representational regime that is known for its 'categorial exclusion of [the] "aesthetic"'.[140] Thus, our knowledge of the subject or content of Upritchard's work is circumscribed by the logic of representation, which

'those that we encounter through the affective channels of artistic practice and experience' (Griselda Pollock, 'The Aesthetics of Difference', in *Art History, Aesthetics, Visual Studies*, ed. by Holly and Moxey, p. 159). In highlighting the lack of a 'comprehensive reading of [Upritchard's] work in terms of "the aesthetic"', my point is simply to suggest that there is much scope for a (re)consideration of the aesthetic dimension of her work and/or practice, especially in relation to its other dimensions, while avoiding 'the conflation of art and aesthetic' highlighted by Osborne in 'Art beyond Aesthetics', p. 655.

[140] In speaking of "the visual", I am referring to the proto-disciplinary domain of study that 'focuses on regimes of representation and visibility' under the name of Visual Culture, Visual Studies, or Visual Culture Studies, which 'takes a determinedly anti-aesthetic stance', at once contesting and supplementing the traditional disciplinary domain of Art History, namely the History of Art (Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns', p. 27). Unlike Art History, the study of visual culture is not interested in preserving the autonomy of the work of art as 'a special kind of object' (Osborne 2004: 661), and is consequently disinterested in art as an aesthetic object: '"the visual" […] is in principle indifferent to — and hence cuts across — the art/non-art distinction' (Osborne 2004: 668); indeed 'Visual Culture Studies […] disowns completely [Art History's] series of [special] objects and the values that sustain their separate historicization' (Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns', p. 27). On the one hand, the emergence of the study of visual culture is regarded positively as a predominantly inclusive expansion of Art History beyond the confines of its traditional interests, which was 'inspired by semiotics, Foucauldian discourse theory and deconstruction and very much open to an expanded debate across cultural and critical theory' (Pollock, 'Art History and Visual Studies in Great Britain and Ireland', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*, ed. by Rampley and others, p. 378), and was the result of 'successive broadenings of the intellectual discipline [of Art History] — through the social history of art, feminism, semiotics, psychoanalysis and postcolonial studies' (Osborne 2004: 652). However, on the other hand this broadening of the discipline is also regarded negatively insofar as it has set aside and thereby (momentarily) closed down 'some of the key questions in Art History' (Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns', p. 27), including the question of "the aesthetic", which can prove difficult to ask if a semiotic approach is taken to the analysis of art, due to the 'categorial exclusion of "aesthetic" from Saussurean semiotics' (Osborne 2004: 652). Pollock also observes 'the aesthetic deficit of the semiotic paradigm' (Osborne 2004: 668): 'The turn to linguistics and semiotics that has given us visual culture has been rich in the harvest of ideological analysis but we have risked being unable to speak at all of affectivity as a site too of meanings and of political significance.' (Griselda Pollock, 'The Aesthetics of Difference', in *Art History, Aesthetics, Visual Studies*, ed. by Holly and Moxey, p. 168.) In claiming that Upritchard's works 'are most often read as signs according to "the visual"', I am meaning to say that they are generally read as three-dimensional forms of representation.

leaves 'the outstanding question of the specificity of the aesthetic' unanswered in the case of Upritchard's artistic practice.[141]

In what follows, I will look more closely at the literature on Upritchard in order to examine both the historicisation and the aestheticisation of her practice in more detail. To begin with, I will consider how Upritchard's practice has (or has not) registered in art-historical scholarship, and in New Zealand art historiography in particular, before proceeding to a consideration of the various ways in which Upritchard's work has instead been aestheticised as New Zealand art, focussing in particular on how her work has been regarded as representative of a postcolonial and/or national gothic aesthetic. My reading of the literature on Upritchard aims to highlight if not challenge a binary interpretation of her practice that tends to categorise her individual works as either postcolonial or not postcolonial, and as thus either concerned with contact or not concerned with contact, depending on their apparent subject matter, and thus conflates contact, which it tends to reduce to the anthropological paradigm of cultural contact, with the postcolonial, and, moreover, mistakes a certain postcolonial aesthetic with a certain national quality of "New Zealand" art. Rather than aestheticising, and thus de-historicising and depoliticising, Upritchard's work, I suggest we take a broader view of the ways in which contact operates as an aesthetic dimension of Upritchard's practice. I will argue that if we read Upritchard's aesthetic practise as that of an artist-woman and take a feminist approach to "the aesthetic", we can begin to broaden our understanding of the ways in which her work critically engages with a concept of contact that is informed by sexual and not only cultural difference.

The Aestheticisation of a Contemporary New Zealand Artist

Since graduating from art school in 1997, Upritchard has exhibited in a wide variety of contemporary art spaces and institutional contexts — from non-art

[141] Pollock, 'Art History and Visual Studies in Great Britain and Ireland', in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe*, ed. by Rampley and others, p. 378.

and alternative exhibition spaces to public museums and major international art events.[142] Upritchard's exhibition record is thus an invaluable source and starting point for a consideration of the contemporaneity of her artistic practice, and its conditions, resources, and institutions. Not only does it attest to the many locations and contexts in which her work has been embraced as contemporary art, it also discloses with whom she has been considered a contemporary. It is thus a crucial supplement to the discourse of her reception, insofar as it can be read in such a way as to disrupt and even contest overly simplistic narratives of her artistic development and success, and to reveal actual and potential relationships between her work and that of other artists which have been proposed in the curatorial field but which have not been recognised in the texts that historicise her practice.[143] And while it is more

[142] In fact, Upritchard began exhibiting as an undergraduate with a group of her peers at the old wool store, Christchurch, in 1995, and for the next five years she continued to exhibit regularly in non-art, alternative, and artist-run spaces, for example, in the hallway of 151 Edgeware Road, London, and at Bart Wells Institute, the East London squat she inhabited with her artist friends between 2001 and 2003. In 2012, she exhibited for the first time in public museums in the United States and the United Kingdom, and the first major retrospective of her work toured public galleries across New Zealand between 2016 and 2017. As well as representing New Zealand at the 53rd Venice Biennale in 2009, Upritchard has been selected to show her work in a number of global exhibitions of contemporary art, including the Tirana Biennale, 2001, the 26th São Paulo Biennale, 2004, the 8th Asia Pacific Triennial, 2016, the 57th Venice Biennale, 2017, and, most recently, the 7th Guangzhou Triennial, 2023.

[143] Upritchard's exhibition record provides considerable empirical evidence to support readings of her practice that run counter to the existing, often teleological and nationalist, narratives of her emergence, development, and success as a contemporary (New Zealand) artist, which tend to emphasise the progress of her career from her art school days in New Zealand to her success on the world stage, and to thus emphasise certain exhibitions of her work that have taken place in the context of highly visible institutional and/or national platforms, such as the Beck's Futures Prize, the Walters Prize, and the Venice Biennale, and to neglect the less symbolic yet equally formative (social, cultural, institutional, and discursive) contexts in which her work has been exhibited. While Upritchard's exhibition record generally attests to her favourable reception as a contemporary artist, it can, of course, be read in numerous ways. For example, a reading that emphasises the role that the early exhibition of her work in alternative and artist-run spaces across the globe, and not only in London, has played in her emergence as a contemporary artist could contest the idea that there is something peculiarly British about the conditions of her practice, and, moreover, that her international fame as a contemporary artist is largely attributable to the sponsorship she has received from various funding bodies in New Zealand. The relationship of Upritchard's work to that of Ronnie van Hout is a good example of a certain connection that has been proposed in the curatorial field but has been

often celebratory than critical, the discourse of her reception, which can be read in the texts and ephemera — reviews, interviews, press releases, catalogue entries and essays — published in association with her solo and group exhibitions, is often indicative of the ways in which her practice has been understood as contemporary art, that is, as engaging with concerns which are widely regarded as pertinent to what art historians have come to call "the contemporary". Indeed, Upritchard's inclusion in certain group exhibitions and anthologies means that to some extent her practice has been positioned in relation to major themes and trends in contemporary art. Lacking, however, is any critical independent scholarly assessment of the discourses and narrative frameworks through which Upritchard's practice has been incorporated into the global contemporary context and has thus come to be considered contemporary.[144]

Given her extensive and dynamic exhibition record, Upritchard's practice has not received the equivalent academic attention. While her work has become the subject of recent unpublished art-historical scholarship, including my own, very few art historians have published texts on Upritchard outside of a

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disregarded in the academic domain of art history. For further detail, see n. 154, pp. 367–68 of this chapter below.

[144] Upritchard has been included in several survey texts and/or exhibitions of new directions in contemporary sculpture, for example: Kurt Beers, *One Hundred Sculptors of Tomorrow* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2019); *Vitamin 3-D: New Perspectives in Sculpture and Installation* (London: Phaidon Press, 2009); and Saatchi Gallery, *Shape of Things to Come: New Sculpture*, ed. by Mark Holborn (London: Jonathan Cape, 2009). She has also been included in several survey texts and/or exhibitions focussing on the convergence of certain craft practices (ceramics and textiles) and contemporary art practices, and on the materiality of contemporary art as a process-based material practice of making more broadly, for example: *Craft*, ed. by Tanya Harrod, Documents of Contemporary Art (London: Whitechapel Gallery; Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018); Clare Lilley, *Vitamin C: Clay and Ceramic in Contemporary Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 2017); 'Slip Cast', The Dowse Art Museum, Lower Hutt, New Zealand, 15 February – 2 June 2014; *A Secret History of Clay: From Gauguin to Gormley*, ed. by Simon Groom (Liverpool: Tate Liverpool, 2004); Bonniers Konsthall, *New Materialism* (Stockholm: Art and Theory Publishing, 2018); *File Note 105: Making and Unmaking* (London: Camden Arts Centre; Riding House, 2016); and *File Note 05: The Way We Work Now: Some Attitudes to Materials and Making* (London: Camden Arts Centre, 2005). Other curatorial themes within and through which Upritchard has been positioned as a contemporary artist include: Archaeology, the Museum, the Collection, Speculative Fiction, Utopia and Dystopia, Death and the Dead, the Gothic, and the Uncanny.

curatorial context.[145] Not counting her inclusion in exhibition catalogues and contemporary art anthologies, Upritchard appears in only two publications that could be considered art history books as such.[146] And while numerous reviews of her work have featured in contemporary art journals, very few of the articles published on Upritchard could be considered art-historical in an academic sense, although several do stand out for their insightful criticism of her practice.[147] In lieu of art-historical scholarship, then, the majority of texts that discuss Upritchard's career and practice have been published in connection with the exhibition of her work. Consequently, the discourse that frames her practice is largely curatorial rather than strictly art-historical. This is not to say, however, that amongst the myriad catalogue essays there have been no interpretations of her practice that are of art-historical interest.[148] While many

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[145] Leah Houghton, 'The Work of Art in the Artists' Books of Francis Upritchard: (Framing) A Visual Reading' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of Leeds, 2011); Victoria Wynne-Jones, 'Becoming Dance: Engagement with Dance Concepts in the Work of Contemporary New Zealand Artists Kushana Bush, Francis Upritchard and Sriwhana Spong' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, 2012); Cassandra Darragh Barnett, 'Song of Seeing Hands: A Molecular Encounter with *Taonga* and *Tupuna* / Art and Ancestors in Aotearoa-New Zealand' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, 2013); Ben Abdale-Weir, 'Museological Explorations: Christine Hellyar, Richard Killeen, Fiona Pardington and Francis Upritchard' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, 2017).

[146] Michael Dunn, 'Crisis of Identity: Sculpture since 2000', in Michael Dunn, *New Zealand Sculpture: A History* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 2008), pp. 168–82; and Gregory Minissale, *The Psychology of Contemporary Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), pp. 58–62.

[147] I know of only one article on Upritchard that has been published in a peer-reviewed academic journal of art, namely: Susan Ballard, 'Stretching Out: Species Extinction and Planetary Aesthetics in Contemporary Art', *ANZJA*, 17.1 (2017), 2–16; however, several other articles offer focussed and insightful criticism of Upritchard's practice, including: Natasha Conland, 'An Artist's Economy: or, The Revelations of Trade and Exchange', *Artlink*, 26.2 (2006), 62–69; and Conland, 'Passing through: A Base in New Zealand Art', both of which give serious consideration to the ostensible New Zealandness of Upritchard's practice, which Conland attempts to situate in terms of a certain history and aesthetic of New Zealand art; Justin Paton, 'Mixed Feelings: Francis Upritchard's 1970s Show', *Art and Australia*, 46.1 (2008), 96–103, an exhibition review that nonetheless takes a critical approach to the discussion of Upritchard's practice as a whole and positions her work in relation to other cultural production in and of New Zealand; and Moore, 'Expatriate Voyager', an early attempt to historicise Upritchard's work in relation to the historiography of New Zealand art.

[148] See for example, Hari Kunzru, 'Useful Magic: Francis Upritchard in the Attic', in *File Note 04: Francis Upritchard* (London: Camden Arts Centre, 2004), an early piece of criticism that set the agenda for much subsequent interpretation of Upritchard's

of these texts identify key concerns in Upritchard's practice, they do tend, however, to lack the rigour associated with academic scholarship.[149] As a result, there has been little systematic development of these key concerns across the literature on Upritchard.[150] Moreover, the lack of engagement with Upritchard's practice on the part of academics has only been compounded by

practice; Francesco Manacorda, 'Altered States of Objectness', in *Save Yourself: Francis Upritchard*, ed. by Heather Galbraith (New Plymouth: GB, 2009), 44–64, an essay that stands out in the corpus of writing on Upritchard as a focussed investigation into a specific aspect of her practice, namely the object; Simon Starling, 'I Call to the Eye of the Mind: (On Adoptions, Adaptations and "Dislocutions") or (Some Images for Ms. Translation)', in *Francis Upritchard: Potato Poem*, ed. by Mizue Nakamura and Katsura Kunieda (Tokyo: Masakazu Takei, 2013), pp. 38–48, a piece of scholarly art writing that contextualises Upritchard's (mis)translation of cultural imagery and visual culture in relation to the practices of artistic modernism in the case of the (re)production of William Butler Yeats's Noh-inspired play *At the Hawk's Well* in 1916; and Leonard, 'Adrift in Otherness', in *Francis Upritchard: Jealous Saboteurs*, ed. by Day and Leonard, an essay that discusses Upritchard's treatment of the Other in relation to the contemporary art politics of Aotearoa/New Zealand.

[149] For example, in Melanie Oliver, 'Sympathetic Magic', in *Save Yourself: Francis Upritchard*, ed. by Heather Galbraith (New Plymouth: GB, 2009), 71–75, an essay which is effectively composed of a series of truncated exhibition reviews that sit obliquely in relation to the title, Oliver makes no reference to either James George Frazer's voluminous anthropological study of sympathetic magic *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1911) or Michael Taussig's subsequent development of the two types of sympathetic magic identified by Frazer in his *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses* (New York: Routledge, 1991); thus the reader can only guess that it is the 'blending of sculpture and support-structure […] handcrafted forms and found objects' that Oliver is contemplating as an example of sympathetic magic (p. 73). Despite this explicit lack of theoretical engagement, Oliver's essay does, however, provide valuable observations of Upritchard's work in installation and is the most comprehensive starting point for a consideration of her use of architectural space and the plinth.

[150] For example, there are a number of isolated discussions of Upritchard's work in relation to the concept of the unheimlich, however, there has been no serious analysis of Upritchard's engagement with this concept, and certainly no account that synthesises the various discussions of this topic (Upritchard and the unheimlich) since it was first raised in Laird, 'The UnHeimlich Maneuver' (2000). While Kunzru picks up on the unheimlich as a key concern of Upritchard's practice, he necessarily discusses it only briefly in his short text 'Useful Magic', in *File Note 04: Francis Upritchard*; and while curator Charlotte Day also explicitly discusses Upritchard's work in relation to the unheimlich, Day brings no specific concept of the unheimlich to bear upon Upritchard's work, and nor does she draw out ideas in connection with this concept, in her review Charlotte Day, 'Francis Upritchard and the Unheimlich', *Broadsheet*, 37.2 (2008) <http://www.cacsa.org.au/cvapsa/ 2008/4_bs_37_2/37-2%20Day.pdf> [accessed 8 November 2010]. Both Kunzru's approach, in its brevity, and Day's, in its theoretical suggestiveness that quickly arrives at a dead end, typify the lack of conceptual development in articles on Upritchard's work or practice.

Upritchard's own hesitancy to engage with art historians. Indeed, Upritchard is noted for her preference to commission writers of contemporary fiction or art(ist) writers to produce the texts that are published in the artists' book–catalogues which often accompany the exhibition of her work.[151] While Upritchard's preference for fictional rather than art-historical texts is indicative of a more general concern of hers with fictive histories, and certainly adds a layer of complexity to her practice, it has thus meant, however, that the official discourse framing, and indeed supplementing, her practice is more often performative of her artistic practice than it is historicising of her work.

In saying that the fictional texts commissioned by Upritchard to accompany the (re)presentation of her work in exhibition and catalogue format are performative of her artistic practice, I mean to say that these texts performatively constitute the identity of her practice as a practice that is purported to be concerned with fictional histories. Here I am using the term "performative" in the sense that Judith Butler uses it when she claims that

[151] In addition to her artists' books as such, for example, Francis Upritchard, *Heads of Yesteryear*, edn. of 100 (Zurich: Nieves, 2004), Francis Upritchard, *Human Problems* (Rotterdam: Veenman Publishers; London: Kate MacGarry, 2006), and Francis Upritchard, *Ears* (London: Happy Dancer, 2020), Upritchard has published many exhibition catalogues in the style of the artists' book, for example, Francis Upritchard, *Francis Upritchard: In die Höhle* (Köln: Walther König, 2010), *Francis Upritchard: Potato Poem*, ed. by Nakamura and Kunieda (2013), and *Jealous Saboteurs*, ed. by Day and Leonard (2016). Many of these publications (both the artists' books and the hybrid artists' book–catalogues) include texts written by novelists, for example: Hari Kunzru, 'Human Problems', in Upritchard, *Human Problems*, pp. 1–15, a text comprising fragments of the fictional notebooks of ethnographer John Henry Deans; David Mitchell, 'All Souls Day', in Upritchard, *In die Höhle*, pp. 1–20, and Ali Smith, 'A Hand of Cards: The Mountebank', in *Francis Upritchard: A Hand of Cards; Alfred Kubin: The Other Side*, ed. by Alex Farquaharson (Nottingham: Nottingham Contemporary, 2012), two narratives which dramatise the authors' own encounters with Upritchard's work (including works in progress) and provide fictional contexts within which these works are imagined to act; and Deborah Levy, 'The Thinker', in *Jealous Saboteurs*, ed. by Day and Leonard, pp. 12–19, a performative meditation on a single work, namely Upritchard's *The Thinker* (2007), that featured alongside republications of Mitchell's and Smith's texts in *Jealous Saboteurs*. Upritchard's artist-led publications also include texts by artists and art writers, such as: Simon Starling, 'I Call to the Eye of the Mind', in *Potato Poem*, ed. by Nakamura and Kunieda; and Tessa Laird and Gwynneth Porter, 'Sisyphus, Shared', in Francis Upritchard, *Francis Upritchard: Wetwang Slack* (London, Barbican, 2018), pp. 17–21, whose co-authored text stages an encounter with Upritchard's work in the Museum and touches upon postcolonial concerns in passing.

'gender proves to be performative — that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be', and that '[t]here is no gender identity behind the expression of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results'.[152] In other words, while these texts have not been written by Upritchard herself, they can be considered just as expressive of her artistic practice of producing fictional histories as the sculptural works made by her, and to thus constitute (the identity of) her practice itself. This is to say that these texts are not *about* but are rather *of* Upritchard's practice and should be read as speaking performatively in the first person, that is, in the name of Upritchard's practice, insofar as there is no artistic practice that can be identified with (the name of) Upritchard 'behind the expression of' her practice.

Upritchard and (Localised Legacies of) Surrealism

Although Upritchard has been accorded a place in the history of New Zealand art, there has been little historicisation of her practice. Rather, her work has generally been aestheticised as New Zealand art.[153] In his history of New Zealand sculpture, however, Michael Dunn struggles to place Upritchard's practice in either an historical or aesthetic relation to that of other New Zealand artists,[154] locating it instead in the context of what appears to Dunn to be the

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[152] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. 34.

[153] See for example, Conland, 'An Artist's Economy', in which Upritchard's work is discussed alongside that of Michael Stevenson and Peter Madden as one of three New Zealand artists who, 'although they [each] utilise very different aesthetic means', appear to share a 'low-fi aesthetic', which, according to Conland, 'run[s] through theirs and much other New Zealand art' (p. 62); and Robert Leonard, 'Hello Darkness: New Zealand Gothic', *Art and Australia*, Spring (2008), 88–95 (repr. in *Current: Contemporary Art from Australia and New Zealand*, ed. by Art and Australia (Paddington, N.S.W.: Dott, 2008), pp. 20–25) <https://robertleonard.org/hello-darkness-new-zealand-gothic/> [accessed 12 April 2023], in which Upritchard is listed (together with Peter Madden and Michael Stevenson) as one of many artists whose work exemplifies, in Leonard's view, a 'New Zealand Gothic sensibility' (para. 22 of 22), which became apparent following Ronnie van Hout's exhibition 'Return of the Living Dead' held at Gow Langsford Gallery, Wellington, in 1992, which, according to Leonard, 'heralded a Gothic turn in New Zealand art' (para. 1 of 22).

[154] The only New Zealand artists whom Dunn mentions in relation to Upritchard's practice are Ronnie van Hout (b. 1962) and Peter Robinson (b. 1966), who, like Upritchard, attended the Ilam School of Fine Arts at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch; van Hout between 1980 and 1982, Robinson between 1985 and 1989,

national identity crisis of postmillennial New Zealand sculpture.[155] While in his view there initially 'appears little sign that specific New Zealand identity is

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and Upritchard between 1994 and 1997. While Upritchard developed an early, perhaps even formative, interest in van Hout's and Robinson's respective practices, according to Dunn, neither of these Ilam graduates directly influenced Upritchard's own practice. Dunn, 'Crisis of Identity', p. 174. In making this assertion, Dunn does not seem to have taken into consideration the extent to which Upritchard could be considered van Hout's peer and contemporary. While Upritchard was still an undergraduate, she collaborated with van Hout in the exhibition 'Disguisting Dioramas', High Street Project, Christchurch, 1–23 August 1997, and following her graduation at the end of 1997, Upritchard was introduced by van Hout to the Auckland dealer gallerist Ivan Anthony, who still represents both artists. While Upritchard's single collaboration with van Hout does not necessarily mean, of course, that she was directly influenced by the more established artist, it does attest, however, to an overlap in the artists' concerns — an overlap which is further substantiated by their subsequent exhibition record. By the end of 2008, the year in which Dunn's updated history was published, Upritchard's and van Hout's work had been exhibited together on no less than ten occasions — a fact that suggests (at least the perception of) a certain affinity between their work. Indeed, art(ist) writer Tessa Laird points to the relationship of Upritchard's work to that of both van Hout and Robinson in her review 'The UnHeimlich Maneuver', published in 2000, and curator Robert Leonard identifies both van Hout and Upritchard as artists who represent a gothic turn in New Zealand art, in his 2008 essay 'Hello Darkness: New Zealand Gothic'. However, Dunn does not explicitly discuss the reception of Upritchard's work as representative of an ostensibly national gothic aesthetic, but rather frames this reading of Upritchard's work as her own, stating that 'she has claimed that the gothic and humorous aspects of her works have links with New Zealand practice' (pp. 174–76). While Upritchard may have made statements to this effect, Dunn's framing of this issue seems to me to be somewhat misleading, insofar as he poses it as a matter of the artist's personal identification and not also a valid aesthetic context proposed in the curatorial domain and thus to be taken seriously in the field of art history. It thus seems to me that in diminishing the so-called New Zealand Gothic context on the one hand, and, on the other hand, disregarding the relationship of Upritchard's practice to that of Robinson and especially van Hout, because in his view it can only be described 'in terms of a [shared] approach rather than direct influence' (p. 174), Dunn is in fact repressing the tangible personal and aesthetic connections that exist — or at least have generally been perceived in the curatorial field to exit — between Upritchard's practice and what he calls 'New Zealand practice'. I labour this point because I wonder if Dunn's apparent denial — his own severance — of Upritchard's relationship with and to art practice in and of New Zealand is not in fact motivated, however unconsciously, by the negative attitude to the expatriate artist that is characteristic of New Zealand art historiography and is in fact typified in Dunn's own description of New Zealand-born artists who left New Zealand for Europe in the early twentieth century as deserters, a statement made only five years earlier in Dunn, *New Zealand Painting*, p. 69.

[155] This context is signalled in the title of the chapter in which Dunn discusses Upritchard, namely 'Crisis of Identity: Sculpture since 2000'. The chapter opens with a description of the ways in which New Zealand sculptors have been affected by the contemporary conditions of globalisation, circumstances which in Dunn's view brought about a crisis of national identity evident in the sculpture produced by New Zealand

central to [Upritchard's] work', he singles out her *New Zealand on Wheels* (2003), a smallish topographic model of mainland New Zealand mounted on model car wheels, as a quite literal illustration of her '[link] with New Zealand practice' and as a sign of 'the instability and cultural uncertainty of her birthplace'.[156] Dunn seems unconvinced, however, of a more profound link between Upritchard's practice and New Zealand sculpture. He does not see her 'engagement with Maori art' as necessarily indicative of the New Zealandness of her work but rather sees in her pseudo ethnographic artefacts an overriding interest in the surreal — a concern notably highlighted by Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev when awarding Upritchard the Walters Prize in 2006.[157] While

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artists practising in the first decade of the twenty-first century, who no longer made sculpture that sought to attain the status of a work of New Zealand art as such, but rather aimed to achieve a certain internationally recognised contemporariness: 'For New Zealand sculptors, the former anxiety about their distance from major art centres has been replaced by fear of non-inclusion in the current pantheon of recognised contemporary artists. A common concern is how to be a part of the crowded international field of artists vying for attention and acclaim' (Dunn, 'Crisis of Identity', p. 168). Exemplary of this new context, according to Dunn, is the Walters Prize, established in 2002, and the New Zealand participation at the Venice Biennale, which began in 2001 following the recommendation of the *New Vision Report* comissioned by The Chartwell Trust and CNZ in 1997; two initiatives designed to respond to and mitigate to some extent the perceived demands of a rapidly globalising contemporary art world. Dunn's '[c]risis of identity', then, is a certain reading of the situation which, as I have shown in Chapter 1, has prompted a (re)turn to a contemporary art (-historical) discourse of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context — a reading that also highlights, like Barton's and Leonard's, the diminished role of (a discourse of) distance.

[156] Dunn does not refer to this work specifically by its title, but rather anecdotally, informing us that 'she [Upritchard] once made a model of New Zealand set on wheels, a miniature toy-like piece that could be pushed around at will'. However, Upritchard made at least two works that fit this description: the one that I have identified by its title in the main text above, and *N. Z. on Wheels* (2005), which is a very similar work with slightly different dimensions. Ibid., pp. 174–76. It is also worth noting here that Upritchard allegedly made at least one comparable work of a topographic model of Great Britain on wheels according to Megan Dunn, who claims to have seen 'a small, flat sculpture of Great Britain, with four racing wheels attached to its base' while visiting Upritchard's studio at the Bart Wells Institute, London, in 2002, in her catalogue essay 'False Histories', in *Francis Upritchard: Jealous Saboteurs*, ed. by Day and Leonard, p. 108.

[157] Dunn considers Kunzru's claim that Māori art is 'a recurrent concern' of Upritchard's practice, but in contrast to Kunzru, who highlights 'Upritchard's engagement with Maori art' for a British audience, Dunn downplays this culturally specific aspect of Upritchard's practice for a presumably New Zealand audience, concluding instead that 'her works are eclectic and culturally inclusive rather than

Upritchard's surrealist reworking of found objects reminds Dunn of the found object sculpture of Pablo Picasso, I would argue, however, that the work with which Dunn exemplifies this analogy, namely Upritchard's *Three Fingered Glove with Four Rings* (2005), bears a more direct comparison with Meret Oppenheim's *Fur Gloves with Wooden Fingers* (1936) than any individual work by Picasso, and, moreover, that Oppenheim's practice of constructing objects, often body parts, out of fur and items of women's clothing is pertinent to Upritchard's own practice of doing just this (see for example Figure 3.5). Which is not to say that Upritchard' practice of reworking found objects bears no relation to Picasso's Surrealist-provoked assemblages — indeed, Picasso's transformation of the quotidian into the symbolic, for example, the metamorphosis of a rusty stovepipe and burner into the long-necked totemic

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confined to Maori sources' and comparing them with museum artefacts in general, which, according to Dunn, have the 'compelling power to disturb and unsettle the viewer at a subconscious level' — just as '[v]iewers sometimes feel unease and fear of the unknown in the presence of Upritchard's works, despite the slight and quirky appearance of her art'. Dunn goes on to describe in some detail the construction of what he refers to as the 'surreal dimension' of Upritchard's work, which can account for the viewers experience of 'unease and fear of the unknown in [their] presence'. Dunn, 'Crisis of Identity', p. 176. Kunzru, 'Useful Magic', quoted in ibid., p. 176. For examples of work that illustrates what Kunzru describes as 'Upritchard's engagement with Maori art', see Figures 3.12–3.13; and for examples of work that illustrates Upritchard's engagement with museum artefacts that are not, as Dunn points out, 'confined to Maori sources', see Figures 3.6–3.7 and 3.10; and for an example of what Dunn describes as the 'slight and quirky appearance of [Upritchard's] art', see Figure 3.13. What Dunn calls the 'surreal dimension' of Upritchard's practice has been much commented on. For example, in the judge's statement published upon the award of the 2006 Walters Prize, Christov-Bakargiev says of Upritchard's work: 'I thought of Surrealism, of Meret Oppenheim's furry teacup, of the spidery long and thin anthropomorphic parts of some of Louise Bourgeois' works, and yet this furry monstrous little being was different.' Christov-Bakargiev, 'Walters Prize 2006', para. 3 of 11. And for example, six years earlier Laird discussed Upritchard's work in the context of a regional Canterbury 'school of pseudo-surrealists', in her review 'The UnHeimlich Maneuver'. I am curious as to why, then, in his discussion of the 'surrealist dimension' of Upritchard's work, Dunn mentions neither its well-documented connection with global feminist practice nor with local regionalist practice, but instead makes a rather grandiose and almost fanciful connection between Upritchard's found object works and those of that Master of Modern art — Pablo Picasso. I can only guess that such a reference to Picasso's ubiquitous influence serves to reinforce Dunn's reading of the universality of Upritchard's work in contrast to its cultural specificity, which serves in turn to prove his overarching thesis of a shift away from a concern with national identity in twenty-first-century New Zealand sculpture.

figure *The Venus of Gas* (1945), is always already a precursor of Upritchard's remodelled and anthropomorphised found objects — but only to question Dunn's suppression of the more obvious feminist genealogy of Upritchard's work, which, I would argue, is symptomatic of her reception in general.

While it is understandable that Dunn overlooks the affinity between Upritchard's and Oppenheim's sculptural practice, it is perhaps more surprising — given the subject of his book — that he fails to notice a connection between the work of Upritchard and Christine Hellyar (b. 1947), a sculptor who he discusses at length and whose life and work arguably bears certain remarkable similarities with Upritchard's. Hellyar, like Upritchard, was born and raised in New Plymouth, but more importantly she exhibited on multiple occasions at the city's Govett-Brewster Art Gallery — an institution Upritchard visited as a child — in the late 1970s and early 1980s, while Upritchard was living in New Plymouth.[158] Hellyar's practice is known, as Upritchard's is, for its concern with the museum and practices of display, collecting and the collection, the found object, ethnographic (including Māori) artefacts, craft practices, including ceramics and textiles, materiality and her use of raw materials, including clay and fur, the domestic, including her use of furniture and what Dunn himself refers to as 'the convention of the cupboard', death, ephemerality and

[158] Upritchard has often spoken of her formative experience of viewing the kinetic art of Len Lye, and of his *Trilogy (A Flip and Two Twisters)* (1977) in particular, at the Govett-Brewster, which she remembers visiting regularly as a child while living in New Plymouth between 1976 and 1982. During this time, Hellyar's work was also exhibited at the Govett-Brewster on several occasions in the the context of both group and solo shows, including an installation of a series of cupboards (*Cloak Cupboard*, *Dagger Cupboard*, and *Meat Cupboard*) commissioned by the Govett-Brewster in 1981 and shown at the 4th Biennale of Sydney in 1982 before finally being exhibited at the Govett-Brewster later that same year. In making this connection between the biographies of Upritchard and Hellyar, I am not trying to claim that the latter artist is either a direct or formative influence on the former, but rather to suggest that the coincidence of their lives might be considered sufficiently symbolic grounds for reading certain works by Upritchard as appropriating and remaking Hellyar's work, just as we read other works of hers as appropriating and remaking the work of well-known or canonical New Zealand artists, for example, Upritchard's *Six Days in Nelson and Canterbury* (1997), which obviously refers to Colin McCahon's 1950 painting of the exact same name.

ephemera, and (the poetics of) the fragment.[159] Moreover, Hellyar claims to be 'an admirer of Oppenheim' and has also sought to engage with the practice of Louise Bourgeois, another artist-woman whose artistic legacy can be traced in Upritchard's own work.[160] Given their shared concerns, it is difficult not to read Upritchard's *New Zealand on Wheels* as an explicit reference to, and even appropriation of, Hellyar's *Meals on Wheels* (1975), or indeed the animalised hockey sticks, or sports heads, which constitute Upritchard's *Jealous Saboteurs* (2005) (Figure 3.10), as rereadings or remakes of Hellyar's *Sporting Clubs* (1975), and to thus read both works together as constituting a claim to a particular — feminist if not national — artistic heritage. Struggling to find a national aesthetic, then, Dunn disregards a certain feminist aesthetic through which Upritchard's practice could be positioned at once in relation to global histories of surrealism and feminist art practices, and local histories of postmodern feminist sculptural practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

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[159] Of Hellyar's 'convention of the cupboard', Dunn writes: 'In some of her works, Hellyar comes across as an inveterate collector with an eye for ordering her found objects into systems of presentation reminiscent of old museum displays. One system she has employed has been the convention of the cupboard. A cupboard allows presentation of seemingly disparate objects side by side, or above and below one another. She has bought used cupboards from second-hand shops to recycle them as ready-made containers for her works.' Dunn, *New Zealand Painting*, p. 154. This description could equally apply to many of Upritchard's works, especially those exhibited in the installation 'Doomed, Doomed, All Doomed' at Artspace in 2005 (Figure 3.11), which the Auckland-based art historian Dunn would surely have seen, either in the exhibition's first iteration or its second at the AAG, where it was displayed again as part of the Walters Prize in 2006. This is not to say, however, that Upritchard and Hellyar do not differ in their use of the cupboard, but only that it is an obvious starting point for both a comparison of their practices and an investigation into the formal and aesthetic connections between generations of New Zealand artists.

[160] Christine Hellyar quoted in *A Women's Picture Book: Twenty-Five Women Artists of Aotearoa (New Zealand)*, ed. by Marian Evans, Bridie Lonie and Tilly Lloyd (Wellington: Government Print Books, 1988), p. 126. Elsewhere Hellyar claims 'to admire [Bourgeois's] work', and to have sought out both Bourgeois's and Oppenheim's work while visiting museums in Europe and the United States. See Christine Hellyar, 'Christine Hellyar's Art Timeline', 28 July 2021, 1–39 <https://www.christinehellyar.com/assets/Art_Timeline_ChristineHellyar_29AUG2021.pdf> [accessed 8 March 2023] (p. 21 and p. 7). As I have noted above, Upritchard's work reminded Christov-Bakargiev, the curator who judged the Walters Prize in 2006, of Bourgeois's works. For a quotation of the judge's statement, including a full reference, see n. 157, pp. 369–70 above.

If Dunn struggled to place Upritchard in New Zealand art history, others have succeeded in positioning her amongst a generation of New Zealand artist-women. In her thesis 'Becoming Dance', which is not only one of the few comparative art-historical studies to include Upritchard, but also the first academic study to compare her work with that of other artist-women,[161] Victoria Wynne-Jones considers Upritchard's work in relation to that of painter Kushana Bush (b. 1983) and performance artist Sriwhana Spong (b. 1979), two other 'New Zealand contemporary artists' who were chosen, together with Upritchard, as visual artists whose 'work has invoked dance and engaged with dance concepts'.[162] Although Wynne-Jones selected three contemporary New Zealand artists as the focus of her study, her interest in their work is more theoretical than art-historical, insofar as she is primarily interested in theorising a concept of *'becoming-dance*' rather than analysing the historical, cultural, and aesthetic specificity of these artists' various engagements with dance and what it may mean for an understanding of contemporary art in the Aotearoa/ New Zealand context.[163] Her analysis concentrates largely on a single work by each

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[161] Victoria Wynne-Jones, 'Becoming Dance: Engagement with Dance Concepts in the Work of Contemporary New Zealand Artists Kushana Bush, Francis Upritchard and Sriwhana Spong' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, 2012). The only other comparative study of Upritchard's practice produced in an academic context to date is Abdale-Weir's unpublished master's thesis 'Museological Explorations', however, Upritchard's work has been studied in comparison with that of other artists in art-critical texts such as Conland, 'An Artist's Economy'.

[162] In the Introduction to her thesis 'Becoming Dance', Wynne-Jones states that it will examine '[w]orks by three New Zealand contemporary artists' (p. 5). While she explains that Bush, Upritchard, and Spong were chosen as visual artists whose work not only takes dance as its subject matter but is also involved in the rethinking of certain concepts of dance at a level of praxis, she does not explain, however, the rationale behind her selection of three contemporary artist-women from New Zealand (p. 5). This raises questions concerning the historical and cultural specificity and the gendering of Wynne-Jones's study.

[163] Following Gilles Deleuze's concept of becoming as theorised in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Brian Massumi (London: Athlone, 1988), Wynne-Jones proposes the concept '*becoming-dance*': 'According to this proposition certain artworks enable the artist to bring artwork and viewer together in the world, inflected in a particular way as an event. Here the interiorities of artist and viewer as well as an external art object commingle and create a certain unexpected coalescence of elements. Prior acts of making are brought together in materials, rhythms, images, sensations and events of viewing which enable a transformative encounter.' Wynne-Jones, p. 118. For a discussion of

artist. She looks closely at Upritchard's installation *Dancers* (2009) — one of three tables of work exhibited in 'Save Yourself', which was first shown at the 53rd Venice Biennale before being re-exhibited at Te Papa, Wellington, where it remains in the museum's national collection (Figures 3.17–3.18) — which she considers in relation to concepts of stillness, choreography, and the body. While Wynne-Jones does not mention the concept of the aesthetic, her concern with the 'sensations and affects' of an artwork, and the ways in which 'sensations and events of viewing […] enable a transformative encounter' in 'an embodied viewer' is in effect a concern — via Gilles Deleuze — with the aesthetic.[164] Wynne-Jones's investigation into how Upritchard's *Dancers*, an ostensibly inanimate group of five dancing figures, enables 'a particular becoming of dance' to take place is thus the most significant account to date of

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Wynne-Jones's understanding of Deleuze's concept of becoming and how '[i]t is fruitful to apply such a concept to art events', see Wynne-Jones, pp. 15–16.

[164] Wynne-Jones, pp. 80 and 118. Wynne-Jones adopts a Deleuzian concept of the work of art, which, in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What is Philosophy?*, trans. by Graham Burchell and Hugh Tomlinson (London: Verso, 1994), is defined as: '*a bloc of sensations, that is to say, a compound of percepts and affects*. Percepts are no longer perceptions; they are independent of a state of those who experience them. Affects are no longer feelings or affections; they go beyond the strength of those who undergo them. Sensations, percepts, and affects are *beings* whose validity lies in themselves and exceeds any lived.' For Wynne-Jones's interpretation of this Deleuzian concept of the work of art, see for example 'Becoming Dance', p. 17. Whereas Wynne-Jones uses a Deleuzian vocabulary of sensation, affect, event, and becoming to describe the aesthetic dimension of art, including the aesthetic experience of art as encounter, without referring to the aesthetic as such, Griselda Pollock uses a similar vocabulary in her definition of the aesthetic as a 'form of sense-affective-sub-knowledge' and as 'the non-cognitive dimension of affects that arise in primordial contact with otherness of persons and the world', which 'leads into notions of art as an encounter-event whose subjectivising and affective aspects can bring about affective shifts within the participating subjectivities mediated by aesthetically produced forms', even though her notion of the aesthetic is informed by psychoanalytical aesthetics and the work of Julia Kristeva and Jacques Rancière rather than Deleuzian aesthetics (Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns', pp. 3 and 29). In making this comparison, my point is only to illustrate that Wynne-Jones's vocabulary is one typically associated with the aesthetic even though she makes no mention of it. Perhaps we could consider the reticence of Wynne-Jones to explicitly discuss the work of Upritchard, Bush, and Spong in terms of the aesthetic as symptomatic of what Peter Osborne calls the 'unreconstructed return' of the aesthetic, following its 'categorial exclusion […] from Saussurian semiotics', 'whereby, today, the work of Deleuze functions as an unwitting medium for the restoration of traditional aesthetics' (Osborne 2004: 652).

Upritchard's work in terms of aesthetic experience.[165] While her study draws interesting parallels between the work of Upritchard, Bush, and Spong, concerning not only their treatment of dance but also more general characteristics of their respective practices, such as their use — (mis)quotation and appropriation — of art-historical imagery and their common interest in pattern and ritual, it leaves unanswered the question of how these three artists 'are differentially placed [within a particular] generation and geography' of New Zealand artist-women.[166]

In his review 'Mixed Feelings', the only other text to position Upritchard in relation to a specifically national and female peer group, Justin Paton discusses Upritchard's work alongside that of three artist-women, namely, photographer Yvonne Todd (b. 1973), sculptor Bekkah Carran (b. 1976), and painter Saskia Leek (b. 1970), whose work he considers, together with Upritchard's, 'as being

[165] For the entire discussion of just how, in Wynne-Jones's reading, Upritchard's *Dancers* 'creat[ed] a particular becoming of dance' (p. 82), see the concluding section, entitled 'Sculpture becoming Dance', in the chapter 'The sculptures of Francis Upritchard', in Wynne-Jones, pp. 80–82.

[166] Of 'subjects formed "in the feminine"', including artists, art historians, and theorists, and thus herself, Griselda Pollock states that: 'We are differentially placed by generation and geography, by history and location, in our encounters with the body, the mother, the land, and history, as well as our means of thought: theories', in Griselda Pollock, 'Preface', in *Generations and Geographies in the Visual Arts: Feminist Readings*, ed. by Griselda Pollock (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. xiii–xxiii (p. xxiii). Taylor & Francis ebook. Here I am doubling down on Pollock's point to suggest that even within a particular generation of artists who can be defined by a shared geography, each artist is 'differentially placed'. If we apply this question of difference between artists within a given collectivity to the case at hand, we could say that although Upritchard, Spong, and Bush were born in New Zealand within seven years of each other and also graduated in Fine Arts from New Zealand institutions within seven years of each other, and could thus be considered peers and contemporaries, because they were born, raised, and studied in different cities, and have had different 'encounters with the body, the mother, the land, and history', they are thus each 'differentially placed' in relation to their engagement with dance and ritual and their use of imagery and pattern, even if they hold these concerns in common. This observation then raises further questions concerning the specificity of each artist's practice. For example, what is the difference between Upritchard's use of imagery from non-Western visual cultures and the re-presentation of the Western art of ballet by Spong, an artist of Balinese descent?

of but not *from* the 1970s' — the decade in which all four artists were born.[167] In proposing this association between Upritchard and three artists whose childhoods also took place in suburban New Zealand in the 1970s, Paton is not so much suggesting that their work is necessarily shaped by a common experience of this decade as he is discerning in their work a common practice of reshaping and reinventing this particular period of the(ir) past. In contrast to historically accurate representations of the 1970s, the work of all four artists captures, in Paton's view, a more authentic experience of the decade: of the ways in which 'the official version of the […] 1970s' was mediated, even at the time; of how signs of the times 'arrived [in the suburbs] back-to-front, upside-down, late, and mistranslated', and 'the big themes of a decade were distorted by distance, picked up in fragments, and above all reshaped in memory'.[168] Indeed, in Paton's reading, these artists are not so much concerned with the 1970s per se as with 'the decade as it lives in our memories and dream lives, full of misunderstandings, mis-rememberings and unpredictable jumps of focus'.[169] In the case of Upritchard, Paton frames this concern with the relationship of past and present, history and fiction, as a 'conversation between materials and memory' — a dialogue that is evident in the 'half-remembered quality' of Upritchard's figures, which result from her intuitive process of modelling by seemingly 'feeling around in her materials for faces and bodies she can only partly recall'.[170] While Paton contrasts the 'impressionistic quality' of Upritchard's work with 'the armoured and impervious' characteristic of what was, in his view, '[t]he most compelling recent figurative sculpture [being produced] in New Zealand' at the time, a trend exemplified by the work of Michael Parekowhai and Ronnie van Hout, he does not go so far as to say that her work — which is, in Paton's description, 'small', especially in comparison to

[167] Paton, 'Mixed Feelings', p. 99. The title of the article is derived from a statement describing how Upritchard's work captures a certain ambiguity towards the social and cultural legacy of the 1970s: 'The sculptures are mixed feelings made real' (p. 100).
[168] Ibid., p. 99.
[169] Paton calls this phenomenon 'the shadow decade', which he contrasts with 'the archival, social-history version of a decade', in Paton, p. 100.
[170] Ibid., pp. 100 and 103.

that of these artist-men, and appears 'soft' and 'vulnerable' — exhibits a feminine aesthetic or sensibility.[171]

As judge of the 2006 Walters Prize, curator Christov-Bakargiev was the first to make an association between Upritchard's practice and that of a much earlier generation of artist-women. In her Judge's Statement, Christov-Bakargiev links Upritchard's works with the archetypal surrealist work of the German-born Swiss artist Meret Oppenheim (1913–85), the feminist–surrealist reworkings of the French-American artist Louise Bourgeois (1911–2010), and the portraiture of the Italian artist Marisa Merz (1926–2019), who was affiliated with the Arte Povera movement:

> Upstairs, a furry and thin anthropomorphic and anorexic-looking animal lies on its back on the cold grey floor of a large gallery space [Figure 3.4]. Four long arms reach up, towards no-one, with no branches to hang onto. […] The paws, or hands, are made of old leather gloves, and two fingers wear old rings with red garnet-like stones, that you don't notice at first [see for example Figure 3.5]. I thought of Surrealism, of Meret Oppenheim's furry teacup, of the spidery long and thin anthropomorphic parts of some of Louise Bourgeois' works, and yet this furry monstrous little being was different. The eyes and face made me think of Marisa Merz' little heads, with slits in the place of eyes, of Giacometti, and also of indigenous ceremonial objects.[172]

While Upritchard's indebtedness to surrealist strategies had been previously noted, prior to Christov-Bakargiev's observation no connection had been made between Upritchard's practice and a genealogy of surrealist artist-women. Although attentive to the specificity of Upritchard's work, Francesco Manacorda makes a generic reference to Surrealism in his description of Upritchard's art-historically informed engagement with found objects, not mentioning the names of any artist — neither man nor woman.[173] And, as I have noted above, while Tessa Laird considered Upritchard's work together with that of the painter Saskia Leek as representative of a 'pseudo-[surrealist]' regional style associated with the School of Fine Arts at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, where both Upritchard and Leek studied, Laird did not directly

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[171] Paton, p. 103.
[172] Christov-Bakargiev, 'Walters Prize 2006', para. 3 of 11.
[173] Manacorda, 'Altered States of Objectness', in *Save Yourself*, ed. by Galbraith, p. 45.

discuss Upritchard's work in relation to Leek's work but rather in relation to the work of two artist-men, Ronnie van Hout and Peter Robinson.[174]

In placing her within a Euro-American matrix of surrealist art practice, Christov-Bakargiev at once contextualises Upritchard's practice of reworking found objects and materials in relation to a certain globalised, albeit ostensibly Western, economy of practice, and challenges the prior proposition, advanced by Conland, that Upritchard's 'spectacular resourcefulness' is necessarily indicative of local "New Zealand" art practice.[175] Whereas Conland reads Upritchard's 'strange' use of 'DIY skill' and 'low cost means to recreate ritual objects' and fabricate 'totems from cast-offs' as 'symptomatic of' 'the DIY resourcefulness' that is 'embedded in [the] cultural identity' 'of British colonial societies', such as New Zealand, 'as an ethos of "making do" [which is] passed down through generations', and as thus ultimately a 'reworking [of] the colonial experience',[176] Christov-Bakargiev contextualises Upritchard's use of 'the hand-made, and poor technology', which is in her view 'increasingly topical today, in the digital age', not only in relation to two canonical movements in Euro-American histories of twentieth-century art, namely, Surrealism and Arte Povera and, by implication, to their localised legacies of using non-traditional and/or so-called poor materials, such as twigs and rags, but also in relation to a gendered economy of artistic practice in which artist-women rework their relation to, and the interrelationships of, the everyday, the domestic, the body, and the feminine.[177] The discrepancy between Christov-Bakargiev's and Conland's reading of the 'low-fi aesthetic running through' Upritchard's work is,

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[174] Laird, 'The UnHeimlich Maneuver'. For further detail on this point, see n. 112, p. 347.

[175] Conland, 'An Artist's Economy', p. 62. In an earlier article, Conland also describes the 'spectacular resourcefulness' of New Zealand artists as a 'brilliant [national] tradition': 'there is a brilliant tradition of recycling in New Zealand's art — of collecting and liberating that which is collected through a process of remaking. It is self-characterised within our culture as resourcefulness' (Conland, 'Passing through', p. 86). Importantly, Conland makes reference to this ostensibly national tradition in the middle of a discussion of Upritchard's work. This text could thus be considered as precursory to her discussion of Upritchard's practice of recycling in her subsequent article, 'An Artist's Economy'.

[176] Ibid., p. 64.

[177] Christov-Bakargiev, 'Walters Prize 2006', para. 3 of 11.

in my view, telling, not only of an incongruity of global and local art world perspectives, but also of the habitual exclusion of a feminist point of view from the historiography of New Zealand art, exemplified by Michael Dunn's consideration of Upritchard discussed above.[178] I would argue, moreover, that this discrepancy is indicative of a critical geopolitical divide in the reception of Upritchard, who, broadly speaking, has been received in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context as a contemporary New Zealand artist whose work particularly speaks to the country's postcolonial condition, and in the global contemporary context as an unmarked contemporary artist whose work speaks to more ostensibly universal art-historical concerns, such as the legacies of Surrealism and Arte Povera.

In suggesting a connection between Upritchard's work and surrealist objects, Christov-Bakargiev also emphasises a crucial difference between the two. In her view, Upritchard does not straightforwardly continue an established surrealist tradition, a conclusion that could be inferred from Manacorda's observation that Upritchard's work '[b]uild[s] on the Surrealist strategy of the assisted ready-made, in which a manufactured object is displaced from its received function or meaning through an applied modification', as if her practice was simply the next technical step in an overdetermined art-historical trajectory.[179] Rather, in contradistinction to surrealist assemblages, in which the juxtaposition of disparate found objects and/or scavenged materials is intended to be jarring, in Upritchard's work '[t]here is a mysterious conjuncture between the found materials and the "made" parts of her work', which means that for Christov-Bakargiev '[h]er works are not assemblages', insofar as they are not disjunct compositions of objects and materials that mirror and thus reveal the fractured subject of modernity, but rather Upritchard's practice of 'recycl[ing] found and dead objects into forms of portraiture […] posit discrete healing and mending of subjectivity', according to Christov-Bakargiev, who reads Upritchard's work as embodying a certain restitution:

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[178] Conland, 'An Artist's Economy', p. 62.

[179] Manacorda, 'Altered States of Objectness', in *Save Yourself*, ed. by Galbraith, p. 45.

> Leather returns to being the skin of a face or of the hands after the violence it has been through in the cycle of industrial production of leather. Fur goes back from being part of someone's fur coat to being hair on a body. And this return to the body of an animal, whether human or not, is poetic.[180]

In Christov-Bakargiev's reading, then, Upritchard's transformation of post-industrial detritus into raw material as a means of reconstituting subjectivity is markedly different to the surrealist deconstruction of the everyday, the art object, and the subject. While Christov-Bakargiev's reading would make an excellent point of departure for further consideration of the historical, cultural, and aesthetic specificity of Upritchard's practice, especially in relation to (legacies of) Surrealism, as I have noted above, her reading has not yet been developed but has instead been suppressed in the literature on Upritchard.

Upritchard and the New Zealand Gothic

The features of Upritchard's work that reminded Christov-Bakargiev of Surrealism, and which prompted Laird to posit Upritchard in relation to the artists constituting a Christchurch 'school of pseudo-surrealists',[181] are qualities that subsequently came to be associated in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context with a national and/or postcolonial gothic style. Indeed, many of the traits which had first been regarded as signs of a localised regional and postcolonial form of (pseudo-)surrealism were to be reinterpreted as indicative of the New Zealand Gothic, a movement first identified as such by Robert Leonard in his article 'Hello Darkness: New Zealand Gothic' published in 2008, shortly after Christov-Bakargiev observed a feminist-surrealist strand in Upritchard's work and nearly a decade after Laird had placed Upritchard's practice in relation to a

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[180] Christov-Bakargiev, 'Walters Prize 2006', para. 11 of 11.

[181] 'It's difficult to avoid a discussion of regional style as both artists [namely, Saskia Leek and Francis Upritchard] hail from Christchurch (though Leek is now practising in Auckland, and Upritchard in London). Christchurch is well-known for its school of pseudo-surrealists who share stylistic traits and common imagery (namely, flat fields filled with disparate objects, usually with some kind of post-colonial or nationalistic connotations). Famous proponents of this school include Bill Hammond, Tony de Latour, Shane Cotton, and Seraphine Pick'. Laird, 'The UnHeimlich Maneuver', para. 2 of 11. This group of artists had also been dubbed the "pencil-case painters" by curator Lara Strongman in the 1990s.

peculiarly local manifestation of surrealism.[182] In Leonard's view, a 'New Zealand Gothic sensibility' became apparent following Ronnie van Hout's exhibition 'Return of the Living Dead', which was held at Gow Langsford Gallery, Wellington, in 1992, and which comprised of a series of silver gelatin prints that, in staging an encounter with the canonical landscape paintings of Colin McCahon, 'revealed a latent Gothic dimension in [McCahon's] work', and consequently 'heralded a Gothic turn in New Zealand art'.[183]

If, as Leonard claims, van Hout's exhibition made visible, and indeed instigated, a collective concern with the Gothic amongst contemporary artists in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, in the light of 'Return of the Living Dead' it also became obvious, at least from Leonard's perspective, that such a concern had a precedent in the work of an earlier generation of artists, which had until then been characterised by its strategic (re)use of a surrealist aesthetic.[184] Leonard named painter Bill Hammond (1947–2021) as '[t]he key figure in the Gothic turn', alongside several other 'forerunners' that he cast as 'precursors to a younger generation of Christchurch artists', including Séraphine Pick, Tony de Latour, and Shane Cotton — all of whom Laird had nominated as '[f]amous proponents of [a pseudo-surrealist] school'[185] — as well as Saskia Leek and, of course, Francis Upritchard, whom Leonard included in his canon of New Zealand Gothic for her 'folksy sculptures of canopic jars and faux-Maori artefacts' (see

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[182] This article was published twice in 2008; it was originally published in the Spring issue of *Art and Australia*, and was reprinted in the book *Current: Contemporary Art from Australia and New Zealand*. For full bibliographic details, see n. 153, pp. 367–68 above.

[183] Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', paras 22 and 1 of 22. Elsewhere Leonard describes the 'Gothic turn in New Zealand art' as a 'shift in reception' that occurred after the revelation of a Gothic aesthetic, which was made manifest in van Hout's exhibition: 'Before *Return of the Living Dead*, New Zealand art didn't seem Gothic in the least. One would have struggled to find enough artists to put together a decent show. The Gothic turn in our art [was] a parallax shift in reception as well as production.' Ibid., para. 2 of 22.

[184] For example, the use of doodling in the painting of this earlier generation and/or school of artists, who Laird had called pseudo-surrealists and Strongman had called pencil-case painters, could be read as an ironic take on the automatic drawing of the Surrealists. The characterisation of this group of painters as either pencil-case painters or pseudo-surrealists can thus be understood as a difference in emphasis, as can their characterisation as either pseudo-surrealists or New Zealand Gothic artists.

[185] Laird, 'The UnHeimlich Maneuver', para. 2 of 11.

for example Figures 3.7 and 3.12–3.13).[186] In the process of this discursive shift, Christchurch became rebranded as 'the heartland of New Zealand Gothic', and what had previously been considered a regional style was inflated by contemporary art discourse to assume the status of a national aesthetic.[187]

While the Christchurch school — of pseudo-surrealists and/or pencil-case painters — is situated at the core of the movement that Leonard renamed (and which thus became popularised as) New Zealand Gothic, the so-called Gothic turn in New Zealand art was perceived by Leonard as a much broader cultural phenomenon which was not confined to the fine arts. In Leonard's reading of the country's cultural scene, a significant swathe of not only its contemporary art but also its cultural production, its cinema and couture in particular, became subsumed under the New Zealand Gothic label, and hence the local and/or regional particularity of forms of art and culture became reduced to a national style.[188] Indeed, this national "New Zealand" inflection of '[t]he Gothic', which by Leonard's own admission, 'is a vague and rubbery category', became a catch-all term at once comprising and concealing a multiplicity of other terms, concepts, and styles, for example: suburban Gothic, North Shore Gothic, Māori Gothic, Antipodean Gothic, and the unheimlich, in addition to surrealism and the pencil-case painters.[189] And like all canons, the New Zealand Gothic

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[186] Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', paras 4, 8, 11, and 21 of 22. While some of the 'Christchurch artists' named by Leonard were born and/or live in Christchurch, all of them were educated, like Upritchard, at the University of Canterbury's School of Fine Arts.

[187] Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', para. 8 of 22. After listing several cultural events, including exhibitions, which had headlined a national gothic theme, Leonard questions the labelling, or branding, of a significant swathe of the country's contemporary art as gothic: 'The Gothic is at risk of becoming a reigning truism in New Zealand art. But is it a telling term or a convenient marketing device, Zeitgeist or constricting cliché?' Ibid., para. 2 of 22.

[188] 'The Gothic turn in our art […] was paced by developments in other areas including cinema and fashion.' Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', para. 2 of 22.

[189] Near the end of 'Hello Darkness', Leonard emphasises the elasticity of the concept of the gothic: 'The Gothic is a vague and rubbery category. When you go looking for the Gothic you can find it in anything dark, deadly or diseased' (para. 21 of 22). Leonard mentions each of the terms I have listed above as exemplifying that which is contained within the umbrella term "New Zealand Gothic", except for the unheimlich; however, he does refer to the ideas of unease and unnervedness which are thought to be affects of the unheimlich (see ibid., para. 2 of 22).

excludes just as it includes; its founding figures are, at least in Leonard's account, all white artist-men; and the qualification of the Gothic by the proper noun "New Zealand" — a seemingly universal and thus inclusive term, insofar as it pretends to speak of and for a single people who share a common culture, but which in fact belies the dominant perspective of the settler-colonial nation state — displaces the local (North Shore), the regional (Antipodean), and the indigenous (Māori) variants of the Gothic. If in coining the term "New Zealand Gothic", Leonard ran the risk of homogenising the contemporary art and cultural production of a multiplicity of people(s) and places, in proposing a national cultural turn, he was also at risk of reifying the diverse artistic and cultural practices that, in his view, constituted such a turn; indeed, at least one critic has implicitly suggested that the Gothic turn itself might have in fact been overstated by Leonard.[190]

Leonard reads what he calls 'a Gothic turn in New Zealand art' as largely symptomatic of the institutionalisation and contestation of biculturalism that took place in (the art world(s) of) Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1980s and 1990s, following the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal:

> New Zealand art's Gothic turn was partly a response to biculturalism, the dominant discourse in New Zealand art in the early 1990s. A new generation of contemporary Maori artists were getting all the airtime and biculturalism overwhelmed every discussion. Against this backdrop, a new group of Pakeha artists emerged who were interested in exploring their cultural background while reacting against the pieties of biculturalism and earnest 1980s theory art. While contemporary Maori art typically asserted cultural identity as noble, much of this work had a bogan edge. Some of it — but not all — was overtly postcolonial, concerned with the skeletons in the historical closet, a supposedly shameful past haunting the present.[191]

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[190] From Jo Smith's observation, we can infer that Leonard had to cast his curatorial gaze wide, well beyond the contemporary art scene, in order to bring into view and substantiate a national cultural turn to the gothic in New Zealand art: 'Leonard shores up this notion of a significant gothic turn by citing Sam Neill's 1995 documentary on New Zealand film (*The Cinema of Unease*), the 2003 *Antipodean Gothic* conference held in Auckland and the subsequent anthology *Gothic New Zealand* (2006) edited by Misha Kavka and Jenny Lawn. The 2009 *Unnerved: The New Zealand Project* exhibit hosted by the Queensland Art Gallery is also included in this list.' Jo Smith, 'An Unsettled State', p. 114.

[191] Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', paras 1 and 3 of 22.

Although Leonard asserts that '[w]hile New Zealand Gothic is tied up with the postcolonial, not all the work is postcolonial Gothic',[192] his reading of a gothic cultural turn as being generally underpinned by 'a response to biculturalism' in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context is what substantiates his claim that this turn is indeed a national one, and is thus what lends authority to Leonard's use of the unifying and/or homogenising term "New Zealand Gothic" in lieu of other terms, listed above, expressing local, regional, and indigenous variants of the gothic that had emerged in (relation to) the same national context. However, in unifying and/or subsuming these variants of the gothic under the appellation "New Zealand", Leonard, as we shall see, also excluded the cultural identity of "Māori" from the national gothic category, and thereby replicated, reinforced, and arguably stoked the tensions that biculturalism sought to ameliorate. New Zealand Gothic could thus be regarded as a polemical category insofar as it can be understood to be defined to a large extent by the settler/indigenous binary opposition particular to the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, and, moreover, to privilege the perspective of the already dominant identity of the hierarchised pair, namely, the settler.

In Leonard's description, the New Zealand Gothic movement appears to operate as part of a Hegelian dialectic. In the national context of (the institutionalisation of) biculturalism, it would seem that contemporary Māori art emerged as the antithesis of the settler-centric canon of New Zealand art that was constituted in the mid-twentieth century. And in response to the emergence of contemporary Māori art, the New Zealand Gothic emerged in turn, as its synthesis, with the aim of overcoming the cultural claims advanced by Māori (artists) concerning the history of colonialism in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context — a problematic that biculturalism sought to redress and which was explored in much contemporary Māori art — by (in)voluntarily exposing 'the skeletons in the historical closet [of] a supposedly shameful past'.[193] Thus, Leonard positioned contemporary Māori art — or indeed the claim of Māori

[192] Ibid., para. 14 of 22.
[193] Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', para. 14 of 22.

artists to the contemporary — as a foundational threat at the origin of the New Zealand Gothic. Moreover, by including Upritchard within the New Zealand Gothic canon, Leonard has posited her work in direct opposition to the work of contemporary Māori artists.

While Leonard acknowledges the contribution of Shane Cotton, an artist of both Māori (Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Hine, Te Uri Taniwha) and European descent whose practice is at once representative of the Christchurch school and the Māori cultural renaissance of the late twentieth century, and of Cotton's 2005 exhibition 'Maori Gothic' in particular, to the movement of the so-called New Zealand Gothic, somewhat divisively, however, Leonard claims that: 'The Gothic is principally a Pakeha thing, but some Maori artists have made use of it.'[194] This quite staggering claim appears to almost deny the foundational role that Cotton's artistic practice played, in Leonard's own account, in constituting what could be called the New Zealand Gothic aesthetic and the so-called cultural turn towards the Gothic in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. This claim also appears to deny, moreover, not only Leonard's own appropriation of the term "Gothic", which he surely borrowed in part from the title of Cotton's exhibition 'Maori Gothic', but also the significant role that Cotton's work has obviously played in co-constituting Leonard's "own" conceptualisation of the New Zealand Gothic. Indeed, such a statement ironically positions Cotton as a "Māori" artist who borrowed the Gothic from Leonard, who as a "Pākehā" curator is ostensibly more entitled to this European derived concept and/or style than is Cotton.

Moreover, Leonard goes on to claim that of the few Māori artists who have, in his view, 'made use' of — that is, who have borrowed or appropriated this 'principally […] Pakeha thing' called — the Gothic, namely Michael Parekowhai and Lisa Reihana, 'in both cases, the Gothic styling is just icing on [the] cake: the antithesis of the Gothic'.[195] In the case of Leonard's dismissal of the photographic portraits comprising Reihana's ongoing project entitled *Digital*

[194] Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', para. 18 of 22.
[195] Ibid., para. 18 of 22.

Marae, which, according to Leonard, 'show[s] a nostalgic attachment to colonial-period photographs of Maori dressed in Victorian garb' rather than the 'deep engagement' with the Gothic exemplified by Cotton's work,[196] this again quite staggering claim appears to deny the long and well-established art histories that document the active and reciprocal engagement on the part of Māori with European artists and European visual culture in the construction, and indeed appropriation, of their own "Māori" appearance and cultural identity in otherwise "European" representations of Māori, and thus Leonard appears to deny the longstanding role that Māori have played in the unsettling of European pictorial and representational norms and in thereby contributing to the so-called New Zealand or postcolonial — and not only Māori — Gothic.[197] Indeed, it would seem that in focussing on contemporary art and cultural production, Leonard has overlooked its connection to the 'long history' of the visualisation of 'unease', the depiction, that is, of 'the unfinished business of colonisation and the spectral traces of this traumatic past that haunt the everyday', which has now become a 'trope' and 'a reigning norm in New Zealand cultural production', and which is more generally referred to as 'the postcolonial gothic' rather than the New Zealand gothic.[198]

While in the article 'Hello Darkness', Leonard does not discuss Upritchard's work except to suggest that her 'folksy sculptures of canopic jars and faux-Maori artefacts' could be included in a New Zealand Gothic canon,[199] in his subsequent essay 'Adrift in Otherness', which was written eight years later for the catalogue of the retrospective exhibition 'Francis Upritchard: Jealous

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[196] Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', paras 18–19 of 22.

[197] Here I am thinking of Leonard Bell's scholarship on the role that Māori and/or indigenous people(s) have played in co-constructing ostensibly "European" images of Māori and/or indigenous people(s); of especially Leonard Bell, 'Looking at Goldie: Face to Face with "*All 'e Same T'e Pakeha*"', in *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific*, ed. by Nicholas Thomas and Diane Losche (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), pp. 163–89; but also of Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori 1840–1914* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1992).

[198] 'The thrownness of settler being in relation to Indigenous sociality produces affects of unease that have a long history. Indeed, the trope of unease relates to a reigning norm in New Zealand cultural production, that of the postcolonial gothic', according to Jo Smith, 'An Unsettled State', p. 114.

[199] Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', para. 21 of 22.

Saboteurs' published in 2016, Leonard does discuss in some detail the work for which he nominated Upritchard as an artist of the New Zealand Gothic. This essay opens with a description of Upritchard's *Traveller's Collection* (2003) (Figure 3.7), which Leonard remembers having seen on display at Kate MacGarry, London, in 2003, the year in which the work was made:

> Upritchard had repurposed an old three-tier work table as a sarcophagus-cum-curio-cupboard. In it, she stowed a pint-sized mummy, canopic jars, ceramic monkey heads with real teeth, Māori-looking artefacts (carved from human bones, someone imagined), and other mysterious, talismanic knick-knacks. These treasures seemed organised precisely and they looked good together, but they were also wrong. The mummy was a fantasy — a "*Scooby-Doo* mummy", the artist said. On closer inspection, the canopic jars were repurposed West German ceramics, to which the artist had added matching animal-head lids, painting them to blend in with the bases. And the faux-Māori items were displayed in velvet boxes for no apparent reason. And what were they doing there, alongside a mummy, when ancient Egyptian culture and Māori culture are separated by 16,000 kilometres and many millennia? […] Upritchard was scrambling the ancient Egyptian and the Māori as if postcolonialism had never happened and everything was peachy.[200]

Although Leonard does not explicitly describe 'Upritchard's […] canopic jars and faux-Maori artefacts' in terms of the Gothic, either here or in 'Hello Darkness', from the above description of *Traveller's Collection* it is possible to infer why Leonard might have considered these works as exemplary of the Gothic. When read in the context of *Traveller's Collection*, these objects, which are generally classified as Urns and Ancestral Boxes, are obviously the paraphernalia of death and indeed comprise in part a tableau of death, which could thus be read as gloomy, creepy, scary, and horrifying — or, in short, as Gothic.

The subject of death alone, however, surely cannot qualify Upritchard's work as being representative of a peculiarly national "New Zealand" style of Gothic. Is it Upritchard's treatment and/or fabrication of certain objects — everyday and museum objects which have taken on a particular significance in the contexts of both colonialism and postcolonialism, objects which were collected and/or (re)distributed in the process of European imperialism and

[200] Leonard, 'Adrift in Otherness', in *Francis Upritchard: Jealous Saboteurs*, ed. by Day and Leonard, p. 134.

colonial expansion, including indigenous objects, which came to be regarded from a Western perspective as ethnographic artefacts — and of Māori objects in particular, which qualifies Upritchard's work as New Zealand Gothic? But if, as Michael Dunn has pointed out, '[Upritchard's] works are eclectic and culturally inclusive rather than confined to Maori sources',[201] then surely her work should be regarded more broadly as fitting the description of the postcolonial, rather than the specifically New Zealand, gothic? I would argue that Upritchard's work, like any art work, does not embody any essential — in this case, national "New Zealand" — quality or aesthetic. Rather, I would suggest that the "New Zealandishness" of the so-called New Zealand Gothic is a quality — an affect of unease — which is largely perceptible to a certain national (Māori and Pākehā if not New Zealand) audience, and is thus an affect that is culturally (and to a lesser extent, historically) specific to certain viewing subjects in and of the Aotearoa/New Zealand context.

In my reading of the New Zealand Gothic as it has been proposed by Leonard, the postcolonial has been conflated with the national, despite Leonard's acknowledgement that 'not all the work [that, in his view, comprises the New Zealand Gothic] is postcolonial Gothic'.[202] As I will argue in the following section of this chapter, a conflation of the postcolonial and the national has had a particular effect on the reception of Upritchard's work in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context.

Upritchard and the Shift from the Postcolonial to the Global Contemporary

During the southern hemisphere summer of 2007–08, Upritchard held the position of New Zealand Artist in Residence at the Govett-Brewster, Ngāmotu New Plymouth. Founded by Monica Brewster (1886–1973) in 1962 and opened in 1970, the Govett-Brewster is the first public museum of contemporary art to have been established in New Zealand and remains one of the most significant institutions for the collection and display of contemporary art in the country

[201] Dunn, 'Crisis of Identity', p. 176.
[202] Ibid., para. 14 of 22.

today. The residency enabled Upritchard to return from London, where she had lived for almost ten years, to New Plymouth, the place of her birth and early childhood. Until the age of six, Upritchard lived in New Plymouth, a port city situated on the west coast of the North Island (Te Ika-a-Māui) which serves the rural industrial region of Taranaki, before moving with her family in 1982 to Christchurch, the most populous city in the South Island (Te Waipounamu). As a young child, Upritchard often visited the Govett-Brewster, where she saw Len Lye's kinetic (programmed steel) sculpture *Trilogy (A Flip and Two Twisters)* (1977), which, she has since claimed, was a formative experience for her and one that influenced her decision to pursue a career as an artist.[203] Prior to this residency, which resulted in the exhibition 'rainwob i' (Figure 3.14), Upritchard's work had only been exhibited once before at the Govett-Brewster, in the summer of 2002–03, but had not been on display there since Upritchard had gained recognition as a nationally promising and/or significant artist.[204] In a certain sense, then, Upritchard's residency at the Govett-Brewster can be understood symbolically as a homecoming of sorts.

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[203] In interviews, Upritchard has often spoken of the formative influence of Lye's work on her career. See for example the following report, which appeared in New Plymouth's regional newspaper at the time that Upritchard had been nominated for, but before she had been awarded, the 2006 Walters Prize, and when it had already been announced that she would return to New Plymouth as artist-in-residence at the Govett-Brewster the following year: 'Now based in London, Upritchard was born in New Plymouth and lived here as a youngster. She says Len Lye's Flip and Two Twisters is her favourite artwork of all time. "I think he's the reason I'm an artist," she says.' Jayne Hulbert, 'Contest Finalist Inspired by Lye', *Taranaki Daily News*, 6 September 2006, p. 23.

[204] Francis Upritchard, 'rainwob i', GB, New Plymouth, 1 March – 18 May 2008. Prior to 'rainwob i', Upritchard's work had featured in the group exhibition 'Break', GB, New Plymouth, 14 December 2002 – 16 February 2003. In 2003, shortly after her work was shown in 'Break', Upritchard was identified by the selection panel of the Beck's Futures art award as one of the most promising contemporary artists working in the United Kingdom, and her work was thus shown alongside that of eight other artists, who had also been selected as candidates for the Beck's Futures prize, in the exhibition 'Beck's Futures 2003', Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 5 April – 18 May 2003, which travelled to Centre for Contemporary Art, Glasgow, 7 June – 27 July 2003, and to Southhampton City Art Gallery, 25 September – 30 November 2003. Three years after she was nominated for the Beck's Futures award, Upritchard was recognised as the artist who had made the most significant recent contribution to contemporary art in New Zealand, when she was awarded the Walters Prize in 2006.

In the three months that she was artist-in-residence at the Govett-Brewster, Upritchard initiated a body of work that she would develop over the next year or so, in the lead-up to her exhibition at the 53rd Venice Biennale. This corpus was perceived to be quite different to the work for which she had previously gained national recognition in the United Kingdom and New Zealand. In the eyes of several critics, there seemed to be a certain discontinuity between the colourful and comical human figures that Upritchard presented in her 'rainwob i' and 'rainwob ii' exhibitions of 2008 (Figures 3.14–3.16),[205] and the more grotesque reworkings of colonial objects that constituted her earlier works, such as *Save Yourself* and *Traveller's Collection* (Figures 3.6–3.7) and those exhibited in 'Doomed, Doomed, All Doomed' (Figures 3.4 and 3.10–3.12), which had brought Upritchard's practice to nationwide attention in both Britain and New Zealand. Indeed, by the time Upritchard represented New Zealand at Venice in 2009, her practice appeared to have changed direction. In Anthony Gardner's view, Upritchard's work seemed to have moved away from the 'postcolonial confrontations with her homeland's cultural heritage', for which she had become renowned, and to have 'shifted into more folkloric, less agitated territory'.[206] And from Justin Paton's perspective, this shift in Upritchard's practice meant that her oeuvre seemed to be divided into 'two bodies of work': 'the hippy seekers' that comprised her rainwob corpus on the one hand, and the earlier reworkings of colonial detritus, 'her stuffed exotic creatures, shrivelled souvenirs and the shrunken heads of European colonists', on the other.[207]

In observing Upritchard's shift away from the overtly postcolonial subject matter of her earlier works, Gardner and Paton also emphasised certain continuities between these works and those of her rainwob corpus. In his

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[205] Immediately after her residency at the Govett-Brewster, which ended with the opening of the exhibition 'rainwob i' on 1 March 2008, Upritchard travelled to Australia to undertake a one-month residency at Artspace Visual Arts Centre, Sydney, which culminated in the exhibitions 'rainwob ii', Artspace, Sydney, 4–22 April 2008, and 'rainwob ii', Gertrude Contemporary Art Spaces, Melbourne, 8 August – 5 September 2008.

[206] Gardner, 'Francis Upritchard', p. 371.

[207] Paton, p. 103.

review of 'rainwob ii', Gardner highlights the persistence of certain concerns across these corpora, which are evident despite what he describes as the 'subtle change of direction' that Upritchard's practice had obviously undergone since her exhibition 'Doomed, Doomed, All Doomed', for which she was awarded the Walters Prize in 2006. Although the rainwob corpus cannot be described as Gothic, '[r]eminders of death' are, at least in Gardner's reading, 'never far away from this world at the end of a New Age rainbow', which clearly suggests that this ostensibly new body of work retains the central concern with death that is evident in much of Upritchard's earlier work. And although the work Upritchard presented in 'rainwob ii' is, in Gardner's view, 'hardly as biting or confrontational as her earlier sculpture', it still developed, or, in Gardner's words, 'delicately extended', 'Upritchard's interest in […] diverse histories and cultural memories'. Gardner's careful observation of the individual works that constitute 'rainwob ii' captures the subtlety, or delicacy, of this shift in Upritchard's practice. Despite a difference in the subject matter of 'rainwob ii', many of the objects that Gardner describes sound as if they could have come from an earlier body of Upritchard's work; the 'canopic-style jars' that are 'topped' with '[m]ulticoloured miniature heads' could equally be, for example, objects from *Traveller's Collection* (2003), and the '[r]oughly molded figurines [that] stood precariously on gangly legs' could equally be either of her balata figures *Red* and *Pointing* (2004).[208] In his review of 'rainwob i', Paton proposes a temporal — fictional–historical — connection '[b]etween the two bodies of work'. In his view, 'a rough genealogy emerges' between 'Upritchard's sculptures of the early 2000s', which 'evoked the fag-ends of colonial adventure', and her countercultural 'rainwobbers', which '[evoke] the attempts made a century later to escape that very [colonial] civilisation'. He asks: 'What are [Upritchard's] shrunken nineteenth-century colonists, if not the ancestors of the hippy seekers'?[209]

[208] Gardner, 'Francis Upritchard', p. 371.
[209] Paton, p. 103.

In distinguishing between Upritchard's earlier postcolonial works and her more recent contemporary works, neither Paton nor Gardner went so far as to polarise these two bodies of work, but rather emphasised certain continuities between them. Nevertheless, I would argue that this distinction between the postcolonial and the contemporary has since become entrenched as an opposition in the reception of Upritchard's practice, so much so that her oeuvre is generally regarded as being comprised of works that are either postcolonial or contemporary. According to such a binary interpretation, Upritchard's so-called Pākehā Heads, and to a lesser extent any of her works that either engage with or draw from Māori museum (ethnographic or art) objects, are viewed as emblematic of Upritchard's concern with the postcolonial, and more specifically with the (relationship of the) settler and indigenous art, the (material and visual) cultures, and the cultural politics of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Indeed, Leonard's reading of these works as exemplifying the New Zealand Gothic, which I have discussed in some detail above, can thus be understood as indicative of a more general tendency to reduce Upritchard's broad and ostensibly postcolonial interest in the collection and collections of artefacts and detritus from many colonial contexts to a specific interest in Māori objects, and to thus conflate the postcolonial and the national.[210] Conversely, the often brightly painted and patterned — almost festive — figurative sculpture that Upritchard has produced since 2008 is not generally understood to be concerned with the postcolonial, or for that matter New Zealand, despite the fact that it is demonstrative of a palpable 'interest in Otherness' — a concern typically associated with the postcolonial.[211]

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[210] Although he does not discuss Upritchard's practice in terms of the New Zealand Gothic in his catalogue essay 'Adrift in Otherness', in asserting that 'Upritchard's interest in Otherness is a New Zealand thing' (p. 142), Leonard conflates Upritchard's postcolonial concern with a distinctively national concern in a way that is comparable to his conflation of the postcolonial gothic and the national gothic in his earlier article 'Hello Darkness'.

[211] While I do not agree with Leonard that 'Upritchard's interest in Otherness is a New Zealand thing', I do think that Upritchard's sculpture demonstrates an 'interest in Otherness' as Leonard puts it. Ibid., p. 142.

This interpretation of Upritchard's practice is, I would argue, symptomatic of the eclipse of the postcolonial — and indeed of the national — by the global in the contemporary art context.[212] It would seem, at least in my reading of the literature and discourse of Upritchard's reception, that in this context of the transcendence of the contemporary and the concomitant 'consignment of the postcolonial to ever-increasing inconsequence',[213] what Gardner accurately described as 'a subtle change of direction' in Upritchard's practice, away from an overtly postcolonial and towards a more contemporary imaginary, has been construed rather crudely.[214] This is to say that the ostensible shift in Upritchard's practice, which appears to align with 'shifts from the postcolonial to the global' in the contemporary art and cultural context,[215] has allowed critics and curators of Upritchard's work to dispense with discussion of concerns deemed (or doomed) postcolonial — such as cultural appropriation or (neo-) primitivism — in favour of concerns considered more appropriate to the contemporary — such as the recycling of discarded objects and material in the context of the Anthropocene. Or in other words, Upritchard's practice has been rendered 'gloriously apolitical' — her carnivalesque figures read only as reiterating and not necessarily questioning the global's 'sense of festival'.[216]

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[212] According to Anthony Gardner, in contemporary art discourse, as in cultural criticism, the postcolonial has been 'consign[ed] […] to ever-increasing inconsequence': 'analyses of "the global" have thoroughly trumped "the postcolonial," with the latter's brand of critique swamped by the former's sense of festival, even as the biennials, the competitions, and the neoliberal conditions of the globalized have surely brought about a renewed colonial force'. Anthony Gardner, 'Whither the Postcolonial?', in *Global Studies: Mapping Contemporary Art and Culture*, ed. by Hans Belting and others (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2011), pp. 142–157 (p. 143).

[213] Ibid., p. 143.

[214] Gardner, 'Francis Upritchard', p. 371.

[215] Gardner, 'Whither the Postcolonial?', p. 143.

[216] For the global's 'sense of festival', see ibid., p. 143. As yet, there has been no satisfactory account of the politics of Upritchard's practice, only questions raised concerning the political ambiguity of her work in relation to her aesthetic of ambiguity. In 'Adrift in Otherness', Leonard describes the difficulty that many critics of Upritchard have themselves encountered in trying to pin down and/or derive a politics of her work from its aesthetic. The supposed ambiguity, or slipperiness, of Upritchard's work and/or politics is the reason why, in Leonard's view, 'Upritchard's work is generally seen as gloriously apolitical' (Leonard 2016: 142).

Moreover, this binary interpretation of Upritchard's practice maps onto a critical geopolitical divide in the reception of Upritchard, who, broadly speaking, has been received in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context as a contemporary New Zealand artist whose work speaks to the (country's) postcolonial condition, and in the global contemporary context as an unmarked contemporary artist whose work speaks to the ostensibly more universal condition of global contemporaneity. On the one hand, there has, in my view, been a striking lack of concern with the postcolonial on the part of contemporary art critics and curators situated outside of the national context of Aotearoa/New Zealand, who have tended to address Upritchard's practice in a celebratory mode and have thus generally relegated her work's subtle yet persistent concern with the postcolonial, which is arguably evident throughout her oeuvre, to discussion of certain works, namely her Pākehā Heads and those that obviously engage with Māori art, such as her Ancestral Boxes. And on the other hand, since the onset of the global contemporary as a dominant contemporary art(-historical) context, if not paradigm, critics and curators working in (relation to) the Aotearoa/New Zealand context have desisted in pursuing a postcolonial analysis of Upritchard's practice and have been instead largely content to celebrate the global success of a local "New Zealand" artist. It is only very recently, in the wake of the Black Lives Matter movement and the disciplinary shift to the decolonial, that critics in both the northern and southern hemispheres have begun to highlight and/or question anew the representational politics of Upritchard's practice and to thus negotiate the postcolonial–contemporary divide which has polarised the reception of Upritchard.

I would argue, moreover, that this hermeneutic binary, which structures the discourse on Upritchard's practice by dividing her oeuvre into early postcolonial "New Zealand" works and later "contemporary" works, has had a polarising effect not only on our understanding of Upritchard's practice, but also more specifically on our understanding of its treatment of (the subject, concept, and aesthetic of) contact. Indeed, if such a division structures our reading of the treatment of contact in Upritchard's work, then it might seem that it is only in her early work, and not in her later work, that Upritchard is concerned with

contact, and that she is thus only concerned with transcultural or Māori–Pākehā contact in particular. Certainly, in Upritchard's early work the subject of contact is dealt with through the reworking of objects associated with the colonial and/or imperial past, such as *toi moko* (tattooed preserved heads), *tiki* (abstract human figures), woollen blankets, or cricket bats, which were exchanged, acquired, and (re)distributed in situations that involved transcultural contact; moreover, the 'confrontational' nature of these reworked (post)colonial objects simulates for the viewer the clash of cultural contact.[217] In contrast to these patent reproductions of objects of transcultural exchange and encounter or contact, Upritchard's later work deals with the subject of contact more implicitly. In her rainwob corpus, for example, the subject of contact would appear to be represented inversely, as a tableau of non-connection, in which, in Gardner's description, 'figurines [are] set apart from each other, atomized, or, at best, connected only through a shared spatial narrative of isolation'; indeed, it is the stark isolation of these apparently 'self-contained' figures, who, with their 'outstretched arms', nevertheless seem to be seeking physical and/or social contact, which evokes the presence of contact — not only through its absence but also through the narrative possibility of imminent encounter.[218] Thus, if we read Upritchard's oeuvre representationally, in terms of subject matter and narrative, then a continuous concern with contact, and not only transcultural contact, is evident across 'the two bodies of [her] work', despite the 'subtle change of direction' that 'Upritchard's practice underwent' in 2008.[219]

Upritchard's continuation of her concern with contact across her early and later works could be understood as at once a transposition and a sublimation. In shifting from the (re)production of objects of colonial exchange and

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[217] Gardner describes Upritchard's early work as 'confrontational', and more specifically as comprising 'postcolonial confrontations with her homeland's cultural heritage', in his review 'Francis Upritchard', p. 371.

[218] Ibid., p. 371. Although Gardner is describing 'rainwob ii' here, this description could easily fit subsequent bodies and/or exhibitions of Upritchard's work, for example, 'Save Yourself', 2009, [Figures 3.17–3.18], and 'In die Höhle', 2010.

[219] Paton, p. 103; Gardner, 'Francis Upritchard', p. 371.

encounter to the figuration of a lack of encounter and exchange between late-twentieth-century individual(ist)s, Upritchard has transposed the theme of contact from the context of (post)colonial culture to that of contemporary culture. And in transposing her interest in contact from the sphere of the (post)colonial to the 'less agitated territory' of the contemporary, Upritchard has sublimated concerns typically associated with the postcolonial's now ostensibly outmoded 'brand of critique' into topics considered more acceptable and appropriate in and to the dominant global contemporary art context.[220] Moreover, in sublimating her concern with contact in this manner, Upritchard has also dematerialised her exploration of contact. That is, in shifting her practice away from the postcolonial theatre of transcultural contact, which has tended to focus on 'a narrowed scope of themes' associated with and governed by identity politics,[221] and resituating it clearly within the context and remit of the global contemporary, Upritchard has not only liberated (the interpretation of) her work from the baggage and confines of the postcolonial, but has also set loose her enquiry into contact so that it is no longer bound to either the subject of transcultural contact or a postcolonial aesthetic and is thus free to explore more broadly the concept(s) and aesthetic(s) of contact. Such a strategic shift, I would argue, has also enabled Upritchard to recuperate an 'ethics of alterity' — and/or an aesthetics of difference — which, in the postcolonial context, has, as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and others after her have noted, often been reduced to a 'politics of identity'.[222]

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[220] Gardner, 'Francis Upritchard', p. 371; Gardner, 'Whither the Postcolonial?', p. 143.

[221] According to Gardner, in the 1990s, in the context of the postcolonial, 'in numerous countries and contexts worldwide, the art market's growing comfort with identity politics as a new brand of exotica increasingly locked artists from so-called peripheries into a narrowed scope of themes they were expected to confront (such as representation, recognition, and subjectivity on the margins)'. Gardner, 'Whither the Postcolonial?', p. 146.

[222] In 'Whither the Postcolonial?' Gardner describes how, in the Australian context, 'the country's postcolonial aesthetics were […] driven by a circumstance in which (to paraphrase Spivak) the ethics of alterity were simmered down to politics of identity' (p. 145); here Gardner is referring to 'Spivak's call to maintain an ethics of alterity rather than a politics of identity', which, in his view, 'remains as crucial now as it was in decades past' (p. 155). Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason:*

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have examined the literature and discourses comprising the reception of 'New Zealand-born, London-based' contemporary artist Francis Upritchard.[223] In doing so, I have presented the first analysis of the historiography of Upritchard's practice, and, moreover, of its significance in and to New Zealand art historiography. I have argued that while on the one hand Upritchard occupies a coveted and symbolic position in the historiography if not history of New Zealand art, on the other hand, as a contemporary expatriate artist-woman, she also occupies a precarious and paradoxical art-historical position. Precarious because as an expatriate New Zealand artist, Upritchard embodies a figure that is at once notably absent from both British and New Zealand art histories, and because as an artist-woman she is potentially subject to the structural sexism of the discipline of Art History, which even today enables the disappearance of women artists from the art-historical record. And paradoxical because her reception as at once an expatriate and a contemporary artist has not only meant that her practice has been positioned as being both 'caught "between two hemispheres"' and, on the contrary, enmeshed in 'a far-flung network',[224] but has also meant that the historiography of her practice is thus caught between two contradictory discursive or interpretative paradigms, namely that of distance and that of contact. I have argued, moreover, that insofar as the historiography of her practice has been shaped by each of the twin discourses of distance and contact, Upritchard thus occupies a peculiar position in the historiography of New Zealand art. It is precisely the peculiarity of her position at the nexus of these two art-historiographical paradigms which makes her a pivotal figure in the contemporary (re)turn to an art-historical discourse of contact with which this thesis is, of course, primarily concerned.

Toward a History of the Vanishing Present (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1998), qtd. in Gardner, 'Whither the Postcolonial?', pp. 145 and 155.

[223] The epithet 'New Zealand-born, London-based' is often assigned to Upritchard. See for example: Gardner, 'Francis Upritchard', p. 371; Were, 'Dreaming in Colour', p. 78; and *Francis Upritchard: Jealous Saboteurs*, ed. by Day and Leonard, p. 6.

[224] Barton, '(Re-)Tracing Frances Hodgkins', p. 10; and Barton, 'State of the Art', p. 34.

Having made a case for the study of Upritchard with regard to the recent (re)turn to an art history of contact, this chapter went on to provide not only an historical context for Upritchard's reception as a contemporary expatriate artist, but also to further contextualise my own claims concerning the precarity of Upritchard's position in relation to the exclusion and erasure of the New Zealand (expatriate) artist from twentieth-century histories of modern art. Or in other words, I turned to the archive of New Zealand art history in order to examine Upritchard's reception in light of the art-historical discourse of distance described in Chapter 2. In exploring the mythopoetic discourse of exile and expatriatism that is considered peculiar to New Zealand art historiography, I have shown how this discourse of expatriatism has in fact changed in response to neoliberal and/or globalisation discourses, and in particular to the New Zealand government's recent diaspora strategy, which took a positive view of expatriates and the role that 'offshore New Zealanders' could play in the national economy.[225] This finding could explain why Upritchard has been welcomed in New Zealand as an expatriate artist. Moreover, this finding highlights the historical specificity not so much of the conditions of artistic expatriatism but rather of the art-historical discourse of expatriatism itself. Indeed, it suggests that (the politics of) the construction of Upritchard as a contemporary expatriate artist differs from that of, for example, modernist painter Frances Hodgkins (1869–1947), the New Zealand expatriate artist par excellence, who was considered within her lifetime to have been caught "between two hemispheres", and who is now a relatively little known figure in histories of British art, despite her historical success as an artist who was selected to represent Britain at the (subsequently cancelled) Venice Biennale in 1940 — and who thus figures not only as Upritchard's namesake but also as the avatar of Upritchard's potential erasure from future histories of art, a spectre

[225] The diaspora strategy implemented by the New Zealand government at the turn of the twenty-first century aimed to rethink the government's 'relationships with offshore New Zealanders', whom it sought to 'put to new purposes' by using 'a range of new [governmental] techniques […] to engage expatriates in activities in their countries of origin without requiring them to return' to New Zealand, according to Larner, 'Expatriate Experts', pp. 332 and 337–38.

(visualised by Liz Maw) which haunts this chapter.[226] It also suggests that the disciplinary conditions for the disappearance (or, conversely, the inclusion) of the New Zealand artist from (or in) histories of modern and contemporary art have changed since the erasure of Billy Apple (1935–2021) from histories of mid-twentieth-century British art, a phenomenon that was first noted from a British perspective in 2002.[227] This chapter thus demonstrates the urgency of developing new and critical, and especially comparative, approaches to the historiography of New Zealand-born expatriate, or overseas-based, artists and the art of exile produced in relation to, as well as in, the (Aotearoa/)New Zealand context.[228]

While Upritchard's favourable reception as an expatriate artist may be read as a sign of the triumph of (a discourse of) contact over distance, or indeed of the ascendancy of the global contemporary context over the national paradigm of Art History and the concomitant obsoletion of the disciplinary framework of the nation state and its practice of enforcing the state border as an arbitrary yet highly symbolic mode of exclusion, and thus as a sign of a certain progress, of a disciplinary shift away from the ethnocentric prejudices of national chauvinism and towards inclusiveness, this chapter has argued that despite this positive shift in attitude towards the expatriate, Upritchard is not necessarily guaranteed a place in the history of art. Indeed, as I have argued throughout this thesis, neither the shift to an art history of the contemporary nor the (re)turn to an art history of contact inevitably entails the inclusion of artists who have, or would have, been excluded from Euro-American canonical and/or

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[226] Hodgkins exemplified this condition of double exile for McCormick, who discussed her under the chapter heading 'Between Two Hemispheres', in his book *Letters and Art in New Zealand*, pp. 126–68, which was published in 1940, seven years before Hodgkins's death.

[227] Here I am referring to the question 'And what happened to Billy Apple?' posed by British graphic designer Alan Fletcher in Fletcher, 'Last Word on the 1960s', in *Rewind*, ed. by Myerson and Vickers, p. 82, qtd. in Barton, 'Becoming Billy Apple', p. 21.

[228] Leonard Bell's recent scholarship takes up the task of rethinking the role and reception of the art of exiles, of European émigrés in particular, in mid-twentieth-century New Zealand, however, a reciprocal study of New Zealand-born expatriate artists who practised in Europe at this time remains outstanding. See for example, Bell, *Strangers Arrive*; and Bell, *In Transit*.

national(ist) histories of art. As I have argued in the final section of this chapter, in the context of the 'shift to the contemporary' and the consequent loss of 'the historical imagination that once fed into Art History',[229] much is potentially forgotten, left out, and thus excluded, including the memory of prior exclusions, such as the hardships — the social impediments to participating in artistic circles, which, in the extreme case of Edith Collier (1885–1964), for example, entailed the physical destruction of art works — faced by many New Zealand-born expatriate artist-women, who upon returning to their native country often became, unlike Upritchard, 'victim[s], career-wise, of an alien milieu'.[230] And as my discussion of Damian Skinner's essay 'London Calling' has explicitly shown, while contemporary histories of art written in the name of contact may aim to recuperate, or ensure the visibility of, certain (potentially) marginalised and/or excluded artists, their conflation of the concept of contact with that of transcultural contact, and thus their focus on issues of cultural rather than sexual difference, means, at least in this case, that an art history of contact can easily replicate the structural sexism of Art History and consequently become complicit in the erasure of artist-women from the art-historical record.

Whereas this chapter began with what could be described as a classic postcolonial feminist critique of the structural sexism and nationalism of canonical Art History, which has not only resulted in the marginalisation, exclusion, and erasure of women, expatriate, and New Zealand artists from twentieth-century histories of modern art, but which also arguably renders Upritchard's art-historical position precarious despite her success as a contemporary artist, in the final section of this chapter I have examined the literature of Upritchard's reception in light of the disciplinary and cultural shift to the contemporary, which, I have argued, has only served to compound the precarity of Upritchard's otherwise uncertain position in the history of art. Indeed, I have argued that the dearth of art-historical scholarship and serious art criticism on Upritchard is just as symptomatic of the problematics of

[229] Pollock, 'Unexpected Turns', p. 9.
[230] Kirker, *New Zealand Women Artists*, p. 64.

contemporary art history and/or discourse as it is of the hierarchies and prejudices that structure the so-called old or canonical Art History. More specifically, I have suggested that while Uprtichard's artists' book practice can be regarded as a case of a 'contemporary [artist] do[ing] art history as art',[231] Upritchard's hand in the documentation and fictionalisation, and thereby in the historiography, of her own practice has also effectively discouraged art-historical analysis of her work and has thus in turn exacerbated her potential absence and/or erasure from future histories of art.

My examination of Upritchard's reception in light of the shift to the contemporary, and my reading of Upritchard's artists' book practice in particular, has thus shown how certain transformations in the contemporary practice and discourse of both visual art and art history have complicated the traditional historiography of the New Zealand (expatriate) artist's absence — exclusion or erasure — from canonical histories of modern art. This finding in turn suggests that insofar as the conditions of both art practice and art history have changed since the twentieth century, the situation of the contemporary expatriate New Zealand artist cannot be simply mapped onto that of the modern expatriate New Zealand artist, despite the national and (post)colonial context common to both artist figures. Moreover, it suggests that to simply turn away from a (post)modern discourse of distance, in and through which the New Zealand artist's absence from (canonical histories of) the Euro-American avant-garde art world(s) has been bemoaned and thereby emphasised and indeed constructed, and instead towards a contemporary discourse of contact, in which the presence of the New Zealand artist, who is always already situated in a global contemporary art world, is, conversely, emphasised, but whose (art-) historical exclusion and/or absence is not in fact deconstructed, is to overlook the complex discursive construction of the contemporary expatriate New Zealand artist's paradoxical position. In highlighting the historical specificity of contemporary art(-historical) discourse and its potential implications for the historiography of Upritchard's practice and, by extension, contemporary New

[231] Terry Smith, 'The State of Art History', p. 366.

Zealand art, this chapter has thus proposed an alternative to the discourses of both distance and contact, insofar as its exploration of an historiographical, rather than an historical or geographical, dimension of the problem in question points to the possibility of (de)constructing the phantom — absent presence — of the New Zealand (expatriate) artist differently.

As I have argued in Chapter 1, and even more so in the present chapter, if an art history of contact is to "perform" contact so to speak, which is to say, if an art history is to be expressive *of* contact — that is, of the very concept of connectivity and relationality that would constitute the self-identity of 'a distinctive art history' that could be rightly called an art history of contact — in addition to being *about* the subject of art and/in contact, then it must strive to be inclusive, to represent or register the diversity of art and artist-subjects and their histories.[232] And if it is to be inclusive, that is, if it is to avoid repeating certain art-historiographical patterns of exclusion associated with, and instrumental in, canonical forms of violence, and thereby redress multiple oppressions, then it must attend to the registration of not only cultural but also sexual difference, and indeed to difference in its multiplicity, whether such difference has been shaped, for example, by 'class, race, gender or sexuality'.[233]

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[232] In speaking of 'a distinctive art history' which could be called an art history of contact, I am referring to the question: 'Is there the possibility of developing a distinctive art history out of the specificity of our experience of contact?', which was put forward by Geoffrey Batchen to a panel of delegates at the plenary that concluded the 2011 AAANZ annual conference, and is cited in Batchen and others, *A Conversation with Delegates.* For further detail see pp. 102–05 of Chapter 1 above. For a discussion of my use of the term "perform", which is based on Judith Butler's concept of "the performative", see pp. 367–67 of this chapter above.

[233] Griselda Pollock proposes that the concept and/or category of gender be used as a probe through which feminist interventions could be undertaken in art's histories, with the aim of 'shift[ing] the entire paradigm of art-historical thinking, [by] opening hegemonically formalist Art History and its exclusive canons to all forms of social, institutional and cultural factors shaping difference (be that class, race, gender or sexuality) as the grounds for exclusion from access to art and recognition within the canon of art', in Pollock, 'A Lonely Preface (2013)', in Parker and Pollock, *Old Mistresses*, p. xxviii. Here I am suggesting that if an art history of contact aims to be inclusive, it must also strive to open up the discipline of Art History in the way described by Pollock above, in order to bring about the art-historiographical shift necessitated by such a desire and demand for disciplinary inclusivity, even if the project for an art history of contact does not primarily seek to make a feminist intervention into art's histories, but rather to make a postcolonial, or even a decolonial, and a post-

For these reasons, in this chapter I have examined the ways in which the discourse and literature of Upritchard's reception has been shaped by Upritchard's gender and not only by her national identity, and I have looked closely at the few texts in which Upritchard is regarded as an artist-woman. In examining her exhibition record, I found very few (only three) instances in which Upritchard's work has been exhibited exclusively alongside that of other artist-women, and of these instances, still fewer (only two) exhibitions in which her work has been explicitly presented in a context that emphasised the works exhibited as art made by women. In examining the literature of her reception, however, I did find several miscellaneous texts (a press statement, a review, and a thesis) in which Upritchard's practice has been considered in relation to that of a contemporary generation of New Zealand artist-women and a much earlier generation of Euro-American artist-women. Moreover, in my reading of Michael Dunn's discussion of Upritchard as a contemporary New Zealand sculptor, in which Dunn struggles to find a connection between the work of Upritchard and that of other New Zealand sculptors, I have drawn a comparison between the sculptural practices of Upritchard and Christine Hellyar, with whom Upritchard shares certain biographical similarities. In proposing that certain works by Upritchard be understood as rereadings or remakes of certain works by Hellyar, I have proposed the possibility of Upritchard's self-positioning of her practice in relation to local histories of postmodern feminist sculptural practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand. This chapter thus constitutes the first survey of Upritchard's reception as an artist-woman and suggests several points

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national, or an unnational, intervention. Or in other words, I am arguing here, as I have done elsewhere in this chapter, that an art history of contact must necessarily be a feminist intervention and not only a postcolonial and/or decolonial one. In saying that an art history of contact must 'attend to the registration of […] difference', I mean to say that an art history of contact must not only register or enter certain works of art — which either have been or would otherwise be marginalised and/or excluded from canonical art histories — on the art-historical record, so that art histories of contact better correspond to actual histories of art that have been produced, circulated, and exhibited in contexts of encounter, but that it must also pay attention to the way in which contact is registered in art-historical discourse, that is, at the levels of language and historiography.

of departure for future research on (the specificity of) Upritchard's practice, especially in relation to that of other artist-women.

In the final section of this chapter, I turned my attention away from the archive of New Zealand art history and its discourse of distance and instead towards the literature of Upritchard's reception as a contemporary (New Zealand) artist(-woman), in order to examine Upritchard's reception in light of a contemporary art(-historical) discourse of contact. In addition to Barton's description of a 'far-flung network of New Zealanders [artists and curators] operating from various centres' across the globe — a figure of contact that emerged in the context of the negation of distance and is discussed in the first half of this chapter,[234] I have identified two further (con)texts in which a consideration of Upritchard's practice occurs within a narrative frame that posits contact, rather than distance, as the setting, milieu, or underlying condition for the production of contemporary New Zealand art. Additionally, I have identified one further (con)text in which Upritchard's practice has been discussed and which could also be (re)considered as contributing to a contemporary art(-historical) discourse of contact, insofar as it can be understood as constituting a reading of contemporary New Zealand and/or Māori art in (albeit largely implicit) terms of transcultural contact. Until now, none of these three (con)texts, which I will discuss in some detail below, have been identified with the (re)turn to a contemporary art(-historical) discourse of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context. Indeed, it was only in the process of writing and reflecting upon this chapter that I realised they do in fact speak of contact.

The first of these contexts is the national identity crisis of postmillennial sculpture in New Zealand as described by Michael Dunn in the 2008 edition of his book *New Zealand Sculpture*, which was published two years after Barton's description of a 'far-flung network'.[235] Dunn opens the book's final chapter

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[234] Barton introduces the figure of a 'far-flung network' under the sub-heading 'No More Distance', in her article 'State of the Art', pp. 34–35.

[235] See Dunn, 'Crisis of Identity: Sculpture since 2000', pp. 168–69. See also pp. 368–69, and especially n. 155, of this chapter above.

'Crisis of Identity' with a description of the ostensibly new global situtation of New Zealand sculptors, who, in the twenty-first century, work in (relation to) a 'crowded international field' of contemporary artists, a situation which, in Dunn's view, abated — or indeed was indicative of the abatement of — the negative effects of geographical distance that had been experienced by those involved in the local New Zealand art world(s) in the twentieth century:

> With ever cheaper international air travel, sculptors, their patrons and critics travel more, see more major shows and biennales and are more informed about current developments than ever before. Access to the Internet has further ensured a speedy flow of ideas and images from prominent art institutions and dealer galleries, as well as artists' studios around the globe, in a way not previously possible. For New Zealand sculptors, the former anxiety about their distance from major art centres has been replaced by a fear of non-inclusion in the current pantheon of recognised contemporary artists.[236]

In highlighting the diminished role of distance in the discourse and production of postmillennial New Zealand sculpture, Dunn in fact describes a contact situation — a situation that is characterised by the intensification of the New Zealand sculptor's (experience of) proximity and/or connectedness to artists, art works, and art worlds across the globe. Dunn's description is comparable to Barton's contemporaneous description of the conditions in which a 'far-flung network' of New Zealand artists emerged on the one hand,[237] and to Pound's much earlier description of the recession of ((the necessity of) a discourse of) distance in the Aotearoa/New Zealand (art historiographical) context on the other.[238] Common to both Dunn's and Barton's description of the contact

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[236] Dunn, 'Crisis of Identity', p. 168.

[237] Dunn's description of the intensification of the global connectedness of New Zealand sculptors — the increase in their frequency of travel in conjunction with the 'speedy flow of ideas and [virtual] images' of art from 'around the globe' — is comparable to Barton's contemporaneous description of the materialisation and embodiment of a free-flowing contact between the local art world(s) in Aotearoa/New Zealand and art worlds located elsewhere, which she envisaged more concretely as a 'far-flung network of New Zealanders operating from various centres' across the globe, in her 2006 article 'State of the Art', p. 34.

[238] Dunn's description also sounds to me like an updated and more elaborate version of Pound's much earlier description, published in 1992, more than fifteen years prior to Dunn's, of a transformation of the quotidian experience of relative (inter)national distances, which opened up new opportunities for New Zealand artists and thereby had

situation of contemporary New Zealand art is a willingness to not only observe but also pronounce the passing of distance: according to Dunn, 'the former anxiety about distance […] has [already] been replaced'; and according to Barton, distance is no more.[239] In each of their accounts, contact is the new status quo.

The second of these contexts is the problem of the unsettled identity of contemporary New Zealand art in an era of global migration as described by curator Natasha Conland in her 2005 article 'Passing through: A Base in New Zealand Art'.[240] While acknowledging the increasing collapse of distance between the local art world(s) in Aotearoa/New Zealand and those located elsewhere, which, in Conland's account, has been occurring in part under the pressure of '[m]igratory forces [that] are taking artists on and off shore at a greater rate than ever before', Conland does not simply assume that such a collapse will necessarily bring an end to the melancholic discourse of distance characteristic of New Zealand art historiography, but rather proposes that 'contemporary New Zealand art could be interpreted' in terms of contact for the purpose of 'remaking […] the theme of distance which has dogged the history of New Zealand art'.[241] This proposal occurs, somewhat strangely, in the midst of a discussion of Upritchard's 'mock collections of objects' — 'homemade dead things and animated old things' — which, in Conland's

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an effect on the development of art in New Zealand: 'So, with the advent of the aeroplane, and of telecommunications, countries which once seemed in a different world from New Zealand may become its neighbours in a landscape whose dimensions are shrunk'. Pound, 'Distance Looks our Way', p. 28. For Pound, the diminished role of distance in the New Zealand art world context was a reason for arguing that a discourse of distance should also play a diminished role in the historiography of New Zealand art.

[239] Dunn, 'Crisis of Identity', p. 168; as I have noted (in n. 92, on pp. 339–40, and in n. 234, on p. 404) above, Barton introduces and discusses the figure of a 'far-flung network' under the sub-heading 'No More Distance', in her article 'State of the Art', pp. 34–35.

[240] In her review of the work of seven New Zealand artists, entitled 'Passing through: A Base in New Zealand Art', Conland does not posit the unsettling of the identity of contemporary New Zealand art that has occurred in the context of global migration as a crisis of identity, as Dunn chose to describe the problem several years later, but as a question of identity: 'What is or can be New Zealand art within a transitional culture?' (p. 86).

[241] Ibid., p. 86.

reading, are indicative of 'a brilliant tradition of recycling in New Zealand's art — of collecting and liberating that which is collected through a process of remaking'.[242] Conland interprets this tradition of remaking as a practice of appropriation, which she understands in turn as a subjective and material process of 'dissolving [an object's] distance' or, conversely, of reassembling or reincorporating old and worn objects, cast-off garments, and discarded materials so as to bring them into proximity with the (body of the) viewer in the present. Or in other words, Conland understands such a practice of appropriation as the fabrication of an encounter between subject and object, past and present, history and contemporaneity — that is, she understands appropriation in terms of contact.

The last of these three contexts is Robert Leonard's reading of the New Zealand Gothic turn, a movement which he first described in his 2008 treatise entitled 'Hello Darkness'. Although in this text Leonard does not generally use the word "contact" in his discussion of the work of certain artists (including Upritchard) who in his view comprise a national gothic canon, he does explicitly discuss Shane Cotton's painting practice in terms of contact.[243] With recourse to the Surrealist's motto of 'the chance encounter […] of a sewing machine and an umbrella', Leonard draws a comparison between Cotton's practice of 'crashing together Maori and Pakeha image fragments' and Surrealism's free association of imagery and objects.[244] In Leonard's reading, the surreal

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[242] Conland, 'Passing through', p. 86. Conland explores this 'brilliant tradition of recycling in New Zealand's art', and in Upritchard's practice in particular, in much more detail in her subsequent article 'An Artist's Economy'.

[243] In his 2008 treatise on the New Zealand Gothic movement entitled 'Hello Darkness', Leonard implicitly speaks of transcultural contact between Māori and Pākehā when he discusses biculturalism as a context for the emergence of the New Zealand Gothic movement, although he does not use the word "contact" in this discussion. See for example Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', para. 3 of 22.

[244] 'Cotton […] was free-associating with images, crashing together Maori and Pakeha image fragments in the manner of Lautréamont's notorious "chance encounter on a dissecting table of a sewing machine and an umbrella".' Robert Leonard, 'The Treachery of Images', in *Shane Cotton: The Hanging Sky* (Christchurch: CAG, 2013) <https://robertleonard.org/shane-cotton-the-treachery-of-images/> [accessed 18 May 2023], para. 7 of 23. This is a restatement of the reading of Cotton's painting practice presented by Leonard in 'Hello Darkness', para. 19 of 22: 'Replaying "contact", [Cotton's] collisions operate like the infamous "chance encounter of an umbrella and a

'collisions' of indigenous and settler visual cultures evident in Cotton's paintings amount to a '[r]eplaying [of Māori–Pākehā] "contact"' in the domain of representation.[245] Indeed, in Leonard's account, Cotton's hybrid imagery not only constitutes 'a new ['cultural-surrealist'] idiom […] called "Maori Gothic"', which allows Cotton to explore 'a collective historical–cultural [rather than 'psychosexual'] unconscious',[246] but is also itself indicative of 'the epistemological crisis that came with [(settler) colonial] contact, a crisis that split open signs, tearing signifier from signified, turning images into traitors' — a crisis, that is, of (post)modernity, in which, at least in Leonard's account, the ostensibly stable tradition of Māori visual cultural forms is challenged.[247] In describing the hybridity of Cotton's imagery as the result of a forceful and violent engagement of Māori and Pākehā visual cultures, Leonard transposes the enactment of the conflict and violence of colonial and/or transcultural contact from the domains of history and everyday life in (Aotearoa/)New Zealand to the visual semiotic field.[248] While Leonard's admission and

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sewing machine on an operating table".' The well-known simile 'as beautiful as the chance encounter on a dissecting table of a sewing machine and an umbrella', which was adopted by the Surrealists as their motto, is a quotation from Comte de Lautréamont's violent gothic epic *Le Chants de Maldoror*, first published in France and Belgium between 1868 and 1869.

[245] Leonard, 'Hello Darkness', para. 19 of 22. For the full sentence beginning 'Replaying "contact"', see the quotation in n. 244 immediately above.

[246] In 'The Treachery of Images', Leonard describes Cotton as taking a 'speculative cultural-surrealist approach' to painting (para. 8 of 23); moreover, he goes on to claim that, as a result of taking such an approach, 'Cotton has created a new idiom, which he has called "Maori Gothic"' (para. 17 of 23). In both 'Hello Darkness' and 'The Treachery of Images', Leonard compares Cotton's 'cultural-surrealist approach' to Surrealism as such: 'If surrealism typically engages a personal psychosexual unconscious, Cotton's "cultural surrealism" is keyed to a collective historical–cultural unconscious.' ('Hello Darkness', para. 19 of 22); 'If the surrealists had clashed codes to explore the repressed, unfinished business of the psychosexual unconscious, Cotton was doing the same with the post-colonial historical and cultural unconscious.' ('The Treachery of Images', para. 7 of 23).

[247] Leonard, 'The Treachery of Images', para. 22 of 23.

[248] Leonard describes Cotton's hybrid imagery as 'collisions' that result from his practice of 'run[ning] together found images' ('Hello Darkness', para. 19 of 22), or of 'crashing together Maori and Pakeha image fragments' ('The Treachery of Images', para. 7 of 23). He thus imagines Cotton's practice of drawing from, and thereby bringing into contact, two different — and thus ostensibly opposing — visual cultural traditions as a violent and confrontational process. Elsewhere in 'The Treachery of Images', Leonard also speaks of contact in terms of a violent confrontation: his

integration of the (post)colonial violence of Māori–Pākehā contact into art-historical discourse —his refusal, that is, to separate aesthetics from politics — is certainly commendable, in placing such an (over)emphasis on the adversarial aspect of transcultural contact in his interpretation of Cotton's paintings, however, Leonard arguably downplays the less forceful yet fruitful and favourable aspects — the fortuitousness or auspiciousness, and indeed the promise — of a *chance* encounter, and thus, I would argue, circumscribes not only Cotton's surrealist imaginary of contact, but also his own concept of (transcultural) contact, within a certain (exaggeratedly macho) reading of the bicultural politics of Aotearoa/New Zealand.[249]

In identifying these three (con)texts, which on the whole do not speak explicitly of contact but which can nevertheless be understood as contributing

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description of the Surrealist's practice of juxtaposing unexpected objects, images, and/or words as a 'clash[ing] [of] codes' signifies not only a jarring mismatch of representational regimes, but also a violent confrontation between incompatible things (para. 7 of 23); and his description of the 'split[ting] open [of] signs' and the 'tearing [of] signifier from signified' (which sounds to my ear like the phrase "tearing someone limb from limb") that apparently resulted from 'the epistemological crisis that came with [(post)colonial] contact' is fundamentally violent insofar as it describes the destruction rather than the deconstruction of the sign and/or semiotics in (the wake of) the (post)modern context (para. 22 of 23).

[249] Excluded from Leonard's depiction of the violence of transcultural contact, or more specifically, of Māori–Pākehā contact, is any description of the intimacy of contact — of, that is, the closeness, friendship, affection, desire, affinity, and amity which is also involved in, and is indeed a driver of, transcultural contact, and which can potentially engender amicable and amorous transcultural relations, and thus in turn hybridised (visual) cultural and/or artistic forms, which do not necessarily result from the force of violence but of desire; which is not to say, of course, that intimate (transcultural) contact precludes violence and is thus opposed to, or is the opposite of, violent transcultural encounter, nor that transcultural violence is not itself intimate or sexual. Symptomatic of Leonard's asymmetrical reading of transcultural contact is his opposition of the 'personal psychosexual unconscious' of the Surrealist's surrealism and the 'collective historical–cultural unconscious' of 'Cotton's "cultural surrealism"' ('Hello Darkness', para. 19 of 22); in constructing such an opposition, Leonard effectively excludes a consideration of the psychosexual — or intimate — aspect of ((art) histories of) transcultural contact. Such asymmetricality is not limited to Leonard's reading of transcultural contact, however, but appears to typify Leonard's understanding, or at least his description, of contact more generally speaking; in 'Nostalgia for Intimacy', for example, Leonard also emphasises the interpersonal conflict — the 'feuding', 'frustrati[on]', and 'oppressi[on]' (p. 9) — that frequently occurred in a context of intimacy, or intimate contact, between exclusively Pākehā artists, art historians, and curators in the New Zealand art world of the late twentieth century; Māori artists and/or art world actors are notably absent from his account.

to a discourse of contact in the ways that I have described above, this chapter has demonstrated the extensiveness of the (re)turn to a contemporary art (-historical) discourse of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, beyond the literature that is directly, or more immediately, associated with the (re)turn explored in both Chapter 1 and the opening of Chapter 2. The present chapter has thus identified at least two areas of future research. First, is a more thorough analysis of the contemporary turn away from a discourse of distance evident in both Dunn's and Conland's, and not only Barton's, Leonard's, and Pound's, texts. Because this turn in the historiography of New Zealand art is more extensive than it had at first appeared in my view, any further analysis of this turn would obviously benefit from a broader and more systematic approach to the literature of contemporary New Zealand art (history), so as to arrive at a fuller description of this turn in all its complexity. Second, is the possibility, suggested by Conland, of a rereading of contemporary New Zealand art in terms of contact, to be undertaken for the purpose of deconstructing the discourse of distance that has until very recently dominated New Zealand art historiography. Conland's reading of collecting and recycling practices and Leonard's reading of a national gothic sensibility each suggest the potential for such a rereading — for, that is, an interpretation which could allow contemporary art itself to speak of and to the travelling concept of contact, even if contact is not the explicit subject of a particular art work and/or practice.

In addition to its identification of an implicit discourse of contact in contemporary New Zealand art(-historical) literature, this chapter has raised a question concerning an aesthetic of contact. This question initially emerged from my observation of a certain paradox in the art-historical and art-critical reception of Upritchard, namely that while Upritchard's work has generally been aestheticised, rather than historicised, as New Zealand and/or contemporary art, the aesthetic specificity of her artistic practice has been largely overlooked. While this chapter has not attempted to redress such a disregard of the aesthetic in the case of Upritchard, an objective that would require a closer and more substantial (re)reading of Upritchard's work than this chapter, with its necessarily limited historiographical scope, could afford, it has

nevertheless presented an argument intended to lay the groundwork for a future interpretation of Upritchard's practice in terms of an aesthetic of contact. Because this argument — which is ultimately an argument for a broader art-historical understanding of contact, beyond the concept and subject of transcultural contact, which has thus far dominated the study of contact within the discipline of Art History — also contributes significantly to the overall argument of this thesis, I will not rehearse it again here. Rather, it will be discussed in some detail in the Conclusion of the thesis.



Figure 3.1 Liz Maw, *Francis Upritchard*, 2010, oil on board, 2090 × 1130 mm, Ivan Anthony.



Figure 3.2 Advertisement for Patrons of New Zealand at Venice and Creative New Zealand, picturing (L–R) Head of Patrons Dayle Mace, Judy Millar, Dame Jenny Gibbs, and Francis Upritchard celebrating the opening of the New Zealand exhibitions at the 53rd Venice Biennale, Venice, 2009.



Figure 3.3 Liz Maw, *Francis Upritchard*, 2010, installation view, Liz Maw, 'Francis Upritchard', Artspace NZ, 2010–11.



Figure 3.4 Francis Upritchard, *Sloth Creature,* 2004, mixed media, 2900 × 820 × 550 mm, installation view, 'Walters Prize 2006', Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, 2006.

The image originally presented here has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 3.5 Francis Upritchard, *Brown Sloth Creature,* 2005, mixed media, 1950 × 780 × 650 mm, close-up of gloved hand wearing ring made by jeweller Karl Fritsch.

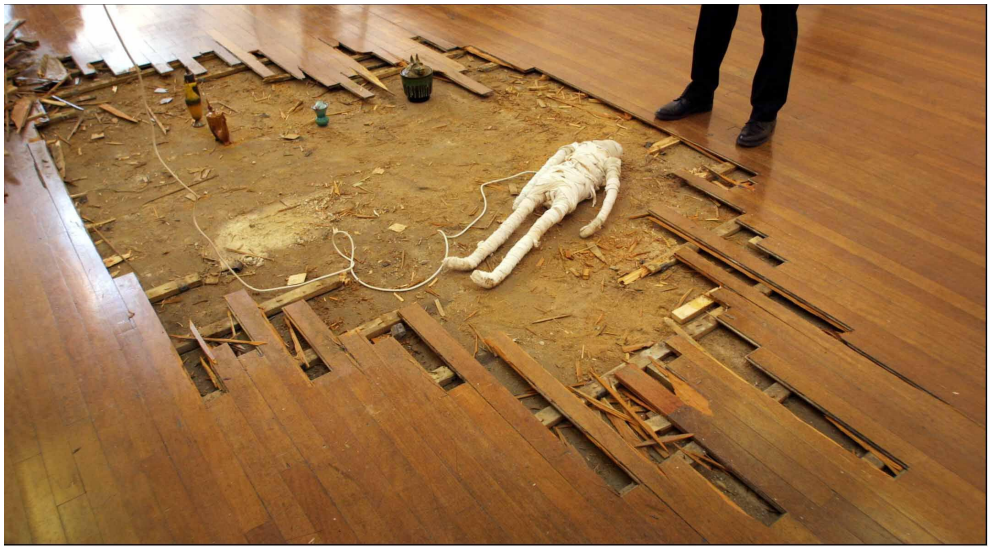


Figure 3.6 Francis Upritchard, *Save Yourself,* 2003, mixed media, 440 × 1270 × 370 mm, installation view, 'Beck's Futures 2003', Institute of Contemporary Arts, London, 2003.



Figure 3.7 Installation view of works by Francis Upritchard in 'New Blood: New Young Artists, New Acquisitions', Saatchi Gallery, London, 2004, showing a close-up of *Traveller's Collection*, 2003 (in the foreground), and a partial view of *Save Yourself*, 2003 (on the floor in the background).

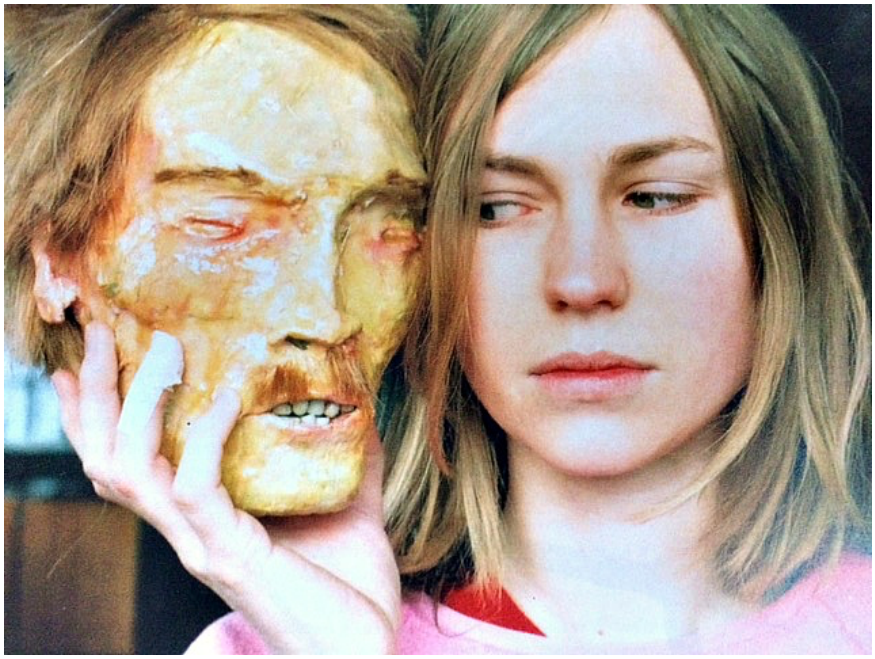


Figure 3.8 Francis Upritchard in her studio at Bart Wells Institute, London, holding Francis Upritchard, *Untitled Head (Peter Holmes)*, 2002, mixed media, 380 × 190 × 210 mm, 2003/8, Govett-Brewster Art Gallery.



Figure 3.9 Francis Upritchard, *Heads and Patu,* 2003, mixed media, installation view, 'Telecom Prospect 2004: New Art New Zealand', Adam Art Gallery, 2004, showing the heads *Untitled (Peter Holmes)*, 2002 (left) and *Head*, 2003 (right).



Figure 3.10 Francis Upritchard, *Jealous Saboteurs,* 2005, hockey sticks, plastic, modelling materials, various dimensions, 2006/12/4.1-8, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki.



(a)



(b)

Figure 3.11 Installation views of Francis Upritchard, 'Doomed, Doomed, All Doomed', Artspace NZ, 2005, showing a cabinet of works, some of which were subsequently exhibited in 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2012: (a) the Ancestral Boxes *Boat and Hand*, 2004 (bottom-centre), and *No Name II*, 2004 (bottom-right); (b) and the Pākehā Head *Untitled*, *c*. 2001–03 (bottom-right).

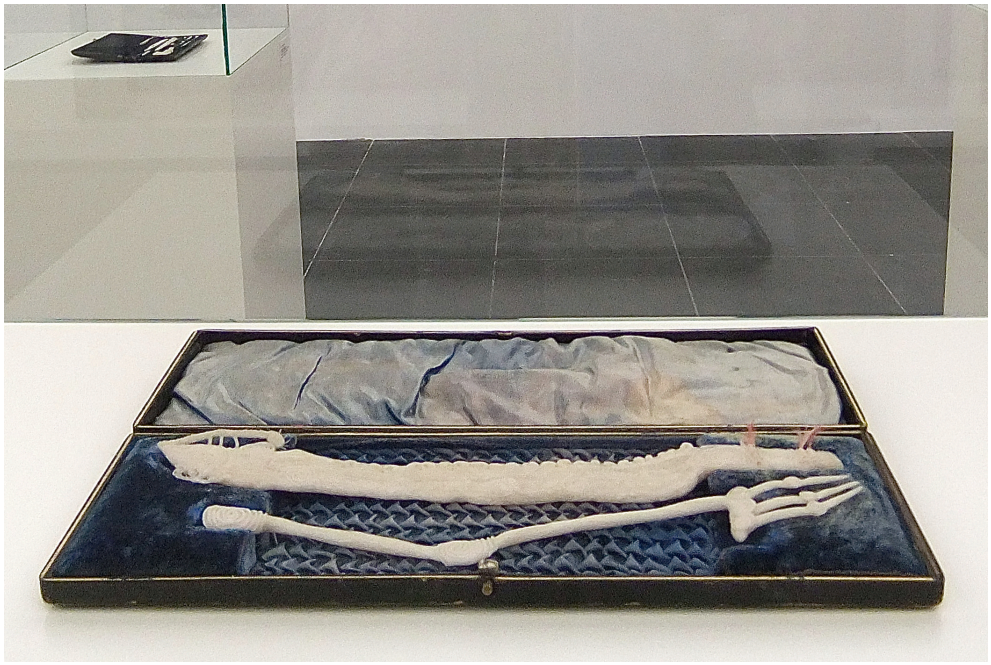


Figure 3.12 Francis Upritchard*, Boat and Hand*, 2004, found box, polymer clay, feather, 250 × 366 × 15 mm (open in the foreground), installation view, 'Contact: Artists from Aotearoa/New Zealand', Frankfurter Kunstverein, 2012, including (in the background) *No Name II*, 2004.

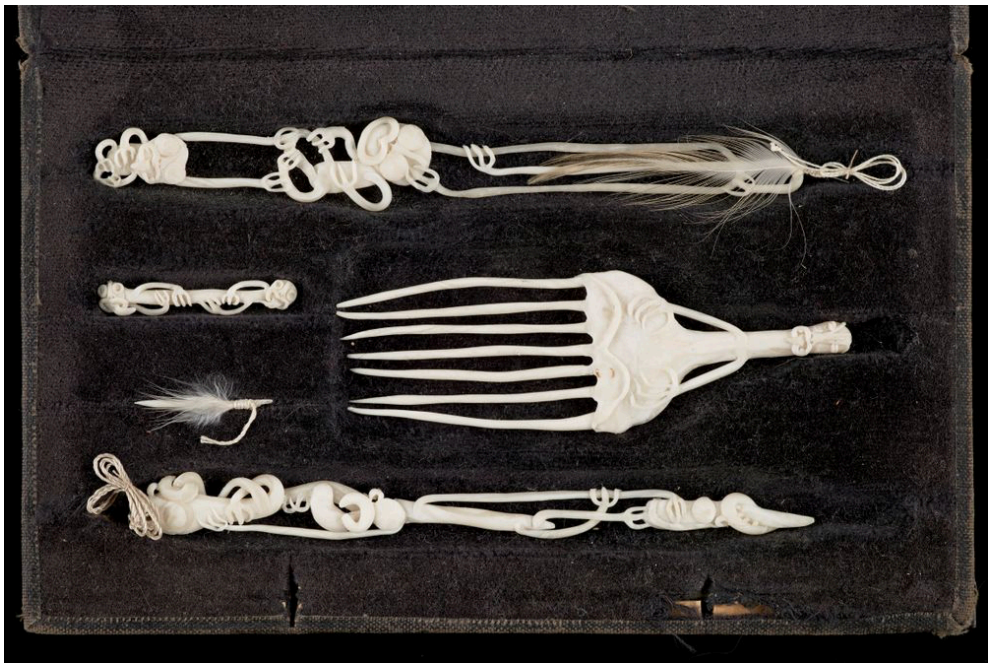


Figure 3.13 Francis Upritchard*, Finex Special with Comb (Ancestral Box)*, 2004, found box, polymer clay, string, feather, 210 × 170 × 20 mm, Te Papa.



Figure 3.14 Francis Upritchard, 'rainwob i', Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, 2008, installation view, showing *Pointer (Reacher)*, 2008 (left foreground).

The image originally presented here has been removed by the author of this thesis for copyright reasons.

Figure 3.15 Francis Upritchard, 'rainwob ii', Artspace, Sydney, 2008, installation view.



Figure 3.16 Francis Upritchard, *Pointer (Reacher)*, 2008, polymer clay, steel and foil armature, paint, wood, 505 × 200 × 325 mm, Ivan Anthony.



Figure 3.17 Francis Upritchard, *Dancers,* 2009, installation view, 'Save Yourself', 53rd Venice Biennale, Palazzo Mangilli-Valmarana, Venice, 2009, showing *Bone Dancer*, 2009 (centre foreground).



Figure 3.18 Installation view of 'New Zealand at the Venice Biennale 2009', Te Papa, 2010, showing the three works by Francis Upritchard that comprised 'Save Yourself', 53rd Venice Biennale, Palazzo Mangilli-Valmarana, Venice, 2009: *Lonely* (background), *Long* (centre), and *Dancers* (right foreground).



Figure 3.19 Francis Upritchard, *Bone Dancer*, 2009, polymer clay, steel and foil armature, paint, silk scarf, 540 × 145 × 330 mm, Te Papa.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore a discourse of contact in the historiography of New Zealand art. It began, on the one hand, as an attempt to make sense of the appearance and prominence of the word "contact" in the vocabulary of contemporary art(-historical) discourse produced in (relation to) the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, which, as Chapter 1 has shown, not only appeared with a certain frequency in association with both the Art History Programme's institution of 'a newly engaged art history' at VUW and the recent re-presentation and reinterpretation of Jim Allen's post-object art practice, but was also invested with a certain significance in this contemporary context.[1] And on the other hand, it began as an attempt to make sense of the disappearance of a discourse of contact in our disciplinary knowledge of the twentieth-century historiography of New Zealand art — a discourse which is, as Chapter 2 has shown by tracing the word "contact" throughout the archive of New Zealand art history, in fact evident in the New Zealand art-historical literature of this period even though it has been effectively disappeared from the dominant reading of this archive by a certain hermeneutic tradition bemoaning, and thereby reiterating and reinscribing, a mythopoetic and ostensibly melancholic and nationalist discourse of distance, with which contact can in fact be considered a twin discourse, insofar as the discourses of contact and distance are closely entwined in these texts. It ended by exploring the entanglement of these twin discourses in the historiography of New Zealand-born expatriate artist Francis Upritchard, whose contemporary art practice is, as Chapter 3 has shown, situated peculiarly and paradoxically at the nexus of the discursive

[1] Batchen, 'Art History Research Cluster', para. 4 of 24.

paradigms of distance and contact, and whose reception has not only registered a discursive shift from distance to contact, but has also highlighted the historical specificity of the art-historical discourses of expatriatism and distance, and thus of canonical New Zealand art history, itself.

Far from 'a population of dispersed events', the research presented here has found that the recurrence of the word "contact" in the discourse of contemporary art(-historical) practice in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context amasses to, and is indicative of, a turn — which, in the light of my tracing of an earlier discourse of contact in Chapter 2, can also, and perhaps more accurately, be regarded as a *re*turn — to a discourse of contact in the historiography of New Zealand art.[2] Indeed, my reading of the literature and/or discourse associated with the three interrelated contemporary art(-historical) projects examined in Chapter 1 has shown how in this bicultural–national context the word "contact" has come to signify a collective disciplinary desire to move away from the dominant (and often default) national paradigm of Art History, within which the majority of scholarship on the history of art and visual culture in New Zealand had, until recently, been conducted, and to move instead towards the task of (re)writing more inclusive and connective unnational histories of art, from *without*, rather than within, the framework of the nation state of New Zealand and its dominant settler-colonial perspective. In my analysis of the broad and almost all-encompassing purpose with which an art history of contact has been cumulatively tasked in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, that is, to redress the historical and ongoing marginalisation and exclusion of the art and artists of the Pacific on all fronts and in all forms, the term "contact" appeared to me to be at once overburdened, as a metaphor for everything that is at risk of breaking down to become an empty metaphor, and to be underexamined, freighted with unquestioned assumptions concerning the ostensible postcoloniality and post-nationalism of contact as an art-historical framework. Chapter 1 thus raised crucial questions concerning the inherent criticality of contact as an art-historical concept and framework.

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[2] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, p. 22.

My questioning of the contemporary turn towards an art-historical discourse of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, while in some senses a critique, hopes to complement the emergent project of an art history of contact in this particular national context. To this end, my examination of this collective endeavour has identified several potential starting points from which to develop new approaches to the vital and ongoing task of reframing and deconstructing the Eurocentric and settler-centric framework of the canonical and national(ist) histories of New Zealand art, which have for so long excluded the work of artists-Māori, artists-Pasifika, artists-Asian, as well as that of artist-women and Euro-American immigrant artists amongst others.

One point of departure that could open up paths to new research would be to begin, for example, by questioning and revising the AHRC's Treaty-based model of an art history of contact. As I have argued throughout this thesis, an art history of contact which simply adopts the Treaty as a model of transcultural contact, which inevitably privileges the two Treaty peoples, Māori and Pākehā, risks further entrenching a certain heirarchy of race, which has arguably enforced the under-representation of Pasifika and Asian artists in the historiography of New Zealand art. Just as the challenge of writing art histories in and of the global contemporary calls art historians to address the methodological implications of expanding the canon, I would argue that writing art histories of contact in and of the Aotearoa/New Zealand context calls art historians to address the problem of expanding their notion of transcultural contact beyond that modelled by the (bi)cultural politics that have arisen out of the institution of the Treaty, a process which has resulted in a certain national(ist) mode of biculturalism, which, as historians have observed, has become a 'foundational state ideology' of Aotearoa/New Zealand.[3]

Moreover, my description of this disciplinary turn towards a discourse of contact in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context constitutes a new, hitherto unacknowledged, object of study in the field of Art History, and thus comprises an original contribution of this thesis to both the historiography of New Zealand art

[3] Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire*, p. 65.

and to the art history of the global contemporary. In order to fully realise this contribution, however, further research is required. On the one hand, there is much work that remains to be done to situate the art history of contact that was proposed in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context in relation to other contemporary art histories of contact which have either been proposed or have emerged in other localities and non-English language contexts across the globe. An obvious starting point would be a comparative analysis of the two contemporaneous proposals for an art history of contact which were put forward by the AHRC and by the Viennese art historian Christian Kravagna. On the other hand, there is much work that remains to be done in order to historicise the literature of this turn, not only in relation to an earlier New Zealand art-historical discourse of contact, as I have begun to do in Chapter 2 of this thesis, but also in relation to the many and diverse postcolonial art histories of cross-cultural contact that have been produced in a regional context by scholars in and/or of the art of Aotearoa/New Zealand, Australia, and the Pacific and/or Oceania, in the wake of Bernard Smith's foundational postcolonial art-historical text *European Vision and the South Pacific, 1768–1850*, first published in 1960.[4]

This latter task, which has unfortunately fallen outside of the scope of the present research project, might begin by assessing the proposal for an art history of contact put forward by the AHRC at VUW in light of the achievements of these previous regionally specific art histories of contact. Here I am thinking not only of what Rex Butler has called the radical revisionist histories of Australasian art, that is, the post-modern re-readings of the histories of art, including the art histories of contact, in Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific that were performed in the 1990s and 2000s by scholars such as Leonard Bell, Ian Burn, Ann Stephen, and Nicholas Thomas, but also the many empirical studies that examine the rich complexity and dynamism of indigenous art in contact, such as Roger Neich's survey

[4] The legacy of Bernard Smith's art-historical project, set out in his pioneering study of 'European art in contact with the Pacific', as it was described in the second paragraph of his 1959 Introduction to the first edition of *European Vision*, continues to be re-evaluated, as is attested by the recently published third edition of his book, introduced by Sheridan Palmer and Greg Lehman: Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 3rd edn (Carlton, Vic.: Miegunyah Press, 2022).

of the rapid development and decline of a tradition of figurative painting in Māori art in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[5] Indeed, one might begin

[5] Roger Neich, *Painted Histories: Early Maori Figurative Painting* (Auckland: Auckland UP, 1994). Australian art historian Rex Butler provides a survey of these re-readings in *Radical Revisionism: An Anthology of Writings on Australian Art*, ed. by Rex Butler (Brisbane: IMA, 2005), which is the companion volume of *What is Appropriation?: An Anthology of Writings on Australian Art in the 1980s and 1990s*, ed. by Rex Butler (Brisbane: IMA, 2004). In *Radical Revisionism*, Butler examines the history of Australian art written in the 1990s and 2000s, in the wake of the appropriation art of the 1980s. This history, Butler argues, was structured by the logic of appropriation that emerged as a dynamic of the work of art in the 1980s, and was thus 'possible only after appropriation. It is a history that is interested in the art of the past only insofar as it is rewritten from the perspective of the present. It is a history […] that sees the artists of the past speaking across what we might call "time-like separated" areas to contemporary issues. In other words […] it is a history that conceives of the artists of the past as though they were already post-modernists, already reacting in their work to the same concerns that the artists of today do. It is a history that sees the artists of the past already responding to such matters as the fictionality of national identity, the unjustifiability of the doctrine of terra nullius and the rights of women. And it is this general phenomenon, which we say is the true consequence of appropriation, that we call *revisionism* here. It is a revisionism that currently dominates the reception of both contemporary and historical Australian art, and that involves a re-reading as post-modern of virtually the entire canon of Australian art.' (Butler 2005: 9) This same revisionism is also evident in the histories of New Zealand art, albeit to a lesser extent. Butler includes New Zealand art historian Leonard Bell in his brief survey of these revisionist accounts, which effectively re-read and thereby re-wrote the art histories of contact in Australia and New Zealand. Of the article Leonard Bell, 'Colonial Eyes Transformed: Looking at/in Paintings: An Exploratory Essay', *ANZJA*, 1.1 (2000), 42–64, Butler summarily observes: 'The "picturesque" travel artist Augustus Earle portrays the "reliance" of white explorers on "Aboriginal knowledge", they [sic] way they first saw Australia through Indigenous eyes'. (Butler 2005: 10). For further examples of comparable revisionist histories written by Bell, see his studies of the role that Māori and/or indigenous people(s) have played in co-constructing ostensibly "European" images of Māori and/or indigenous people(s): Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori, 1840–1914* (1992); and Bell, 'Looking at Goldie', in Thomas and Losche, *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific* (1999). In his survey of 'History Backwards', Butler also includes an essay written by the artist Ian Burn, first published as Ian Burn, 'Landscape and Life: Nolan and the Australian Tradition', *Age Monthly Reviews*, August 1984, and subsequently published as Ian Burn, 'Sidney Nolan: Landscape and Modern Life', in *Dialogue: Writings in Art History*, ed. by Ian Burn (Sydney, NSW: Allen ¶ Unwin, 1991), a book which was introduced by Geoffrey Batchen and also includes a chapter entitled 'The Transfiguration of Albert Namatjira', an essay co-authored by Ann Stephen and originally published in 1986, on the same subject as their later co-authored text, Ian Burn and Ann Stephen, 'Namatjira's White Mask: A Partial Interpretation', in *The Heritage of Namatjira*, ed. by M. Ruth Megaw (Melbourne, Vic.: Heinemann, 1992), which was included by Butler in his survey of revisinist histories. There is a question here as to how the legacy of these revisionist histories has shaped the formulation of the AHRC's proposal for an art history of contact. During his time as director of the AHRC, Batchen wrote about Ian Burn, and cited Burn's text 'Sidney Nolan: Landscape and Modern Life', in Batchen, 'Guest Editorial: Local Modernisms', *World Art*, 4 (2014), 7–15; and he invited Ann Stephen to visit VUW in

by asking: how could an art history of contact bridge the chasm that exists between New Zealand art history and Māori art history?

While finding that the word, subject, and concept of "contact" has been invested with a certain significance in the contemporary art(-historical) discourse of the Aotearoa/New Zealand context, that it carries, and is perhaps overburdened with, the promise of an unnational, "unNew Zealand", history of art, the research presented here has also found that contact is not only a contemporary discourse of New Zealand art historiography, and has thus argued that an art history of contact might not necessarily deliver the postcolonial and post-national histories of art as anticipated. In tracing the appearance of the word "contact" — and to a lesser extent the word "distance" — in the literature that constitutes the archive of twentieth-century New Zealand art history, I have not only shown in Chapter 2 that a discourse of contact is legible in the archive, but also that contact, like distance, is a perennial theme of New Zealand art historiography. In its identification of a double discourse of distance *and* contact, this thesis has registered a counter impression of the New Zealand art-historical archive, which has most often been characterised as being excessively concerned with the New Zealand artist's 'distance and isolation from Europe'.[6] This counter impression constitutes a revision of our disciplinary knowledge of the archive in question, so that it is now possible to say that contact is a recurrent and long-standing and not only a postcolonial and contemporary concern of New Zealand art historiography.

In examining the literature and discourses comprising the reception of contemporary New Zealand expatriate artist-woman Francis Upritchard in the final chapter of this thesis, I have presented the first analysis of the historiography of Upritchard's practice, and, moreover, of its significance in and to New Zealand art historiography. I have shown how Upritchard has been positioned peculiarly at the nexus of the two art-historiographical paradigms of distance and contact, which, I have argued, makes her a pivotal figure in the contemporary (re)turn to an art-

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February 2011, when she delivered a seminar on 'the problem of writing and curating a national history of modernism', which was the first event to be held under the auspices of the AHRC. See Batchen, 'Art History Research Cluster', paras 8–9 of 24, on the first page of Appendix 1, p. 434.

[6] Pound, 'Distance Looks our Way', p. 21.

historical discourse of contact that was studied in the first chapter of this thesis. My reading of Upritchard did not straightforwardly privilege a discourse of contact over distance, but rather pointed to a lack of criticality in the emphasis on contact and the contemporary. While Upritchard's favourable reception as an expatriate artist may be read as a sign of the triumph of (a discourse of) contact over distance, or indeed of the ascendancy of the global contemporary context over the national paradigm of Art History and the concomitant obsoletion of the disciplinary framework of the nation state and its practice of enforcing the state border as an arbitrary yet highly symbolic mode of exclusion, and thus as a sign of a certain progress, of a disciplinary shift away from the ethnocentric prejudices of national chauvinism and towards inclusiveness, this thesis has argued that despite this positive shift in attitude towards the expatriate, Upritchard is not necessarily guaranteed a place in the history of art. Indeed, as I have argued throughout this thesis, neither the shift to an art history of the contemporary nor the (re)turn to an art history of contact inevitably entails the inclusion of artists who have, or would have, been excluded from Euro-American canonical and/or national(ist) histories of art.

Importantly, Chapter 3 presented an argument concerning Upritchard's practice and an aesthetic of contact. This argument was at once elaborate and dispersed, insofar as it was not presented in a defined or linear format but rather occurred in various discussions throughout the chapter. For this reason, and because it makes a significant contribution to the overall contribution of this thesis to rethinking the concept of contact in New Zealand art historiography, I will rehearse it again here by way of concluding.

This argument concerning an aesthetic of contact is rooted in my analysis of a particular binary interpretation of Upritchard's practice, which, as I have shown in the subsection immediately prior to the conclusions of Chapter 3, arose as an explanatory force in the face of an apparent change in the direction of Upritchard's practice from the postcolonial to the contemporary. Such an interpretation, I have argued, tends to categorise individual works as either postcolonial, and thus concerned with contact, or as contemporary, and thus unconcerned with contact, and thereby conflates contact, which it tends to reduce to the anthropological

paradigm of cultural contact, with the postcolonial. As I have shown in my discussion entitled 'Upritchard and (Localised Legacies of) Surrealism' and have argued elsewhere, this binary interpretation maps onto a critical geopolitical divide in the reception of Upritchard, who, broadly speaking, has been received in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context as a contemporary New Zealand artist whose work speaks to the postcolonial condition, and in the global contemporary context as an unmarked contemporary artist whose work speaks to the ostensibly more universal condition of global contemporaneity. I have argued, moreover, that this hermeneutic binary, which structures the discourse on Upritchard's practice by dividing her oeuvre into early postcolonial "New Zealand" works and later "contemporary" works, has had a polarising effect not only on our understanding of Upritchard's practice, but also more specifically on our understanding of its treatment of the subject, concept, and aesthetic of contact.

Contrary to the dominant interpretation of the development of Upritchard's practice, which would have us believe that just as the postcolonial has been ostensibly eclipsed by the global contemporary so Upritchard has also moved on from and/or transcended her concern with (the cultural politics of) Māori–Pākehā contact and thus with the postcolonial, my own schematic reading of Upritchard's oeuvre has suggested that even if we read her works representationally, in terms of subject matter and narrative, then a continuous concern with contact, but not only transcultural contact, is evident across 'the two bodies of [her early and later] work', despite the 'subtle change of direction' that '[her] practice underwent' in 2008.[7] Whereas Upritchard's earlier works are explicitly concerned with the objects and subject of transcultural exchange and encounter or contact, I have argued that her later works also deal with the subject of contact, albeit more implicitly. I have suggested that Upritchard's continuation of her concern with contact across her early and later works could be understood as at once a transposition and a sublimation that has allowed her to continue to work with concerns typically associated with the postcolonial's now ostensibly outmoded 'brand of critique' but under the guise of topics considered more acceptable and appropriate in and to the

[7] Paton, p. 103; Gardner, 'Francis Upritchard', p. 371.

dominant global contemporary art context.[8] I have suggested, moreover, that in sublimating her concern with contact in this manner, Upritchard has also dematerialised her exploration of contact. That is, in shifting her practice away from the postcolonial theatre of transcultural contact, which has tended to focus on 'a narrowed scope of themes' associated with and governed by identity politics,[9] and resituating it clearly within the context and remit of the global contemporary, Upritchard has, in my reading, not only liberated (the interpretation of) her work from the baggage and confines of the postcolonial, but has also set loose her enquiry into contact so that it is no longer bound to either the subject of transcultural contact or a postcolonial aesthetic and is thus free to explore more broadly the concept(s) and aesthetic(s) of contact.

Just as Upritchard has transposed the theme of contact from the context of (post)colonial culture to that of contemporary culture, and has thus made a strategic shift in her treatment of the subject of contact, which is no longer as explicit a subject as it was in her early work, I have suggested that we must not divide (our understanding of) Upritchard's oeuvre into two bodies of work, or limit our understanding of the artist's treatment of contact to overt depictions of transcultural contact and/or cultural difference, but rather we must take a broader view of the ways in which contact operates as an aesthetic dimension of Upritchard's practice. Indeed, I have argued that a close reading of her practice, which focusses on an aesthetic, rather than the representation, of contact, could highlight the ways in which postcolonial and contemporary concerns in fact intersect across the entire body of Upritchard's work, and could thereby counter the polarising effect of the hermeneutic binary that has thus far structured the discourse on her practice and divided our understanding of not only Upritchard's oeuvre but also her practice of contact. I have argued, moreover, that if we read Upritchard's aesthetic practice as that of an artist-woman and take a feminist approach to "the aesthetic", we could begin to broaden our understanding of the

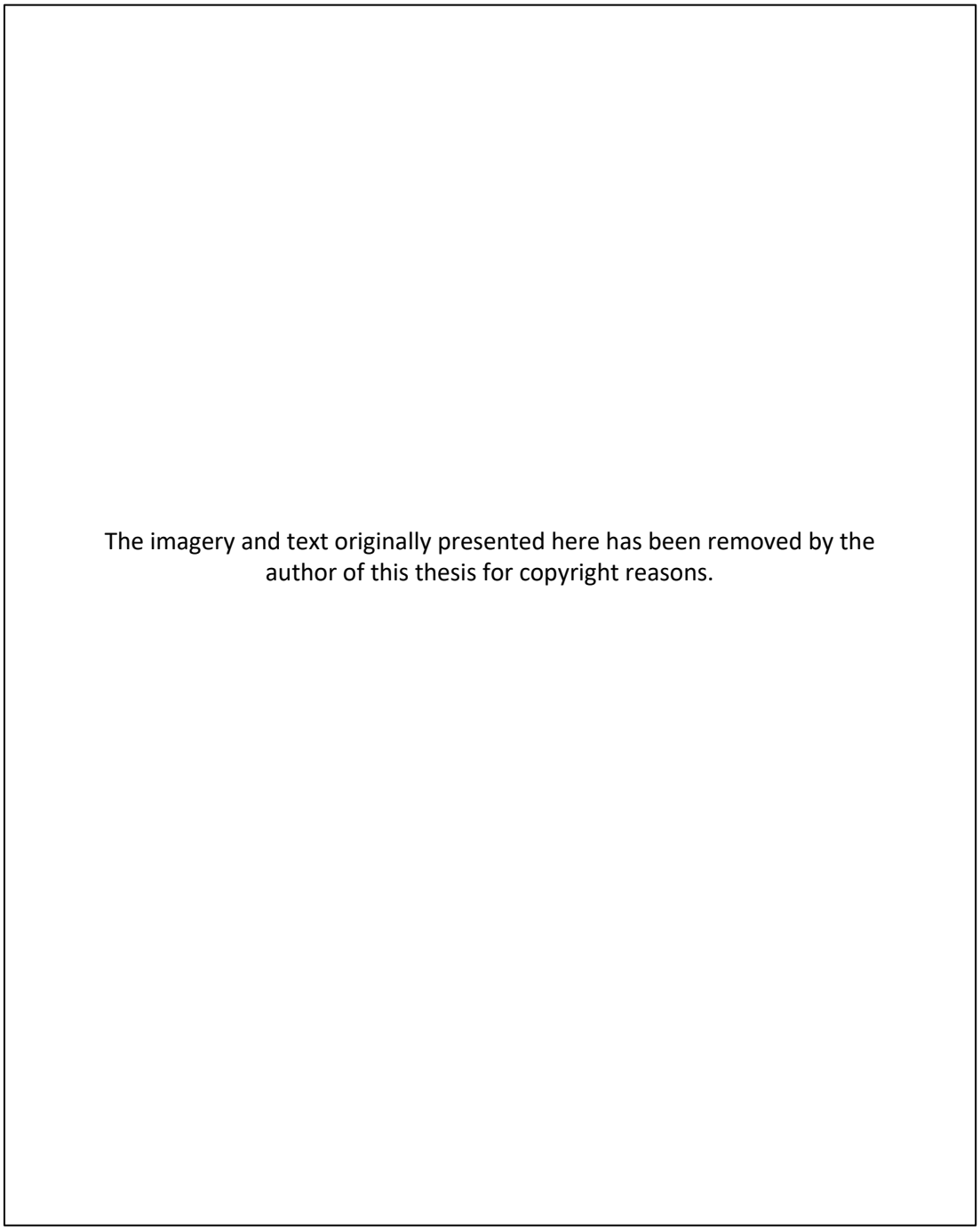
[8] Gardner, 'Whither the Postcolonial?', p. 143.
[9] Ibid., p. 146.

ways in which her work critically engages with a concept of contact that is informed by (the artist's singular experience of) sexual and not only cultural difference.

Appendix 1

Art History Research Cluster Web Page

Screenshot of Geoffrey Batchen, 'Art History Research Cluster', 23 September 2013 <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/sacr/research/art-history/contact-research-cluster> [accessed 8 June 2016]



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