

THE PROBLEM OF LANDSCAPE

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Abstract

This thesis argues for the recognition that the New Zealand obsession with iconic national images is detrimental to the development of a balanced and fully functioning national society. It specifically critiques the way that these images are created, presented and received as a form of visual piety in contemporary New Zealand society. Such images only appear to be national because they are presented to and received by New Zealanders as a unified ‘face of the nation.’ This thesis argues that national icons actually serve to hide the underlying fragmentation of ‘New Zealand’ culture and society and that it is only through critiquing the image that we can be freed from the tyranny of the image that presents a pseudo-*religare*: that which superficially ties us together. The underlying focus of this thesis is that whilst these images were propagated to society to nullify the voice of the dissenter and those different to ‘us’ in the latter half of the Twentieth Century, in actuality the forced acceleration of national culture and identity that these images represent has in fact created an identity paradoxically entrenched in nihilism.

Whilst acknowledging that the development of New Zealand’s national images precedes the latter half of the Twentieth Century this thesis suggests that the current obsession with these images as the ‘face of the nation’ dramatically accelerated to its maturity as what is essentially a ‘patriot’s canon’ aiming to reunite all New Zealanders after the 1970’s. This occurred notably in response to the white unease associated with increasing Maori activism and pacific immigration, and changing government social and economic policies. This thesis will finally argue that such a canon is destined to fail in its attempt to unite because the belief propagated reflects nothing other than what it ‘is’ which is a strained attempt at national identity and community and not anything outside/beyond/behind this attempted unity.

Introduction

This thesis analyses national icons in New Zealand society and culture. It specifically critiques the way these icons are created, presented and received as a form of visual piety in contemporary New Zealand, because without understanding our context New Zealanders cannot understand what ‘we’ are if anything. As New Zealanders, we need to understand our context because our understanding of who ‘we’ are is a reaction to- and a type of hyper-reality of- our context.

In New Zealand, national icons appear to be common and furthermore they appear to be real because they are both presented to and received by New Zealanders as a unified ‘face of the nation.’ A variety of national images- the New Zealand Flag, the Silver Fern, the *Koru*- as universal ‘New Zealand’ emblems are taken to represent New Zealand, and New Zealand society on a global scale. Furthermore, these national images are perceived to be an integral facet of New Zealand culture and identity. But this thesis argues that national icons actually serve to hide the underlying fragmentation of ‘New Zealand’ culture and society and it is only through critiquing the icon that that we can be freed of the tyranny of the image that presents a pseudo-*religare*- that which superficially binds us together. This thesis will also investigate the New Zealand need for iconography as visual piety and critique both what such icons essentially represent and the reasoning behind the plethora of ‘Kiwi’ icons.

Contemporary ‘modern’ New Zealand society is continually and increasingly being challenged by a variety of groups to contest historical preconceptions of national identity and culture. Recent events such as the Foreshore and Seabed debate and public discussion over the exclusion of a ‘New Zealander’ category in the 2006 census serve to highlight this suggestion. This thesis will argue that such events are perceived for the most part as an act of dissent from the ‘modern’ New Zealand collective psyche, in other words the general rhetoric is that what is ‘New Zealand’ is beginning to fragment. Yet whilst many New Zealanders are prepared to criticize, of those who dissent very few, if any, when asked would be able to pin point exactly what aspect(s) of New Zealand culture are universally valued.

Using cultural aesthetics as my starting point this research analyses what New Zealanders believe about New Zealand and about themselves as New Zealanders. The central claim is that New Zealand has established a cultural aesthetic propagated as a binding point within our society and that it is from this basis that we reject, dissent, protect and create claims to our society and identity. These aesthetics- a variety of national images that have come to be regarded as a part of iconic New Zealand- are in fact the basis for our understanding of ourselves and our country.

The focus of this research into national icons is based within the suggestion that the icon is created as a cultural artefact in an attempt to divert attention away from the fact that 'New Zealand' has no underlying identity. For due to the diversity of New Zealand's population and short (European) history, no stable singular national identity has yet been formed. Rather the plethora of Kiwi icons *are* the national identity and they *only* represent what they 'are'- not anything outside/beyond/behind themselves. The problem with critiquing, deconstructing and revealing the emptiness of the national (identifying) icon is that their erasure reveals the absence of identity and culture. We thus believe in the icon because without belief in the icon we are confronted with an underlying nihilism. By constructing my thesis around the deconstruction of the icon *as* identity I will in effect become a dissenter posing the question- 'what comes after the icon?' How do we (if indeed we can) rebuild our nation from that of a nihilistic state?

This thesis will proceed in three distinct chapters. The first of these chapters, *Locating the 'New Zealand' icon*, begins by analysing in detail the significant role 'New Zealand' imagery has played in New Zealand history and the development of society from the period of European exploration to present day. Because not all 'New Zealand' images are responded to equally by New Zealanders, I then analyse the contents of fourteen anthologies of New Zealand painting and three lists produced in conjunction of the 2006 Kiwi art and culture television programme *Frontseat* in an attempt to highlight and define the types of images that are revered in New Zealand society and have been granted national iconic status. The reasoning behind this method of analysis is that paintings of and about New Zealand have existed since the artists on board Abel Tasman's exploration of the Southern Ocean in 1642 encountered New Zealand and documented what they saw. In critiquing New

Zealand paintings as culturally produced imagery I am able to effectively analyse the types of images that have been singled out as definitive of New Zealand, or significant to the New Zealand experience, since its European discovery. This chapter will also suggest that New Zealand imagery became increasingly important to New Zealand society since the 1970's because this was the period in which the historical, European preconceptions of national identity and culture began to be continually and forcefully contested.

A shift in the focus of this research will occur in chapters two and three because the analysis of New Zealand paintings in *Locating the 'New Zealand' icon*, contrary to my hypothesis, does not indicate that New Zealanders had created a series of national icons that provided the basis of their national identity. What in fact it indicated was that a specific type of image, the landscape, was valued above all others by New Zealanders. Therefore, Chapter Two- *Land Fever* rewrites the discussion of *Locating the 'New Zealand' icon* and discusses the New Zealander's changing relationship with their country. It will propose that New Zealand has not always been understood by New Zealanders solely in visual terms and that the veneration of New Zealand landscapes is the resulting effect of challenges to historical, European preconceptions of national identity and culture. *Land Fever* will suggest that it was primarily European New Zealanders who used New Zealand landscape to negate the authority of competing claims to identity and culture and perceivably reinstate a singular interpretation of national identity and culture by placing "their" interpretation of 'real' New Zealand in opposition to New Zealand society and disseminating this claimed society. Finally, chapter three- *The Problem of landscape* will suggest that New Zealand landscape as an visual understanding of place cannot be the basis of a singular interpretation of national identity because the concept as a culturally constructed interpretation of place does not cater for society.

Jean Baudrillard has stated that "what society seeks through production, and overproduction, is the restoration of the real which escapes it."¹ In our own New Zealand context, the construction, presentation and continual reproduction of national images into society since 1970 seeks to restore national identity and social cohesion to

¹ Baudrillard, Jean, *Simulations*, New York: Semiotext[e], 1983. p. 44, 45

New Zealand after the a multitude of challenges to historical, European perceptions of New Zealand identity and culture.

To those, then, who have never quite settled in the world, I offer this guide to godzone.²

² Riddell, Michael, *Godzone: a traveller's guide*, Auckland: Reed, 1992. p. 10

Locating the ‘New Zealand’ icon

William Hodgkins, a founding member of the Otago Art Society (established in 1875) and author of influential lectures and articles on the future of New Zealand art¹, concluded his *A History of Landscape Art and its Study in New Zealand* with a recommendation to all current and prospective New Zealand artists:

The student who wishes... to be something more than a mere copyist of the scene before him must learn to look at his subject, not only with a painter’s eye, but with those of a poet, for it is not sufficient to make a transcript, however correct, of a particular view; indeed, the more correct and minute the copy is the more unsatisfactory the work will in general be as a picture. He must therefore look at the subject before him with reference to all its surroundings and atmospheric conditions.²

The inference of this statement is that artistic representations of New Zealand should represent not only the scene or subject but also, and according to Hodgkins most importantly, the emotive and perceptive response of the artist to the surroundings that he or she attempts to paint. For Hodgkins the artist’s individual engagement with New Zealand scene was crucial in producing excellent and expressive ‘New Zealand’ artworks. Over a century later the central thesis of Hodgkins’ statement still epitomizes the direction that social and cultural development has taken in New Zealand, and not just in its creative circles.

New Zealand as a society is familiar with conceiving and relating to “New Zealand” and “New Zealanders” through a series of national images. Beginning with the rise of the printing press in the early 1500’s, modernity has a long history of global technological developments, including the camera, cinema, the motor car and the airplane of breaking down the limits of specific locality. This culminates in more

¹ Keith, Hamish, *The big picture: a history of New Zealand art from 1642*, Auckland: Godwit, 2007. p. 277

² Quoted in Johnstone, Christopher, *Landscape paintings of New Zealand: a journey from North to South*, Auckland: Godwit, 2006. p. 10

recent times with the internet. Images once relative to the inhabitants of a specific location are now nationally- and increasingly internationally- relevant. New Zealanders are familiar (at least in pictorial form) with the most remote parts of their country and so can re-orientate what are essentially iconic regional images such as Fred and Myrtle Flutey's *Paua Shell House* that was until recently located in Bluff, Cromwell's oversized roadside *Fruit Salad* and Napier's shorefront statue *Pania on the Reef* within the national framework. Perhaps a result of New Zealand's small geographical size and the ease with which New Zealanders can travel around their country, the impact in our country of this displacement of space and time has been immense. New Zealand has developed a whole series of national images, many of which are of regional importance, that have come to be treated by New Zealanders as iconic and representative of our perceived uniquely New Zealand society. What was once local has become- selectively- national. The cultural precedent established through this dissolution of real place and location in physical human experience is the privileging of sight as the primary sense in modernity, a development that has in turn made our national images a central part of our national self. Images reflecting New Zealand, whether derivative from geography, settler and colonial society, consumer society or our bicultural and then multicultural reality therefore play important roles in the social interaction of New Zealanders with each other, our perceptions of our communities and our relation to our country. The result is that seeing is not only believing in this country, it is an integral part of being a New Zealander, recognizing oneself as a New Zealander and recognizing other New Zealanders within an increasingly malleable social makeup. Since Hodgkins wrote *A History of Landscape Art and its Study in New Zealand* our country has developed into a society that's history breaks down into images and not into stories.³

A type of visual history, or rather a visual hysteria, has surrounded this country for centuries. New Zealand has, since its discovery by European explorers, been a society communicated heavily if not primarily through visual perceptions. New Zealand was fostered when the Maori *Aotearoa* was encountered by two ships, the *Heemskerck* and the *Zeehaen*, of the Dutch East India Company in December of 1642. Whilst this was

³ Quoted in Lukas, Scott A., "Fragments of The World Thinking Me, Or How The Digital Facilitates Human Separation" in *International Journal of Baudrillard Studies* Vol. 3: No. 2 July 1996, http://www.ubishops.ca/baudrillardstudies/vol3_2/lukas.htm. Accessed 5 November 2006.

the time that, as Hamish Keith asserts, “our [New Zealand] history begins and our prehistory [the period of Maori exploration and settlement] begins to end”⁴ a belief in what may be New Zealand- had it yet been encountered- had been conceived in Africa centuries before in the second century after Christ when the geographer Ptolmey theorized the existence of a southern continent that would balance the northern world.⁵ As part of the expansion of European Empires and trade the Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company ordered the *Heemskerck* and the *Zeehaen* to sail south in search of the Southern Continent Ptolemy had envisaged centuries prior. Whilst these ships did not find the Southern Continent they did find New Zealand, “a land uplifted high,”⁶ on the 18th of December 1642. Imagined expectations spurred on by Ptolmey’s theory and Christopher Columbus’ recent discoveries in the America’s or the New World anticipated New Zealand’s discovery. However images of a magnificent and opulent Southern land were perhaps superseded by less optimistic impressions as the events of this first encounter unfolded (four Dutch seamen were bludgeoned to death by members of the *iwi* or tribe *Ngati Tumata*, resulting in what is now known as Golden Bay being named ‘Murderers Bay’ by the surviving crew). Of integral importance to New Zealand’s history, the first physical pictures of New Zealand were introduced to a Dutch and subsequent European public courtesy of the expedition’s artist Isaac Gilsemans. These images mark not only “the beginning of the history of making art in this place”⁷ as Keith suggests in his *The Big Picture: A history of New Zealand art since 1642* but also, and perhaps more influentially, the initial stages in the development of an approach to New Zealand society and culture centred around national images. Subsequent to this initial encounter New Zealand was a ‘place’ forethought in the European imagination. Until 1642 what would become New Zealand was, to everybody, a concept in the imaginations of a wishful few. The introduction of Gilseman’s images to an eagerly awaiting European public resulted in the creation of images of a developing New Zealand being cultivated prior to extensive exploration and later, settlement.

⁴ Keith, Hamish, 2007. p. 16

⁵ Belich, James, *Making peoples: A history of the New Zealanders: from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteenth century*, London: Allen Lane; Auckland: Penguin, 1996. p. 117

⁶ Keith, Hamish, 2007. p. 17

⁷ Ibid, p. 16

This figurative and physical picturing of New Zealand continued throughout the following centuries. The navigators and navigations that travelled to the Pacific subsequent to the voyages of the *Heemskerck* and the *Zeehaen* did so in search of knowledge that would service trade and empire, a pursuit that in a time before modern methods of communication and representation relied heavily on visual methods of communication. The exploratory period was “a time made rich by a blend of science and art and driven by an urge to measure, classify, record and value difference” in which the stage was set for biological sciences, including ethnology, to develop with art- or images- to be used as a key communicative tool.⁸ The most famous of these expeditions are those of Captain James Cook and his three voyages: *Endeavour* in 1768, the *Resolution* and *Adventure* in 1772-1775 and the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* in 1776-1780. Cook’s voyages, as James Belich puts forward, “found better than his predecessors and contemporaries, investigated more thoroughly and carefully, and he and his associates told better.”⁹ The artists present on these respective voyages, Sydney Parkinson, William Hodges and John Webber, played a central part in communicating Cook’s South Pacific to Europe. For a public unfamiliar with the New World, their paintings and drawing of unfamiliar lands, people and objects returned to Europe to be met with insatiable hysteria just as Cook returned to Europe a hero. These pictures illustrated the exploratory, exotic stories of Cook and his men and helped Europeans conjure images of not only New Zealand, but also Empire.¹⁰ As Keith rightly asserts, “it is not stretching the point to claim that the art of Cook’s three voyages played a significant part in shaping the path that led to a country being colonized by a treaty and not by conquest or force of arms.”¹¹ Had these artists portrayed “savagery and not society, barbarism and not bonhomie, hostility and not hospitality” New Zealand’s history may have played out quite differently¹².

As it stands New Zealand was settled by European emigrants, the majority of whom arrived in the Nineteenth Century under the direction of a variety of colonization schemes set up in Europe. A large majority of these settlers emigrated from the

⁸ Ibid, p. 22

⁹ Belich, James, 1996. p. 122

¹⁰ Ibid p. 123, 125.

¹¹ Keith, Hamish, 2007 p. 37

¹² Ibid, p. 36

British Isles, but all settlers regardless of their country of origin came to New Zealand under the premise that they would, on arrival, be in a position to better their social circumstances in a new country which they would call home, a country which they had read about and seen in pictures prior to their departure. The images of New Zealand captured and produced throughout the exploratory period of New Zealand's history and subsequently presented to the European public, with the added incentives presented through intelligent marketing and propaganda, and Government subsidized passage for some, influenced the decisions of many to relocate to New Zealand during this period. The influence these images had on prospective colonists can be seen in the travelling journals of many settlers, for example James Greenwood, a colonist arriving in Wellington Harbour in 1842, who wrote in his journal "Now we are approaching the long talked of shores of New Zealand and are about to see and practice what we have often heard and theorized about, may the result equal all our expectations and end happily and fortunately for all."¹³

Social Development: New Zealand society and New Zealand images

The role that imagery has played in the development of New Zealand history and society is significant. New Zealand was discovered when the Dutch attempted to prove a continent envisaged, it was subsequently exposed to the Old World through drawings and stories and finally settled by individuals who responded to these images positively and in turn conjured images of their own of the land to which they would eventually call home. It is therefore fitting that any enquiry into the New Zealander's relationship to national images and the way that these images in turn shape the New Zealander and their perceptions of their surroundings and fellow citizens centres around an analysis of New Zealand's imagery from discovery through to present day.

As Albert Moore states "in the development of human consciousness, the image always precedes the idea, giving historical priority to art."¹⁴ The benefit of approaching New Zealand's national iconography from this platform is that it allows for a complete analysis of the images that have been perceived to be important to and

¹³ Durrer, Rebecca, "Propagating the New Zealand Ideal" in *The Social Science Journal* Vol 43, 2006 p. 173-83. p. 173

¹⁴ Moore, Albert, *Iconography of Religions: an introduction*, London: SCM Press, 1977, p. 18

representative of New Zealand and its population through the eyes of explorers, colonists and eventually, citizens. Having stated this, the obvious collection of images to examine are those created by artists, namely painters. Whilst it is noted that analysing paintings of New Zealand and paintings created by New Zealand artists is not the exhaustive method of inquiry that could be used to gain information on New Zealand national images, there are several benefits in using them as the basis for this catalogue of research. Paintings are on the whole easily transportable, meaning that, particularly relevant to the periods of exploration, a large body of work was created and subsequently returned to Europe. As previous conversation has highlighted, these images were created to illustrate difference and thus depicted imagery seen to be characteristic of or unique to New Zealand as part of the wider New World. Images by artists such as Gilseman, Parkinson, Hodges and Webber contributed to subsequent European interaction with New Zealand and its inhabitants in ways that could not have been equalled by images described solely in text or introduced as biological specimen. In addition, paintings- as with any art work- are not produced unless there is something, whether it be an image or more recently a concept as in modern art, that is seen to be worth communicating by the artist. Paintings are selective in ways that other art forms such as photography are not necessarily, but are also, as an historical artistic genre, extensive by nature when utilized as a body of index. Perhaps most important when discussing images of national reverence, paintings because of their general portability, widespread creation and selected subject, reflect social conventions and tastes of the times in which they were produced. In *The Spirit of Place* D H Lawrence commented on the artwork as a tool to social investigation; “Art-speech is the only truth. An artist is usually a damned liar, but his art, if it be art, will tell you the truth of its day. And that is all that matters.”¹⁵ Moore affirms this stance in stating:

Iconography deals with the documents which man has created in the visual arts. Literally it means ‘writing in images,’ so that to study iconography is to begin to ‘read’ the meaning of these images. It is concerned with the subject matter, with the content rather than the form of art.¹⁶

¹⁵ Lawrence, David H, “The spirit of place” in Caws, Mary (ed.), *Manifesto: a century of isms*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, c2001. p. 561.

¹⁶ Moore, Albert, 1977. p. 18

In attempting to understand a society such as New Zealand, where images hold an important place in the development of society and culture from the outset of its history, an analysis of New Zealand painting provides an invaluable method of initial inquest as, when analysed, these images as a collective body can demonstrate changes in social practice, mindset, culture and perhaps most important to this thesis, national values. As Keith reminds us:

Art does not come from Mars. It is not some alien intrusion into human society; art is made by individuals for a particular people, in a particular time and in place. Artists do not make the culture, they are shaped by it.¹⁷

The act of uncovering or discovering national images that are central to New Zealand's social functioning in New Zealand artworks is not as simple as it may appear at first glance. In the first instance, any method of investigation needs to be exclusive of personal subjectivity in order for the findings to retain any real merit and reflect candid results. The very nature of art makes this difficult. As the above excerpt suggests, art is an individual's expression of their experiences of people, time and location. Humans have created a whole series of scholarship and industry around art and images aimed at encouraging the viewer to engage with the work on a personal and very individual level. We are told that it is our opinion as the viewer that counts: "In the end it is our personal conversations with a work of art that count, not its age or its value or what somebody else thinks about it."¹⁸ As a result, humans have become predisposed towards subjectivity when responding to artworks and more broadly, images. Removing oneself from this standardized convention is difficult. In addition, a distinction needs to be made between art as image- the artwork- and the image as is communicated by art. When undertaking a study such as this the artwork is, although a legitimate image or composition in itself, the vehicle through which national images are presented to a national population. The subject is those images represented in the art. Because the aim of the research is to uncover nationally revered images, often referred to in the wider public as national icons (we hear this term often), the method must also incorporate strategies to translate this reverence accordingly. Not all images

¹⁷ Keith, Hamish, 2007. p. 10

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 16

representative of New Zealand are responded to equally by New Zealanders, a reality that in turn dictates that there is no point devising a research process to determine New Zealand national images that does not consider the prerequisites to both attaining and maintaining the status itself. Navigating and addressing these barriers throughout the construction of a research method is crucial to producing meaningful results.

As a result of recognizing and taking into account these barriers, the method of research devised to acquire information on those images most revered by the New Zealand public as representative of themselves and their nation centres around analysing the content of anthologies of New Zealand painting. Because anthologies are by nature exclusive it can be safely assumed that that only the works and artists perceived to be both the exemplary 'best' in their field and the most socially relevant to New Zealanders and of New Zealand will be included in their contents (noting of course that terms such as 'best' and 'socially relevant' are themselves selectively applied according to the intent, beliefs and whims of the anthologist). Through charting the contents of these publications (the number of times an individual work reappears across the total body of publications, the total number of individual works and artists included in the total body of publications, the number of works specific to a particular genre of painting, the number of works that represent a similar subject-matter) it is presumed that information on the values of New Zealanders and what they perceive to be important of and about themselves and their country can begin to be understood. In addition to highlighting 'New Zealand's best' the use of the anthology takes into consideration the natural limitations of social and cultural reverence: exclusivity and exceptionality. Anthologies are, as is the artwork, 'shaped by culture' and are thus a platform from which the character of a particular people- in this instance New Zealanders and their images- can begin to be understood.

The benefit of using anthologies of New Zealand art when investigating and analysing New Zealand's popular imagery lies in the characteristics of the anthology as a specific category of publication. The term itself stems from the Greek word *anthologica* that literally translates to mean 'flower collection' (*anthos* meaning 'flower' and *logica* translating to 'collection'.) Historically the term was used exclusively with reference to collections of poetry. Over time the term has extended to include any type of published collection that brings together a selection of subject

matter, similar ideas or themes. As is a general rule anthologies are a single published volume, they do not exist as part of a series, thus making them by definition concise. The anthology thus provides a survey or review of the topic in question as opposed to a comprehensive study. In the first instance the anthology will broadly scan the topic itself. Placed in the context of this research an anthology of New Zealand painting will initially provide the reader with an overview of New Zealand painting demonstrating a variety of artists, styles and eras that make up the category 'New Zealand painting'. Positioned within this initial survey are a series of smaller, more specific reviews- those relating to an individual artist's career, a genre of painting or artistic techniques and styles. Information contained within the anthology is thus heavily filtered and selected based on the individual merit of a work or artist, and its or their contribution to the category presented. The unavoidable and often neglected by-product of the anthology is phenomenal levels of exclusion of information. It is not so much what we encounter in an anthology, but what we do not, that defines the genre of publication.

The dual inclusive-yet-exclusive functioning of the anthology stipulates that the publication will exist in two equally persistent realities. The anthology can thus be read in at least two ways. On the one hand the anthology is a vehicle for information; its purpose is to communicate information that already exists to an audience. In our context this means that the anthology of New Zealand painting functions without agenda in presenting 'New Zealand Painting,' to a New Zealand audience. On the other hand the anthology is a vehicle of information that, through its exclusive nature, presents a carefully selected assessment of the category, New Zealand painting, to an otherwise oblivious audience. In this capacity the anthology creates information through stipulating the limits of the category to the reader that it aims to educate. When understood as a vehicle of information, the anthology negates the authenticity of excluded information and rewrites the history of the category it presents. In "The Death of the Author", Roland Barthes states:

Writing is the neutral, composite, oblique space where our subject slips away, the negative where all identity is lost, starting with the very identity of the body of writing. No doubt it has always been this way. As soon as fact is *narrated* no longer with a view of acting directly on reality but intransitively, that is to say,

finally outside of any function other than that of the very practice of the symbol itself, the disconnection occurs, the voice loses its origin, the author enters into his own death, writing begins.¹⁹

Regardless of which way the anthology is read, and it must be read in at least two ways, the information is separated from its origin. ‘New Zealand painting’ becomes a limited category, the presentation of which only enhances this severance. Through presenting ‘New Zealand painting’ to the New Zealand public, a rewriting of the information takes place. Whilst the dual functions of the anthology may appear polar opposites, they both enable and encourage the same result from the reader: the establishment of a perception that those artworks included in the anthology are ‘better’ than those that are not included. In this regard the anthology establishes or encourages the creation of a set of general rules or standards otherwise known as a canon. As Ingrid Johnson states with regard to literature:

Canonicity is not so much about texts as about status and elevation, the criteria and standards according to which not only individual works and authors, but also entire movements and discourses themselves fall in and out of favour. It is a process in which texts, styles, and approaches are designated literary and perceived as worthy of attention, or are pushed to the margins and allowed to disappear.²⁰

Johnson’s statement is easily translated to other disciplines, including the analysis of New Zealand art. If, as Johnson suggests, it is accessibility and social presence that creates reverence, which is in turn based within inclusion and exclusion, the anthology is one type of canon. When the anthology is ‘read’ its contents are understood by the reader as ‘true.’ As Gregory Jusdanis states in *Belated Modernity and aesthetic culture: inventing national literature*:

The canon is a publicly available body of writing, representative of certain national and social interests. Anthologies are a valuable source for an enquiry

¹⁹ Barthes, Roland, “The Death of the Author” in Barthes, Roland. *Image, music, text; essays selected*; translated by Stephen Heath, Oxford: Fontana, 1982. p. 142

²⁰ Johnston, Ingrid, *Re-mapping literary worlds: postcolonial pedagogy in practice*, New York: P. Lang, c2003. p. 42

into the canon because they contain what their compilers deemed worthy of being collected at certain times. An anthology reflects the canonical texts of a particular period, which for various reasons came to the attention of the anthologist.²¹

Anthologies thus both represent and present the social interests of the society in which they were created. When we place equal importance on the both the creation and interpretation of anthologies they become, as Jusdanis suggests, tools that can be used in social and cultural enquiry. Fourteen anthologies of New Zealand painting were utilized throughout this research. The earliest of these is the State-funded 1940 publication *New Zealand Art: A Centennial Exhibition* whilst the most recent was Michael Dunn's *New Zealand Painting: A Concise History* (2003). The remainder of the number are as follows: Peter Cape's *New Zealand Painting Since 1960: a study of themes and developments since 1960* (1979), Marti Friedlander and Jim and Mary Barr's *Contemporary New Zealand Painters* (1980), Elva Bett's *New Zealand Art: A Modern Perspective* (1986), Gordon Brown and Hamish Keith's *An Introduction to New Zealand Painting 1839-1980* (1988), Gil Docking's *200 Years of New Zealand Painting* (1990), Warwick Brown's *100 New Zealand paintings: by 100 New Zealand artists* (1995), Michael Dunn's *Contemporary Painting in New Zealand* (1996), Gregory O'Brien's *Lands and Deeds: profiles of contemporary New Zealand painters* (1996), Elizabeth Caughey and Jon Gow's *New Zealand Art* series (1, 2 and 3) published in 1997, 1999 and 2002, and *Art New Zealand Today: sixty exhibiting New Zealand Artists* edited by Elizabeth Caughey (2002). Three lists produced in 2006 for the internet poll 'the search for New Zealand's greatest painting' hosted by the self-defined "kiwi arts and culture" television programme *Frontseat* have also been included in this research. Marshall Seifert of the Marshal Seifert Gallery in Dunedin and Winston Curnow separately authored two of these lists whilst the third, compiled by *Frontseat*, is a list of works for those voting in the poll to consider.

When looking at the chronological progression of anthologies of 'New Zealand painting' it should be noted that the first of the publications, *New Zealand Art: A Centennial Exhibition* was published in 1940, the National Centennial year. New

²¹ Jusdanis, Gregory, *Belated modernity and aesthetic culture: inventing national literature*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c1991. p. 66

Zealand's Centennial celebrations were heralded by the organizer as being commemorative of New Zealand's coming of age. At the opening of the Centennial Exhibition on the 8th of November 1939 in Wellington the Chairman of the Directors, Mr T. C. A. Hislop stated:

It is a time of profound happiness to those of us who have had the privilege of working actively in the creation of the Exhibition to feel that we are able, thanks to the devoted work of all those who have played their part, to show the people of New Zealand's completed work worthy of its great purpose. That purpose has been to bring into being something that will tell the story of the beginnings of our country, something that will tell of its progress through the years, and in the telling call forth the spirit of gratitude to the courageous past and the spirit in inspiration for the years to come.²²

The mood of the exhibition (despite the outbreak of War) was, as the above quote demonstrates, a celebration of New Zealand's maturity through (material) progress and "national self definition."²³ The event itself was a national success. Throughout its duration 2,641,043 people attended the Centennial Exhibition with an average daily attendance rate of 17,149.²⁴ Perhaps a result of the Exhibitions emphasis on New Zealand's material progress, the inclusion of cultural development in national progress was relatively nondescript.²⁵ A. H. McLintoch described the merit of the inclusion of an exhibition of New Zealand art to the celebrations in stating that:

A survey of one hundred years of New Zealand art becomes a faithful reflection of the national spirit and reveals unmistakably the social and

²² Palethorpe, Nigel B, *Official history of the New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, Wellington, 1939-1940*, Wellington: New Zealand Centennial Exhibition Co, 1940 p. 51

²³ "The Centennial and Progress- New Zealand Centennial, 1940" URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/centennial/the-centennial-and-progress>, (Ministry of Culture and Heritage), updated 18-Jan-2008. Accessed 30 June 2006.

²⁴ "The Centennial Exhibition - New Zealand Centennial, 1940", URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/centennial/centennial-exhibition>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 19-Sep-2008. Accessed 30 June 2006.

²⁵ Blackley, Roger, "Centennial Exhibitions of Art" in Renwick, William (ed.), *Creating a national spirit: celebrating New Zealand's centennial*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2004. p. 222

political changes which transformed a struggling colony into a progressive dominion.”²⁶

This exhibition was an attempt to provide New Zealanders’ with a perspective on national development that differed from the primary focus of the event: national prosperity and economic development. The Centennial year was a time in which New Zealanders actively sought to conform towards and promote a national identity that’s history began with the arrival of Europeans. For all intents and purposes the Centennial and celebrations surrounding it promoted a Eurocentric New Zealand nationalism that has since 1940 influenced the development of identity, culture and society in this country. Whilst Maori culture and customs were not absent from the Centennial Exhibition, their presence was limited to celebrating Maori integration into a European dominated New Zealand.²⁷ This type of nationalism promotes an incomplete identity that has very little substance as it is a deliberate act of self-definition constructed to unite a populace through displaying a selected understanding of a country to its people.²⁸ The fact that the publication of the first anthology of New Zealand art was directly linked to New Zealand’s Centennial celebrations is an event that should not be overlooked. The 1940 occurrence of Centennial Exhibition anthology flags the beginning of an insecure national culture in which everything cultured should be of national importance. This anthology as the first anthology of New Zealand Painting shaped the way in which subsequent anthologies would be published and perceived in New Zealand.

If the suggestion that since the Centennial Exhibition ideals of New Zealand have been promoted with the intent of forcefully and dynamically inspiring an all-inclusive and accommodating sense of a national, although eurocentrically based, identity and sense of belonging within the New Zealand public is accepted, we must consider what has been challenging this identity since the late 1970’s. The 1979 publication of Peter Cape’s *New Zealand Painting Since 1960: a study of themes and developments* marks

²⁶ A. H. McLintoch quoted in Johnstone, Christopher, 2006. p. 10

²⁷ 'The Treaty of Waitangi - New Zealand Centennial, 1940', URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/centennial/the-centennial-and-the-treaty-of-waitangi>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 4-Feb-2008. Accessed 30 June 2006.

²⁸ "The Centennial and Progress- New Zealand Centennial, 1940" URL: <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/centennial/the-centennial-and-progress>, (Ministry of Culture and Heritage), updated 18-Jan-2008. Accessed 30 June 2006.

the beginning of an era in which a whole spate of anthologies entered the New Zealand marketplace in quick succession. As with any other consumer product, these books would not have been published if they could not, at least in theory, fill a perceived gap in the existing market. In the instance of anthologies on New Zealand painting, it needs to be noted that the primary focus of the publication is not a celebration of painting, but of New Zealand. These books present New Zealand painting as a facet of New Zealand achievement and in turn contribute to the affirmation of our collective, New Zealandness. In simple terms the subject of the anthology is not New Zealand *painting*, but *New Zealand* painting. When these *New Zealand* publications are presented to and read by the public it provides them with an opportunity to marvel at themselves as New Zealanders through the collective achievements of a New Zealand culture of which they are a part. Claudia Bell explains how national identity functions in her 1996 book *Inventing New Zealand: everyday myths of Pakeha identity*:

National identity instils in individuals the desire to believe in a 'real New Zealand.' By the constant subtle reiteration of this concept, the rejection of any criticism, the message is reinforced. The existing scheme of this is held as unchallengeable. The same values are distributed and perpetuated daily, over and again, for instance through the family, the education system, and the media. The ideas of national identity are fostered and recognized roughly in common across diverse groups. These ideas most closely match the values of those with the most to gain. Ideological values become read as 'common sense,' and actual social contradictions are masked. Social inequalities fade into the background as 'natural' or 'unfortunate.'²⁹

The message hidden in the heightened occurrence of these anthologies since 1979 is that the 'real New Zealand' Bell speaks of needed continual and aggressive reiteration within the populace. Furthermore the commercial success of these anthologies, remembering that they are bought by the New Zealand public and continue to be produced and in print because of this, suggests that New Zealanders responded to and

²⁹ Bell, Claudia, *Inventing New Zealand: everyday myths of Pakeha identity*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996. p. 188

sought out (or bought into- literally) the ‘real New Zealand’ message reiterated within the publications.

These anthologies thus functioned through selling New Zealand identity to a receptive New Zealand public, a phenomenon that in turn suggests that since 1979 New Zealand society experienced significant challenges to the autonomy of the collective national identity propagated at the time. Several social occurrences were unnerving New Zealanders at this point in time, two of which significantly challenged the New Zealanders understanding of New Zealand society and identity. The first challenge can be summed up through what has been described by Angela Ballara as the increased presence of a ‘brown wedge’ in New Zealand society that consists of a variety of race-based issues, namely a boost in Maori urban migration and Pacific migration to New Zealand, and increasing Maori resistance to perceived colonial based societal oppression. The second is the privatisation politics associated with the policies of Rogernomics in the 1980’s, a period in which New Zealand society lost its communal head and ‘cradle to the grave’ support from the government.

The Brown Wedge

Up until the mid Twentieth Century New Zealand was a society that was metaphorically white. Being a New Zealander meant prescribing to a specific ideology that’s roots lay within the institutions, cultural practices and beliefs that were imported from Europe at the time of settlement and colonization. Such an identity, as Bell states, “either naively overlooks, or deliberately refuses to acknowledge, diversity and difference for any groups not fitting that version of identity being presented as ‘national.’”³⁰ The conclusion of World War II saw the constitution of New Zealand’s social fabric begin to change. Whereas in pre-War society 90 percent of the Maori population had resided in rural areas, after the War Maori began to migrate to urban areas, a phenomenon that was encouraged both by the State and by industry to cater to the labour demands of a growing metropolitan economy. By the late 1970’s around 75 percent of Maori lived in urban areas in closer proximity to a

³⁰ Bell, Claudia, 1996. p. 189

larger number of European New Zealanders than ever before. As Ranginui Walker describes:

Urbanisation posed two developmental tasks for migrant Maori. Firstly, they had to adjust to the economic demands of the urban industrial complex. This meant taking permanent employment, coping with a total cash economy in a milieu that had little scope for subsistence activities, and meeting financial commitments by way of rent, time-payment, hire purchases, rates and mortgages. The universal culture of capitalism is what integrates Maori into the social mainstream of Pakeha society....But outside of these transactions, Maori and Pakeha lived discrete lives. Ethnicity, cultural difference and the experience of being colonised impelled Maori to dwell in the dual world of biculturalism or surrender to the Pakeha imperative of assimilation. Whilst some Maori chose assimilation, the majority rejected it. This meant commitment to cultural continuity.³¹

Whereas European New Zealanders would have hoped for an increase in cultural assimilation, as Walker discloses, the majority of Maori continued to promote and participate in activities and organizations that reinstated their identity within a new, urban environment. Organised Maori associations such as church groups, culture and sports clubs, tribal organizations and societies, and the Maori Woman's Welfare League helped cement Maori identity in the cities that had until then been primarily inhabited by European New Zealanders and in turn structured largely around European values and beliefs.³² Maori migration to these urban centres unavoidably brought Maori and non-Maori closer together, the white were frequently confronted with the brown and race-based tension increased. Paul Spoonley explains the social climate of the times well in his book *Racism and Ethnicity* where he states:

These migrants are [were] not only a source of wage-labour; they bring [brought] with them a different culture, and as host and migration come into contact, political and ideological relations are affected” in that “those migrants

³¹ Walker, Ranganui, *Ka whawhai tonu mātou = Struggle without end* (Revised edition), Auckland: Penguin, 2004. p. 198-199

³² Ibid, p. 198

who are culturally and physically different from the host population are classified in racial terms, and the notions of superiority/inferiority which derive from the pre-existing relations encourage the development of an explicit racism.³³

The increasing presence of brown people in New Zealand's traditionally white cities and urban areas continued and diversified after the period of Maori migration, as did the social tension that accompanied it. Just as Maori were encouraged to migrate to urban areas to fill labour shortages, Pacific Islanders were also encouraged to emigrate from the Islands to fulfil similar industry needs from the 1950's. They did so in significant numbers and settling predominantly in urban areas. To illustrate the extent to which this migration affected New Zealand in 1945 there were a calculated 2000 Pacific Island Polynesians in New Zealand, by 1986 the numbers of Pacific Islanders born or settled here had risen to 128,000.³⁴ This new facet to the presence of brown others in New Zealand did nothing to appease race relations, particularly during and after the economic decline of the 1970's where brown individuals were represented as a social threat in a time of high unemployment.³⁵

In addition to the increased presence of brown people in areas that had traditionally been European dominant, the latter half of the Twentieth Century saw the development of a political Maori movement resolute on reasserting Maori identity and culture within New Zealand's primarily Eurocentric social makeup. Whilst Maori activism predates the 1960's, from this period onward Maori activists became extremely proficient at utilizing Western methods of dissent such as public demonstrations, petitions to Parliament and picket lines, as well as the media, to articulate Maori rights and social demands.³⁶ Events such as the 1975 Land March, a protest against European control and management of Maori land, and the occupation of Bastion Point in 1977 demonstrated not only the growing discontent that Maori felt towards the New Zealand Government and the Eurocentric attitudes of the times, but also the ability that a politically capable Maori movement could have to influence

³³ Spoonely, Paul, *Racism and ethnicity* (Revised edition), Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1993. p. 12

³⁴ Pearson, David, *A dream deferred : the origins of ethnic conflict in New Zealand*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin in association with Port Nicholson Press, 1990. p. 116

³⁵ Spoonely, Paul, 1993 p. 13

³⁶ King, Michael, *The Penguin history of New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003. p. 481.

public opinion and facilitate changes in everyday society. These developments were not received well by some European New Zealanders who believed that the so-called “anti racists” were doing “more to create racial disharmony in New Zealand than anything since the Maori Wars,” arousing racial tensions as opposed to appeasing them.³⁷ As Ballara states:

By the late 1970's, some European reaction to the renewed Maori assertiveness reflected a sullen anger and a refusal to acknowledge the validity of Maori - demands that were not new in themselves but which were being promoted with new force. This reaction sprang from a conscious or unconscious desire to return to the relative calm of race relations of the earlier decades, the fifties and sixties, a calm which had taken its rise in mass acquiescence by one side to the undisputed cultural domination of the other.³⁸

New Zealand and Rogernomic Policies

Rogernomics represents a particularly notable period in New Zealand's economic and political history. Whilst typically depicted as a period in which the instillation of economically driven Government policies forced a series of local reforms in New Zealand, the impact that these policies had on social development in New Zealand including issues of national identity, nationalism and national culture were also immense, if often less tangible.

The word ‘Rogernomics’ is a localized portmanteau which when broken down reads ‘Roger’ and ‘economics.’ It specifically refers to the policies associated with the 1984 elected Labour Government and its Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas, and the impact that these policies had on the New Zealand society throughout the period. These policies stem from those developed in America by Milton Friedman and his academic associates in the Chicago School of typically Monetarist economists who strongly believed that a government should not interfere in the economy and that inflation could only be successfully curbed if limitations were put in place to monitor

³⁷ Ballara, Angela, *Proud to be white?: a survey of Pakeha prejudice in New Zealand*, Auckland: Heinemann, 1986. p. 165

³⁸ *Ibid*, p 163

the supply of money.³⁹ These beliefs were adapted and incorporated in to government policies in a number of countries, including New Zealand, in the 1980's to effectively cater to the specific needs of individual economies.

The 1984 Labour Lange-led Government, came into power in a period that, as Roger Douglas stated, was “on the brink of economic ruin.”⁴⁰ A commentary in *The Economist* in March 1991 entitled “Return to Rogernomics” discusses New Zealand’s economic state of affairs during the period:

New Zealand used to have the nearest thing to a planned economy outside of Eastern Europe. It was the most regulated, protected and distorted economy in the OECD [Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development]. Subsidies and tariffs diverted investment to the wrong industries, while high taxes and a generous welfare state blunted the incentive to work hard or take risks. New Zealand’s GDP [Gross Domestic Product] per head tumbled from being the second highest (after America) of the 24 OECD countries in 1950 to 19th by 1980.⁴¹

Whilst there has been some discussion recently into the accuracy of such dire commentaries on New Zealand’s economic health prior to 1984 the parallel drawn between New Zealand and Eastern Europe does hold some merit.⁴² As the immediate predecessor to David Lange, Robert Muldoon as Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, has traditionally shouldered a majority of the blame for the economic conditions of the period. Muldoon’s economic policies placed “a heavy reliance on particular forms of intervention in the economy [that did] not achieve their objectives

³⁹ Ian Fraser, "monetarism", *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*. Ed. Iain McLean and Alistair McMillan. Oxford University Press, 2003. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press. Canterbury University. 17 July

2007 <http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t86.e844>

⁴⁰ Douglas, Roger, *There's got to be a better way: a practical ABC to solving New Zealand's major problems*, Wellington: Fourth Estate Books, 1980 p.9.

⁴¹ Anonymous, *Return to Rogernomics* in *The Economist*, March 23 1991 Vol 318 Iss 7699. Accessed ProQuest 10 July 2007
<http://proquest.umi.com.ezproxy.canterbury.ac.nz/pqdweb?index=7&did=358465&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1184046100&clientId=13346>

⁴² For a detailed discussion into the accuracy of such statements refer to Goldfinch, Shaun, Malpass, Daniel, “The Polish Shipyard: myth, economic history and economic policy reform in New Zealand” in *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol 53: Number 1, 2007 p. 118-137

and frustrated the achievement of higher living standards”⁴³ whilst his National Party governments of 1978 and 1981 have come to be associated with high public expenditure, particularly in the areas of welfare and ‘Think Big’ national development strategies. Sean Goldfinch and Daniel Malpass discuss Muldoon’s unsuccessful economic legacy in “The Polish Ship Yard: Myth, Economic History and Economic Policy Reform in New Zealand”:

...the capital intensive “Think Big” investments, most of which did not lead to commercial success and added considerably to New Zealand’s public debt burden; the income and price freezes of 1982; the universal (i.e. not means tested) pension National Superannuation introduction in 1977; and the introduction of further agricultural subsidies” that directly hindered the economy.⁴⁴

Muldoon also refused to devalue the New Zealand Dollar as Douglas as the incoming Finance Minister and the Reserve Bank of New Zealand had advised and requested, an action that caused the economic situation of the early 1980’s to deteriorate.⁴⁵ Muldoon is often stated that he wished to leave New Zealand no worse off than he found, yet it is hard to recognize the impacts of the vast regulations, subsidies, taxes, poor use of resources, low productivity and growth rates that characterize the Muldoon era as steps towards national prosperity.⁴⁶

Roger Douglas’ tenure as Finance Minister began in a period of economic and social stress. Unemployment levels at around 6 percent were high whilst government spending deficits increased to over 9 percent of the GDP.⁴⁷ Inflation, dubbed the defining economic problem of the 1970’s (America, Britain and Australia all put measure in place to tackle inflation), was also sitting at an all time high. Douglas

⁴³ From the treasury briefing papers for the incoming government Stratford, Stephen, *Dirty decade: New Zealand in the 80s*, Auckland: Tandem Press, 2002. p. 12

⁴⁴ Goldfinch, Shaun, Malpass, Daniel, 2007. p. 118-137. p. 175

⁴⁵ It is political etiquette for the outgoing Government to enable the preferences of the incoming Government in the transition period.

⁴⁶ Stratford, Stephen, 2002. p. 12. For an interesting discussion on Muldoon as a leader refer to Brian Easton’s book *The Nationbuilders* and Goldfinch, Shaun, Malpass, Daniel, “The Polish Shipyard: myth, economic history and economic policy reform in New Zealand” in *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol 53: Number 1, 2007 p. 118-137

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 13

recognized the regulatory policies of the government he succeeded as being detrimental to economic performance and, in retort, ushered in a radical take on the Monetarist doctrine that centred on the premise that economic health relied on minimal government influence in the New Zealand markets. His economic reforms are recognized as one of the most militant in world history and saw New Zealand be hailed the “social laboratory of the world” by other liberalizing nations.⁴⁸ Douglas began his attempt to nurture the New Zealand economy back to health by deregulating the New Zealand Dollar and promptly put into practice further deregulatory measures, detailed in Frederic Sautet’s article “Why Have Kiwis Not Become Tigers? Reforms, Entrepreneurship, and Economic Performance in New Zealand”. As Sautet observes, Government lead restructuring in this period included “tax reforms, labour-market reforms, trade reforms, monetary policy reforms (including the establishment of Reserve Bank independence)” which “ushered in a better tax system, a fluid labour market, more extended markets, a stable money supply, budget surpluses, and reduced public debt.”⁴⁹ In addition “prices, wages, the exchange rate and interest rates were set free, the financial situation was deregulated, tax rates were slashed, government subsidies eliminated and state forms privatised.”⁵⁰ The State was removed, or rolled back, from everyday activity, a move that encompassed a reconsideration of the relationships maintained between the public and private spheres of society.⁵¹ Whilst this was a positive step forward for the economic and market sectors as it gave them the power to determine their spending, management and investment, the impact these reforms had on several facets of social development was less desirable. Whereas New Zealand had for most of its history been a generous Welfare State providing ‘from cradle to grave’ support for its citizens, the minimal government intervention policies of the Rogernomic era limited the government’s ability and motivation to provide social services to New Zealanders as had been supplied in the past.⁵² Deregulation and privatisation of government assets extended into areas such as health and education,

⁴⁸ McLintoch, Brent, “Whatever happened to New Zealand? The great capitalist restoration reconsidered” in *Journal of Economic Issues* Vol 32: No 2 June 1998 p. 497-503. p. 497

⁴⁹ Sautet, F., *Why Have Kiwis Not Become Tigers? Reforms, Entrepreneurship, and Economic Performance in New Zealand. The Independent Review*, 10(4), 571-595. Retrieved July 23, 2007, from ABI/INFORM Global database. (Document ID: 1012282091). P. 575.576

⁵⁰ Anonymous, March 23 1991

⁵¹ Rudd, Chris, “Politics and Markets: the role of the State in the New Zealand economy” in Holland, Martin, Boston, Jonathan, *The Fourth labour government: politics and policy in New Zealand*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1990. p. 83

⁵² Kelsey, Jane, *Rolling back the State: privatisation of power in Aotearoa/New Zealand*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1993. p. 16

areas that had been heavily subsidized by previous governments, the result of which was the development of private enterprise in these areas and a user pays (at least in part) mentality. Benefits and pensions were also revised in an attempt to curb inflation by means of lowering government spending. The gap between rich and poor widened and the individual New Zealander's living standards became increasingly dependent on the availability of personal resources and assets. As Brent McLintoch criticizes, Rogernomic reforms "delivered price stability at the sacrifice of income growth, stable employment and a widening income distribution. The outcome has been widespread dislocation of lives and livelihoods for what appears to be meagre economic improvements for the average Kiwi."⁵³ With the benefit of retrospective analysis it is, as John Quiggan observes in his article "Social Democracy and Market Reform in Australia and New Zealand", "hard to avoid the conclusion that that the [Fourth] New Zealand Labour Government dug the grave for social policy, even if the burial was left to its National [Party] successors."⁵⁴

Outside of economically-driven analyses of the Rogernomic period, the withdrawal of the New Zealand government from a large portion of the community, including the aspects traditionally inseparable from the Welfare State, had a huge impact on the New Zealand population and their relationship with their surroundings and with each other. New Zealanders up until this point saw their government as their advocate and protector, a perception that had strong and historic links. In the colonial period the State was readily employed to aid the causes of 'civilization'. Early politicians utilized the power of their Office to borrow money from London to assist with national development in the absence of significant capital among early settlers. Records of welfare support, however modest, can be traced to this period. Whilst it was in the post-World War II period that the Welfare State reached its peak, State assistance to the population has always been an integral facet in New Zealand's social and national development processes to the extent that it has characterized national consciousness. State support did not define the population, but its universal availability to the public when needed aided the development and awareness of social responsibilities. The inference was that despite the differences of culture, religion or

⁵³ McLintoch, Brent, 1998. p. 497

⁵⁴ Quiggan J., "Social democracy and market reform in Australia and New Zealand", *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* 14.n1 (Spring 1998): 76(20). *Expanded Academic ASAP*. Thomson Gale. University of Canterbury Library NZ. 10 July 2007 .

politics, together New Zealanders created a nation and it was in our own best interests to stand up for and support one another. The New Zealand Government as ‘the State’ led this belief and was the centre around which ideas and the ideals of the nation orbited. National identity was defined by the State and the essence of this identity was exhibited in the State’s activities such as the National Centennial and the number of national projects it created. The widespread privatisation, restructurings and reforms of the Rogernomic period negated this role of the Government in New Zealand society. Douglas’ policies had, as Keith Sinclair suggests, encouraged “a belief in capitalism and millionaires” and as a result induced “a marked loss of public confidence in the Government’s, and indeed the country’s, direction.”⁵⁵

Whilst Ballara’s defined Brown Wedge and the difficulties New Zealanders faced in coming to terms with the impacts of Rogernomic policies are quite different phenomena, they both severely punctured New Zealand’s established national identity and perceptions of the nation. Whereas the Brown Wedge challenged a New Zealand built on Eurocentric beliefs and systems to reorganize and reflect New Zealand’s true state of being a bicultural and multicultural society, Rogernomic policies and the withdrawal of the Government from society saw the New Zealand population become disorientated without a common point of focus and disillusioned with the effects that these policies had on New Zealand society. Cumulatively the changes that were occurring in New Zealand throughout this period encouraged the development of a tangible and reassuring take on perceptions of nationality and national identity. The publication of anthologies in this period, particularly those that emphasized and highlighted New Zealand, are symptomatic of these developments. These anthologies of New Zealand painting aimed to lessen the blow of social change in a period when the collisions and knocks associated with comparatively radical societal development were swift and brutal. Essentially, through the promotion of New Zealand as an identity or identifying brand or marker that is unique and individually identifying to people in this specific location and context, they appeal to the public for a return to an unquestioned patriotism directed towards the universal New Zealand citizen and a universal understanding of New Zealand. As Bell states, “projects and ploys to incite recognition of national values held in common (or apparently in common; or more or

⁵⁵ Sinclair, Keith, Dalziel, Raewyn, *A history of New Zealand* (Revised edition), Auckland: Penguin, 2000. p. 341.

less in common) is a useful process for the management of diverse people.”⁵⁶ These books encourage all New Zealanders, through reminding us of our collective physical location, to recognize themselves as diverse people on land, *New Zealand-ers* so to speak. Celebrating the cultural products of the place “New Zealand” is one way of aiding the re-identification and reorientation process needed at this period in time. Under the collective projection of these anthologies our differences and individual circumstances are hence neutralized. It is important to remember that, at the time these anthologies were published, New Zealand was experiencing a collapse in common community that had never been experienced to this extent in its comparatively short history. In the wake of the Eurocentric and State-lead community of which New Zealanders were familiar, the evocation of national values or symbols could provide a common point around which a desperately needed pseudo-community could be forged. This pseudo-community served European New Zealanders most directly as it answered identity questions specifically relevant to a post- Colonial and post-settler community. James Ritchie introduces the situation well in his book *Becoming Bicultural* where he observes:

There are two predominant cultures here, not one. Pakeha culture (about which we know surprisingly little, anthropologically speaking) is dominated by power, history and majority. Maori culture is dominated by a longer history, by legacy and by its strength of survival and its passionate commitment to its people.⁵⁷

These anthologies thus have a dual social function. On the one hand they dissolve specific identity, which is ethnic identity, in an attempt to unite New Zealand through the promotion and celebration of New Zealand as our collective home, whilst on the other they reiterate a collective identity through redefining New Zealanders, particularly European New Zealanders, as citizens of our unique South Pacific nation. Bell articulates this second functioning well in stating “people’s attachment to a country, and articulation of that commitment, reinforces mythologies of place. The constant process of self-validation works to protect national, and therefore personal,

⁵⁶ Bell, Claudia, 1996. p. 188

⁵⁷ Ritchie, James, *Becoming bicultural*, Wellington: Huia Publishers: Daphne Brasell Associates Press, 1992. p. 6

identity.”⁵⁸ These anthologies are part of a conscious provision by many individuals in a number of sectors to give the New Zealand citizen, particularly those of European descent, an anchor or an identifying cultural skeleton from which to develop a new national identity which essentially equated to reinstating a steadily dissolving one in a dramatically different and new New Zealand.

The Nation Collected: national collections, anthologies and social values

*These fellow readers, to whom they are connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community.*⁵⁹

Benedict Anderson

In her essay *Art* Danielle Fox states:

At the heart of this essay is an acknowledgement that art, because it operates in a public sphere, can function as a form of media, carrying messages from the institutions responsible for its presentation to a public audience. In this capacity, art has a constitutive role, that is, the power to influence how audiences view institutions such as corporations or the government and how to defend “American” values and national identities.⁶⁰

There are obvious differences between the situation that Fox illustrates and the New Zealand situation to which I will apply this premise. Whereas Fox is speaking of art in the most literal sense of the term (products of the creative process) this research deals with reproductions of these products that are printed in a collection outside of a specific ‘public arena’ or environment. A dislocation of product from the typical sphere of reference occurs in the New Zealand situation that Fox need not have considered in her synopsis. In addition, as opposed to the institutional presentation of

⁵⁸ Bell, Claudia, 1996. p. 194

⁵⁹ cited in Bell, Claudia, 1996. p 130

⁶⁰ Fox, Danielle, “Art” in Maxwell, Richard (ed.), *Culture works: the political economy of culture*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. p. 24

art that Fox illustrates, these anthologies of New Zealand painting and the message they carry are presented to New Zealand through a consumerism driven by a social demand and not institutional or government policy or strategy. Despite these differences, Fox's argument is perhaps more true of the reproduced art accommodated in these anthologies than of the art typically found in galleries and museums. This is because when art becomes published- reproduced in printed volumes or to be placed in unfamiliar setting- it becomes increasingly accessible as the barriers of location and first hand experience are removed from the experiencing of the work itself. This repositioning enables the work to be repeatedly experienced in the home at one's own leisure whilst also places it within reach of all facets of society, particularly through the facilitation of public libraries, schools or other community focused institutions. Whilst these anthologies do not represent the views of the corporate or government enterprise, they do attempt to influence our perception and experience of New Zealand and New Zealanders, particularly through the promotion of a universal national culture and identity. In "Why Culture Works" Richard Maxwell states "culture works because culture is first of all the sum of stories we tell ourselves about who we are and want to be, individually and collectively. Culture works also as the staging ground of those identity narratives and of our daily routines."⁶¹ Thus whilst these paintings present the perceived 'best examples' of New Zealand culture, they also tell us- even if under retrospective terms- about the society in which they were created and subsequently represent. In short, there is a specific message.

As with any canon, or set of guidelines (in this instance both social and cultural) prior to beginning this research I perhaps naively expected that the information contained within each of the anthologies would be directed towards a focus similar to those institutionalised, national collections or canons housed in art galleries or museums such as *Te Papa Tongarewa*, New Zealand's national museum in Wellington. I also expected the information presented within each of these texts would be relatively consistent with one another. From the outset I expected that the national collections published in these anthologies of New Zealand painting would broadly subscribe to ideals set out in the *National Art Gallery and Dominion Museum Act of 1930* and its contemporary, the *National Art Gallery, Museum and War Memorial Act of 1972*. The

⁶¹ Maxwell, Richard, "Why culture works" in Maxwell, Richard (ed.), *Culture works : the political economy of culture*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.p. 1

latter of these Acts describes that the exact function of these national institutions (and subsequently their collections) is to:

- 1) acquire, preserve, act as a national repository for, and display collections of works representing the whole range of visual arts,
- 2) provide educational services in connection with these collections and the general field of the visual arts and
- 3) co-operate with and assist other public art galleries and allied organizations in the performance of the above functions.⁶²

Whilst this statement is, as with many other pieces of legislation, relatively open to interpretation, its emphasis on providing a repository for cultural items of importance to our national heritage is relatively clear. The full implication of this legislation becomes clearer when looking at *Te Papa's* Corporate Principles which state that *Te Papa*:

provides museum services that contribute to the Government's outcome of preserving and presenting the *taonga* (treasures) of our peoples, interpreting the heritage of New Zealand for national and international audiences, and helping establish New Zealand's place in the world through contextualizing our heritage within the heritage of other cultures.⁶³

These collections are based around determining those facets of New Zealand society integral to our culture and heritage and presenting them to public audiences under the status of national *taonga*. They aim, as *Te Papa's* Corporate Principles further detail, to make "a significant contribution to the key government goal- *To Strengthen National Identity and Uphold the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi*"⁶⁴ [italics in original]. The suggestion that this legislation is making, and indeed the principles that *Te Papa* and other institutions housing national collections uphold, is that identity can be achieved, encapsulated and communicated in objects. The limited nature of a

⁶² New Zealand National Register of Archives and Manuscripts/ Te Rārangī Pūranga, Tuhinga Ake o te Motu <http://www.nram.govt.nz/record.php?holderid=3&id=5582&parent=ncindex>, accessed 25th October 2007

⁶³ The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, *About us, what we do*, www.tepapa.govt.nz/TePapa/English/AboutTePapa/AboutUs/WhatWeDo/, 2003

⁶⁴ *Ibid*

national museum or gallery suggests that this premise is not true of all objects, only some- the cultural and socio-political 'best' as is decided by a limited number of educated individuals- can or do encapsulate the identity and social essence of the community it serves and presents. In keeping with this philosophy, I expected that whilst there would be an inevitable variety of works depicted across these anthologies due to the differing opinions on the cultural and socio-political 'best' New Zealand paintings, that there would be a regular group of works by a limited group of artists that would reliably reappear in each anthology because of their status in New Zealand's cultural history and developments. As someone who has been interested in both producing art and studying New Zealand art and culture since secondary school and through to University, I expected these anthologies would present Colin McCahon as 'our' greatest artist, closely followed by other revered 'national' artists such as Rita Angus, Charles Goldie, Bill Hammond, Ralph Hotere, Doris Lusk, Petrus van der Velden, Gordon Walters and Sir Mountford (Toss) Woollaston. These anthologies would also recognize the historic significance and influence of the works of William Hodges, Sydney Parkinson and John Webber; the artists present on Captain James Cooks' three respective exploratory voyages to New Zealand. Key works or series' of works by several artists such as Rita Angus' *Cass* and *Central Otago*, Colin McCahon's *The Northland Panels*, van der Velden's *Otira Gorge*, any of Gordon Walters' 'koru' paintings and key works of the exploratory period such as Webber's *Cooks Cove*, Hodges' *A view of Dusky Bay* or Augustus Earle's *The Wounded Chief Hongi* would habitually reappear. These works and artists would be heavily represented because they in themselves either through imagery or association represent New Zealand, often literally, through the portrayal of New Zealand people and place. The success of the above named artists lies in their being recognized as having pioneered new styles and techniques in this country, whilst the works of some hold significant historical value. My initial opinion was that this constant rate of recurrence would represent the fact that these works had been singled out by anthologists on behalf of all New Zealanders as culturally important to New Zealand because they were perceived to encapsulate and provide identity to New Zealand, and New Zealanders. Through these icons we could see our identity develop and take shape and also encounter our history. In addition, this would provide me with a compelling platform to begin a discussion into the relationship between iconography,

national identity, and social and national development in this country the details of which have been discussed earlier in this chapter.

As opposed to confirming my prospective stance, the collation of the data from these anthologies refuted the idea that New Zealand, and New Zealanders elevate specific artists and works to the status of cultural icons, and that these ideals are reflected in the anthology as a social canon. In actual fact the collation of the data provided results quite opposite to those that I had expected. The number of paintings pictured in the 17 sources utilised throughout this research totalled 1901 (Appendix A) and of this number only 112 works, or 5.8 percent, were referenced more than twice (Appendix B.) Of this small percent, only 21 works appeared in three or more of the sources and only two of these, Louis J Steele's *Spoils of the Victor* and Christopher Perkins' *Taranaki*- neither of which I had considered in my own assumptions, were included in four of my sources, which was the maximum number of instances that any one work was included in the 17 resources (view Appendix B.)

Whilst in many respects the information collated throughout this research appears to match up, at least in part, with the hypothesis I set myself prior to undertaking this research (Angus' *Cass* and *Central Otago*, along with Earle's *The Wounded Chief Hongi*, McCahon's *The Northland Panels*, van der Velden's *Otira Gorge* and Gordon Walters' *Genealogy 5*- an example of his Koru works- were referenced more than once in these 17 sources), several key aspects of my anticipated results remain absent from the results. 112 works included in multiple sources is not necessarily in excess of the number of works I had expected to be recognised as *taonga* or national treasures. Having stated this the total number of works represented in these anthologies, being barely shy of 2000, is far beyond the limits of what I consider to be a 'regular group of works' included within these published national collections. The sheer number of paintings collaboratively highlighted as important/influential/worthy by the editors of these volumes puts the 112 recurrently referenced works into perspective when one considers that on average each of the 17 sources introduced the reader to 112 works of art considered noteworthy as being representative of New Zealand by the editor(s.) This essentially means that across the board there was on average a consensus, often only between two editors and up to only four editors, of only 7 works or 6.25 percent of the 112 paintings introduced per publication. To

further exemplify the apparent lack of consensus between editors and the reality of an awkward, somewhat inconclusive result of 112 recurrently cited works across these publications, on average 93.75 percent of the works included in these anthologies (105 of the 112 works introduced per publication) reflected the personal opinion of *an* individual editor. Should I stand by my initial premise that only ‘the best’/national *taonga*/our (identifying) icons are included in such collections, I would essentially be suggesting by omission that *an* individual can possess the influence to create or manipulate a large facet of a nation’s cultural and identity heritage. Whilst each of these editors both presents and represents an educated opinion, I do not believe that any individual in a country such as New Zealand that consists of at least two bicultural opinions can singularly influence national perceptions of identity and culture. The apparent inability of these editors to have corresponding judgment on locally produced artistic tour de force with regard to national and cultural importance is somewhat disconcerting.

Whilst my assumptions on the artworks that would be highlighted as exemplary, iconic New Zealand artefacts was contradicted, my belief that a limited group of artists would be singled out as ‘New Zealand masters’ within these anthologies was slightly more accurate. As with the individual works themselves, it is reasonable to suggest that artists widely referenced across the anthologies can be understood to possess or represent a greater popular value than those that appear in only one of the sources. Building conclusions on the basis of popularity is admittedly crude, but it does allow us to see if certain artists are favoured above others when considering the creators, or perhaps cultivators, of ‘great’ New Zealand culture as part of a New Zealand identity. Across the data accumulated from these sources a group of artists did appear noticeably more frequently than others. In these publications 559 artists were represented and of these two artists, Colin McCahon and Toss Woollaston- both artists I had predicted would be well represented in these collections- appeared in 11 of the 17, or 65 percent of all sources surveyed (Appendix C). This is the maximum number of anthologies that any artist was included within. Following closely behind McCahon and Woollaston, in 10 of the 17 or 59 percent of the total number of anthologies was Patrick Hanly, an artist I had not included in my own presumptions as I felt his work was too abstracted- although not necessarily abstract- to appeal to a general New Zealand audience, and Ralph Hotere. Rita Angus and Gordon Walters

appeared in 9 of the 17, Doris Lusk was found in 8 publications, and Petrus van der Velden and Bill Hammond featured in only 4 of the 17 (Appendix C). The exploratory artists William Hodge, Sydney Parkinson and John Webber, along with Charles Goldie were not as greatly represented across the publications as I had expected.

The perceived hierarchical status of New Zealand artists can also be gauged by looking at how many of an individual artist's works have been included across all of the sources utilised in this research (Appendix D.) This is a method of observation that relies somewhat less on popularity alone by focusing more on the technical, creative and cultural merit of an artwork that, when looked at in relation to other works by the same artist, allows us to assess the alleged cultural influence of the artist's career and catalogue as is determined by the editors of these publications. Of the 559 artists represented across these anthologies Colin McCahon and Toss Woollaston had the largest number of works included within these publications. 34 of McCahon's and 33 of Woollaston's works were included. These two artists alone account for almost 3.5 percent of the total number of works featured in these anthologies. An additional 43 artists had 10 works, or 0.5 percent of the total 1901 works, included across all 17 sources. Some of these artists such as Michael Smither, Patrick Hanly, Richard Killeen and Ralph Hotere were, whilst not as heavily represented as McCahon and Woollaston, still relatively heavily represented in comparison to the balance of these 43 artists who for the most part accounted for between 0.5 percent and 1 percent (10 to 20 paintings) of the total body of work presented across these sources. As with the previous method of enquiry William Hodges, Charles Goldie, Sydney Parkinson, and John Webber did not feature at all in these results.

As with the information collated on individual artworks, the information presented in both Appendix C and D appears to, for the most part, match up with my initial premise that some artists are perceived to be iconic national painters in New Zealand. In both methods of investigation two artists, Colin McCahon and Toss Woollaston, have significantly emerged as fundamental, perhaps even central, figures in the New Zealand cultural tradition. In addition to this with the exception of the artists present on Captain Cook's voyages to New Zealand and Charles Goldie, all of the artists I

envisaged would emerge as noteworthy New Zealand artists did in fact do so. If I were to approach these results with a view to only affirm my premise, then I can do so, but in reality these results are much broader than I had initially expected, perhaps naively. My premise is eclipsed by several factors. The figures making up these results are by no means exceptional. When I formulated my initial premise, I was expecting the findings to be extremely clear-cut, realistically I expected that Colin McCahon would be represented in closer to 80 percent of these anthologies as opposed to 65 percent and that the gap between him as New Zealand's perceived premiere artist and the representation of New Zealand's other iconic artists would be narrower. In addition to this, the company that my chosen iconic artists kept throughout this research was much larger than I had ever anticipated. The absence of many of these artists from my presupposition reflects a naivety to properly consider the impact corporate markets and cultural economists can have on reducing the understanding and value of culture to what Sarah Owen-Vandersluis in her book *Ethics and Cultural Policy in a Global Economy*, calls "supply and demand terms."⁶⁵ In order for my hypothesis to have been accurate, or at least arguable, a moderate number of artists needed to appear in at least 66 percent of the sources utilised. They would also have to have either a small number of works cross referenced a significant numbers of times across these sources or ideally have a wide body of work included across the sources in addition to the recurrence of a few, 'key' works. Appendix C shows that whilst 9 artists were featured in more than half of the anthologies none of these artists featured in 66 percent of the sources, although Colin McCahon and Toss Wollaston came very close to this mark. The statistics acquired from Appendix B and C display mediocrity at best, although it may be that the sheer number of artists and works represented in these anthologies has stifled the achievement of some of these artists such as Colin McCahon and Toss Woollaston who both had a considerable number of works featured in these publications. As these results stand they are in no way conclusive.

In the absence of conclusive, clear cut results, it is important to remind ourselves of what Albert Moore suggested was the primal concern of the iconographer: to analyse

⁶⁵ Owen Vandersluis, Sarah, *Ethics and cultural policy in a global economy*, Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. p. 17

and read the subject matter, and not the form of art itself.⁶⁶ Whilst these results negate my initial premise they do point towards a trend to venerate or value a specific type of iconography above all others. An emphasis and focus on images of New Zealand, *New ZeaLAND*, appear to at least in part govern the popular and critical success of individual works and artists in this country (Appendix B). All three specific approaches to this data have revealed results that endorse such a statement and when these results are critically assessed in light of each other it is difficult to dismiss the similarities between analyses as coincidental.

Across the 17 sources Christopher Perkins' *Taranaki* and Louis Steele's *Spoils of the Victor* emerged equally as the most frequently referenced paintings of 1901 individual works whilst Colin McCahon and Toss Woollaston were the most frequently and widely referenced of 559 individual artists. *Taranaki* as a critically acclaimed painting of regional and modern New Zealand and McCahon and Woollaston as revered New ZeaLAND painters are all members of the New Zealand landscape painting genre. Furthermore and perhaps more importantly they are all widely recognised by Art Historians and those interested or educated in New Zealand art as being central to the development and maturity of a nationalist movement in the arts during the mid Twentieth Century that put forward "a self-conscious and explicitly-stated search for a national identity in painting and literature, a search for New Zealand subjects and a New Zealand style."⁶⁷ *Taranaki* as a landscape painting fits this mould explicitly, especially when considered alongside Perkins' famed comments that "the future of New Zealand as a country for painters is guaranteed by its marvellous light" and that artists should "turn the stark facts of life in this country, such as the tin dairy shed [fittingly present in *Taranaki* itself] into a living unit of design."⁶⁸ Woollaston's artistic beliefs and values are in many respects similar to those of Perkins. As a landscape painter Woollaston painted the familiar and not the elaborate or fanciful as he explains in the statement:

⁶⁶ Refer to footnote 16

⁶⁷ Pound, Francis, "The Real and Unreal in New Zealand Painting: A discussion prompted by a new edition of An Introduction to New Zealand Painting" in *Art New Zealand*, <http://www.art-newzealand.com/Issues21to30/real.htm>. Accessed 13 January 2009.

⁶⁸ Keith, Hamish, 2007. p. 154

I've [Woollaston] always ended up painting the things I see everyday- I don't go around looking for fancy scenery. What you paint is what becomes exciting when you've looked at it a hundred times. That's the difference between paintings and tourist post-cards.⁶⁹

Thus like Perkins, Woollaston sought authenticity in his art, where the two differ is in the presentation. Whereas Perkins' delivery revolved around projecting an overemphasised version of the New Zealand regional reality which was subsequently developed into a national identity marker by subsequent New Zealand artists, the reality of the New Zealand Woollaston portrayed reflected his *response* to his environment. He philosophised that "painting from nature is not copying the object, it is realising one's sensations" and as a result his works were Expressionist in style,⁷⁰ establishing emotional connections with his surroundings through utilising a responsive palette (of his *Motueka Foreshore Landscape* he exclaimed "I want to paint the sunlight but after it has been absorbed by the earth"⁷¹), expressive brushstrokes and an intimate eye. He did not seek to represent the world, but *paint it as he felt it*, a process that requires establishing a sensitive involvement with the land so as to express oneself amongst it. Like Woollaston, and to a certain extent Perkins, McCahon's painted relationship with New Zealand was full of expressive significance. Whilst his works are recognised for critiquing issues as diverse as religion and faith, life and death, doubt and uncertainty, Maoritanga and nuclear war, landscape was at the core of his career portfolio.⁷² McCahon's landscapes were different to *Taranaki* and those of Woollaston, relying less on subject and more on expressions of a perpetual place; landscapes were stripped back to the bare and harsh essentials and often painted from memory to produce a universal place that was a universal stage, waiting for its players. Essence of place was important to McCahon; when asked about *Takaka Day and Night* he responded that it "was painted round the corner of a room, no one wall being itself big enough. Once more it states my interest in landscape as a symbol of place and also of the human condition. It is not so much a

⁶⁹ O'Brien, Gregory, *Lands & deeds : profiles of contemporary*; photographic portraits by Robert Cross, Auckland: Godwit, 1996. p. 98

⁷⁰ Christchurch Art Gallery *Te Puna o Waiwhetu*, "Toss Woollaston, Motueka Foreshore Landscape", Christchurch New Zealand www.christchurchartgallery.org.nz/GalleryOnline. Accessed 18 October 2008.

⁷¹ Ibid

⁷² Keith, Hamish, 2007. p. 172

part of a place as such but a memory of time and an experience of a particular place.”⁷³ Of New Zealand he stated “I saw something logical, orderly and beautiful belonging to the land and not yet to its people. Not yet understood or communicated, nor even really invented.”⁷⁴ Scholars state that McCahon is not really about the landscape, but on many levels neither are *Taranaki* and *Woollaston*. These artists paint place, but communicate much more. As Hamish Keith has stated with regard to nationalism in the arts in this country:

...those looking for a national identity just by painting national subjects were looking in the wrong place...National origins in art are not about stories, but the language or dialect in which stories are told; how things are felt as much as how they are seen.⁷⁵

Whilst these men are but three of many painters that utilise images of New Zealand, they are distinguished from the others, as the data has shown us, by the extent to which they engage with their surroundings. Etymology prescribes that the term ‘aesthetic’ derives from *aisthetikos*, a variant of *aisthanesthai*, meaning to perceive-as in to know, not simply to see.⁷⁶ Perkins, Woollaston and McCahon actively produce a visual/emotive/high cultural/commodity nationalism that extends beyond the visual prompt of painted location- of being here now- and into New Zealand realities of culture, identity, society, people, and nationality. Their aesthetic values incorporate insight and emotion when dealing with images as rudimentary as the tin dairy shed or the Nelson hills and it is, I believe, these graphic and honest responses to surroundings that give New Zealand dignity in a landscape form that has cemented these artists above others in the minds of New Zealand art historians. As a result these anthologies communicate messages associated with placing unparalleled importance on New Zealand as place in the construction of any national identity or culture. As Gordon Brown has stated the “outlook adopted by most people concerned with the

⁷³ Blackley, Roger, Auckland City Art Gallery, *Two centuries of New Zealand landscape art*, Auckland: Auckland City Art Gallery, 1990. p. 90

⁷⁴ Eggleton, David, *Towards Aotearoa: a short history of 20th century New Zealand art*, Auckland: Reed, 2007. P. 80

⁷⁵ Keith, Hamish, 2007. p. 158-9

⁷⁶ Apostolos Cappodona, Diane, “Beyond Belief: The Artistic Journey” in Crumlin, Rosemary (ed.), *Beyond Belief: modern art and the religious imagination; catalogue research and collaboration by Margaret Woodward*, Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, c1998. Obtained from photocopy belonging to Michael Grimshaw. Page number not copied.

idea of a national identity essentially was one of regionalism, and regional truth for the New Zealander was inevitably linked with landscape imagery.”⁷⁷ These anthologies are testament to such a premise. According to this research, our collective understanding of ourselves as New Zealanders is driven by visual perceptions of place and more importantly, nation.

This theme of recognising, celebrating and to a certain extent confronting New Zealand by means of visually expressing a national truth exhibited in and through the land that extends to influence perceptions of New Zealand national identity is continued, although subtly, throughout this research. In *Signatures of place: painting and place-names* Francis Pound declares “As in the larger politic, so in art. New Zealand painting has to plan to use New Zealand’s own physical resources: a policy made in New Zealand, by New Zealand conditions, a plan not exotic but native in problems, so we are told.”⁷⁸ Elaborating on this theme he later suggests:

All [New Zealand] Nationalist painting is posed, and posed itself, *as a kind of immense signature of place*. Painting’s signs became, from the 1930’s on, a sort of sig-Nature, where New Zealand Nature might seem to sign *itself*.⁷⁹
[italics in original]

In other words, New Zealand sig-Nature is the validation of New Zealand through its own self and presence, New Zealand authenticating “New Zealand”. Furthermore the presence of a perceived and validated New Zealand signals the imminent presence of identity, culture and heritage specific to the perceived, presented nation. Pound’s declaration in many ways comes to life throughout the data collected across all of the anthologies utilised throughout this research. As has just been discussed, Perkins, Woollaston and McCahon all produced works with strong links to New Zealand places and imagery. Perkins and Woollaston in particular (of the thirty-three Woollaston works included across the anthologies, eighteen of them had titles that mentioned places in New Zealand) fit the mould described by Pound. In addition the

⁷⁷ Brown, G. H., *New Zealand Painting 1920-1940*, p. 62

⁷⁸ Pound, Francis, *Signatures of place : paintings & place-names : Govett-Brewster Art Gallery, New Plymouth, New Zealand, 15 June-28 July 1991*; registrar and catalogue editor, Barbara Mare; technician and photographer, Bryan James, New Plymouth: The Gallery, c1991. p. 3

⁷⁹ *Ibid* p. 12

frequency to which paintings were included across the sources appears to confirm this stance. Of the 21 works referenced three or more times across the 17 anthologies, 9 include a New Zealand place name in their title (Appendix B). An additional 2 include descriptive words specific to New Zealand in their titles whilst another 3 (*Spoils of the Victor* and *A Native Gathering*) include imagery within the works specifically indicative of a romanticized Maori pre-colonial New Zealand (Appendix B). In total, 14 of the 21 or 64 percent of these works in some way incorporate aspects exclusive to New Zealand (Appendix B). Of the works mentioned twice the results are not so conclusive but are still illustrative of a similar trend. Of the 92 works, 27 had a New Zealand place-name in their title and an additional 6 had descriptive words specific to New Zealand in their title (Appendix B). Of these 92 works, 37 percent explicitly referenced New Zealand or descriptions specific to New Zealand in their titles (Appendix B). It is even significant that all of the 14 manuscript sources included then name New Zealand in their titles as a way of both localising and validating the anthology itself and the works that it contained. It is too easy to overlook the recurring incidence of “New Zealand” as a noun and adjective in these books, passing such an occurrence off as being symptomatic of the publication genre and focus when in fact ‘New Zealand painting’ is a classification designed around common location to which paintings of and about New Zealand are but one facet. Pound discusses the rearrangement of the lines between nation (place) art, national art and nationalist art. He states:

...to entitle a painting with a local place name, then, is to grant it something more than a distinguishing appellation. It is also to proffer an *entitlement* in another sense of the word: it is to entitle the painting to a local audience.⁸⁰

Obviously this entitlement works in inverse, I would argue perhaps primarily so, in enabling and perhaps directing and even implicitly demanding the audience to assign meaning to each work. Pound continues the discussion by highlighting that:

...the ‘local and special’ argument is, therefore, a form of special pleading, a strong stratagem for deserving and achieving a local audience. It is an

⁸⁰ Ibid p. 8

excellent marketing strategy, and a fine piece of public relations. It is a way of inventing a new New Zealand, a New Zealand School of Art, and a New Zealand market- all at once.⁸¹

Therefore 'New Zealandness' is not intrinsic to New Zealand art, it is as carefully a considered facet as any other part of the composition because, as David Eggleton states:

Art is made by artists, each having his or her own story- but they do not operate in a vacuum; rather, time reveals patterns of reaction and counterreaction, convergence and separation.⁸²

It is all too easy to forget that, as I stated at the beginning of this chapter, art is a response to physical stimuli. The artist creates within a society to which his or her responses are inseparable. The Welsh clergy-man and poet R. S. Thomas reminds us of this in his poem *Gallery* where he utters that art works:

...are not asleep.
They keep watch on
our last. It is not they

are being looked at
but we.⁸³

⁸¹ Ibid p. 8

⁸² Eggleton, David, 2007. p. 7

⁸³ quoted in Woodward, Margaret, "Surprised into Seeing" in Crumlin, Rosemary (ed.), *Beyond Belief: modern art and the religious imagination; catalogue research and collaboration by Margaret Woodward*. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, c1998. Obtained from photocopy belonging to Michael Grimshaw. Page number not copied. Originally cited in Thomas, R. S., *Collected Poems 1945-1990*, London: Phoenix. P. 445

Coda

When I began this thesis I had a specific vision of the way that it would proceed: analysing national icons in New Zealand society and culture. The thesis would specifically critique the way these icons are created, presented and received as a form of visual piety in contemporary New Zealand.

National icons appeared to be common and ‘real’ because they were presented to New Zealanders and received by New Zealanders as a unified ‘face of the nation.’ This thesis was to argue that such icons in actuality served to conceal the underlying fragmentation of New Zealand society and culture and that it was only through critiquing the image that we would be freed from our pseudo-*religare*. In short this thesis would analyse what New Zealanders *believed* about themselves from within the realm of cultural aesthetics. The central claim of argument was to be that New Zealanders had established a cultural aesthetic, or national iconography, that was propagated *by* New Zealanders *for* New Zealanders as the binding point within our society; and that it was from this basis that we rejected, dissented, protected and created claims to our society and identity. For these aesthetics were in fact the basis for our understanding of ourselves and our country. Outside of these images, so I thought, New Zealand had no form of established national identity. Our national iconography provided, if somewhat superficially, a sense of national identity for the New Zealand public who were otherwise devoid of one. I expected that in deconstructing this superficial, aesthetic relation to our culture, I would highlight the fact that New Zealanders lived in a nihilistic state and attempt to answer the question of how to rebuild New Zealand after the national icon. I believed that without understanding what surrounded us as New Zealanders we could not understand what ‘we’ were if anything.

My starting point was to analyse anthologies of New Zealand painting. As these books offer a limited approach to a vast cultural subject (anthologies as single published volumes necessarily filter information to create an overview of a subject in this instance New Zealand painting) I believed by analysing the frequency that specific works, genres of art, and subject matter appeared in these anthologies I would

begin to see a pattern of specific iconography that was presented to New Zealanders by New Zealanders (albeit a limited number of New Zealanders: the Editors of these publications who are admittedly educated in a specific field) as integral to our constructed sense of national identity.

The analysis of nearly two thousand New Zealand paintings included in fourteen anthologies of New Zealand painting, and three lists produced in conjunction with the *Frontseat* internet poll ‘the search for New Zealand’s greatest painting’ negated the suggestion that New Zealanders have a specific series of seemingly national icons used to form a superficial sense of national identity. A series of statistical analyses of: the number of times each individual work was included across the seventeen sources, the number of works introduced in each anthology, the number of times an individual artist appeared across the seventeen sources, and the number of works by a specific artist included across the seventeen sources, produced inconclusive results. These results have rendered my initial proposal of analysing national imagery as the basis of New Zealand’s national identity unworkable. Whilst this research did not confirm my legitimate or initial premise it did highlight some alternate results.

Throughout the analysis of the collective body of New Zealand paintings included in the seventeen sources used in this research, landscapes, landscape painters, and references to New Zealand places emerged as a central theme. In *Locating the ‘New Zealand’ icon* I defined the anthology as both a vehicle for information (a mode of presenting prior defined information to the New Zealand public) and a vehicle of information (meaning that due to its necessarily exclusive nature a rewriting of the information- New Zealand painting- takes place). These anthologies thus serve to highlight integral facets of New Zealand identity- or *New Zealand* identity- to the New Zealand public and that the frequency with which these publications entered the marketplace since the publication of Peter Cape’s *New Zealand Painting Since 1960: a study of themes and developments since 1960* in 1979 indicated that New Zealanders sense of identity was being challenged. As *Locating the ‘New Zealand’ icon* has detailed, the 1970’s and 1980’s were a period in New Zealand’s history in which long-held beliefs of New Zealand people and place were being overturned. Maori urban migration and the migration of Pacific peoples to New Zealand changed the social make up of our primarily white, urban environments. Rogernomic policies

renegotiated the role of the State in our national community and Maori were forcing issues of ethnicity and social oppression to the forefront of the nation's consciousness. As a result, New Zealander's- a term used to describe the primarily European New Zealander who had the least to gain from social change found themselves in a position where their understanding of themselves as New Zealanders and of New Zealand as their home was increasingly becoming irrelevant. The repetitive references to landscapes in these anthologies is significant in this period of social uncertainty.

As opposed to highlighting specific New Zealand paintings as products of New Zealand culture through which the New Zealander could encounter a 'real New Zealand' outside of politics and social change, these anthologies propagated a specific awareness of *New Zealand* that existed as a negation of politics and social change. The message delivered by these anthologies is that the 'real New Zealand' was not found in our peopled towns and cities that had in the 1970's and 1980's proven to be breeding grounds for dissent and the places in which detrimental decisions to our future were made, but in our landscapes- the places that we are not. The extent to which these publications succeeded in the consumer marketplace signals that New Zealanders were receptive to this message.

The central message these anthologies deliver to a primarily European New Zealand public, the portion of the population that was most effected by the social changes of the 1970's and 1980's, is that a sense of national identity in these turbulent times could be propagated and adhered to if it were created in reference to a specific facet of New Zealand geography- the landscape. In creating a new understanding of New Zealand that was separated from our urban environments, without people, that relied on recognising the inherent nature of New Zealand as a landmass and not as a community or civilisation, New Zealanders recreated a place that they would not only identify with, but would identify them as members of a specific location.

In light of these somewhat unexpected results, the subsequent chapter *Land Fever* will analyse the way in which New Zealand society reformatted their understanding of New Zealand to enable nation-al identity after national identity. As this process is inextricably bound up in understanding the nation- New Zealand- *Land Fever* will analyse the contemporary phenomenon of understanding our place in terms of

landscape from within a historical perspective. It will put forward that New Zealand has not always been understood by New Zealanders primarily in terms of tangible space, and that this altering of perspective is inextricably linked to the social changes that occurred in New Zealand society in the 1970's and 1980's. It is noted that *Land Fever* will draw on distinctions and claims made in *Locating the 'New Zealand' icon*, but these arguments will be reformulated to fit within the suggestion that, as the basis of national identity, our understanding New Zealand place necessarily needed to change in light of the social changes that were occurring in New Zealand at this period in its history. Moreover, *Land Fever* will suggest that without developing this new understanding of New Zealand, New Zealanders would be unable to locate themselves in any sense of familiar place thus rendering their personal existence as New Zealander's incomprehensible.

Land Fever

The study of landscape is much more than an academic exercise- it is about the complexity of peoples lives, historical contingency, contestation, motion and change.

Barbara Bender, *Contested Landscapes: movement, exile and place*¹

Writing about the relationships between human communities and the landscape is especially important in New Zealand, given our particular histories of migration, settlement and environmental transformation as well as the strong connections drawn between the land and cultural identity in our politics, economy, and art.

Tony Ballantyne & Judith A Bennett²

On the 7th of June 1874 Alfred Lawrence, a voyaging New Zealand settler from Britain on board the ship *Atrato* coined the term ‘land fever.’³ Lawrence’s term both defined and described his shipmates desire for green grass and to walk on dry land after a long, three-month sea voyage. Reviewing such voyages over a century later David Hastings stated “rather than looking back to the old country and old friends, all eyes were fixed firmly on the new.”⁴ Lawrence’s term thus also subtly reflects two desires, firstly to set foot on New Zealand as *terra firma*- solid unchanging land as opposed to the volatile and fluid sea to which these settlers had committed and entrusted the past several months of their lives. Secondly ‘land fever’ also expresses the desire to reach the land which each settler, some months prior, chose to make their new home and define their new future. For many European settlers in New Zealand, their decision to leave their homelands and embark on what was for many a one-way journey to the Southern-most corner of the world was spurred on by a desire to better

¹ Quoted in Ballantyne, Tony, Bennett, Judith A, *Landscape/community: perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin: University of Otago, 2005. p. 9

² Tony, Bennett, Judith A, *Landscape/community: perspectives from New Zealand*, Dunedin: University of Otago, 2005. p. 9

³ Hastings, David, *Over the mountains of the sea : life on the migrant ships, 1870-1885*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006. p. 226

⁴ Ibid p. 223

oneself and one's situation. As Michael King states "the dynamic of ejection [from Europe] included such factors as European overpopulation, poverty, hunger, an inability to break out of class systems, and religious controversy or outright persecution" and that "the attraction [of migration to New Zealand] lay in the promise of prosperity and healthier environments, prospects of social advancement without the hurdles of a class system and, for investors, opportunities to enlarge capital."⁵ Imaginings and expectations of a new and better land- a 'Better Britain'- were therefore, for many, central (if not a deciding factor) to one's decision to relocate.

The hope of finding comparative opulence in a new world the likes of which could not be easily accessed in the old, and the 'promise' of space and prosperity were enough for many prospective settlers to conjure images of New Zealand as Southern Utopia or Arcadia. The ideals of such fantastical places were deeply embedded in the romantic European imagination of the period. This association between New Zealand and the fantastical "not place"⁶, which inevitably and ironically hoped to turn New Zealand into the 'not place become' can be seen when comparing textual records of early colonial sentiments of New Zealand and Utopian text. Statements such Thomas Cholmondeley's defiant "material, you may call it [life in New Zealand]; behold, the material of a better world!"⁷ exhibit an emotive response to place similar to the themes of texts such as *Lines on the Island of Utopia by Poet Laureate, Mr Windbag Nonsense's Sister's Son*:

NOPLACIA was once my name,
That is, a place where no one goes.
Plato's Republic now I claim
To match, or beat at its own game;
For that was just a myth in prose,
But what he wrote of, I became,
Of men, wealth, laws of solid frame,

⁵ King, Michael, *The Penguin history of New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003. P. 170

⁶ Turner, Paul, "Introduction" in More, Thomas, Turner, Paul, *Utopia* (Revised edition); introduction and translation by Paul Turner, London; New York: Penguin, 2003. p. xii

⁷ Sinclair, Keith, Dalziel, Raewyn, *A history of New Zealand* (Revised edition), Auckland: Penguin, 2000. p 105

A place where every wise man goes;
GOPLACIA is now my name.⁸

Attitudes such as exhibited in the above passage are extremely similar to those of New Zealand settlers such as Cholmondeley, who were undoubtedly familiar with the literature of Arcadia and Utopia. Within the process of migration such settlers envisaged the possibility of cultivating their own GOPLACIA in New Zealand, which the rest of the world, particularly the societies from which they came, would envy. Texts such as the preface to John Savage's 1807 publication *Account of New Zealand* further exemplify the expectant link created by settlers between Utopian or Arcadian ideals and the New Zealand that they hoped to develop during the early stages of European settlement in New Zealand. The preface begins:

Remote in the Southern Sea an Island lies
Of ample Space, and bless'd with genial skies⁹

As this passage is intended to be read by Europeans, the majority of who would still be located in Europe (the title '*Account of New Zealand*' evokes the association with travel literature, an account with the unfamiliar) these first two lines appeal to an audience familiar with the social and spatial limitations of an overpopulated Europe and thus encourage a comparison to be drawn between New Zealand as relative empty space with professed beauty and its antithesis, the Nineteenth Century European city. It continues:

Where shelter'd still be neverfading groves,
The friendly Native dwells, and fearless roves;
Where the tall Forest and Plains around,
And Waters wide, with various wealth abound.¹⁰

⁸ More, Thomas, Turner, Paul, *Utopia* (Revised edition); introduction and translation by Paul Turner, London; New York: Penguin, 2003. p. 5

⁹ Temple, Philip, *A sort of conscience: the Wakefields*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002. p. 233

¹⁰ Ibid

The romanticist specifics of a picturesque New Zealand, friendly Natives included, are developed throughout the short text, the closing words of the passage going so far as to conjure up unspecified and indistinct images of El Dorado, a new world Arcadia or Utopia with *wealth*.

‘Land fever’ as Lawrence observed in his fellow travellers, perhaps even in himself, undoubtedly incorporated for many the desire to reach and perhaps achieve Utopia, Arcadia or El Dorado within the colonial enterprise: a perfect society. Therefore the excitement felt with the prospect of reaching land reflected not only a desire to leave behind the confines of ship board life, but the wish to reach the place that- for each settler- offered more than the place from which they had come. Lawrence’s term thus describes an emotional connection with New Zealand ‘place,’ even prior to encounter, that defined the settlers’ approach to their future within and of this place. Because ‘land fever’ is not specific to Lawrence’s experiences, but incorporates elements of expectation and hope of many early settlers to this country it is an honest and useful basis from which to launch into discussions of attitudes towards New Zealand that stem back to the settler and colonial period in New Zealand’s history.

Land fever reinvented

Since the settlement period (to which Lawrence’s observations are specifically relevant) as the analysis of nearly two thousand New Zealand paintings in *Locating the ‘New Zealand’ icon* has demonstrated, a primarily ‘European New Zealand’ public has reinvented the land fever phenomenon within their contemporary society. Whilst both forms of land fever exhibit similar characteristics, an intense societal enthusiasm or craze for land, they differ markedly in their principal focus. Lawrence’s land fever is specific to relocating into the promising and hope filled unknown. It focuses on the somewhat selfish but human pursuit of bettering ones individual self in a new and better environment. The contemporary version of land fever centres around re-establishing a national sense of identity and location in a society devoid of a sense of both. It aims to rectify a process of dislocation in this location- New Zealand- that began in the 1970’s.

As discussions in the previous chapter indicated postcolonial societal and cultural developments since the 1970's such as the development of a distinct Maori ethnic and political identity, and the increasing rate of migration to New Zealand, particularly of Pacific and from the 1990's Asian peoples, meant that the evocation of a universal 'New Zealander' ideal became difficult.¹¹ Similarly, such socio-political developments in the latter part of the Twentieth Century as the increasing popularity of the feminist movement and the Rogernomic period reorientated people from familiar forms of identity and community, negating their continuing and unchallenged authority. Before this period New Zealand, and New Zealand identity predominantly existed within the bounds of imperial, colonial doctrine. From the 1970's onward this colonially inspired and defined understanding of New Zealand, and New Zealand national identity ceased to exist- or at least ceased be relevant- in a rapidly changing New Zealand society as quickly as it was once loaded onto the first European migrant ships. The steady decline of familiar forms of national identity, community and nation resulted in a population, primarily of European descent, unsure of who they were and how to relate to their country and contemporary citizens. Human desire to answer questions such as 'who are we?', 'where are we?' and 'who are you?' occurred in a New Zealand steadily becoming a non-place outside of generic society's cognitive bounds. What 'we' thought 'we' were required catalytic rectification. As New Zealand society changed, New Zealand became- for the European New Zealander- an increasingly foreign environment. They were aware that their colonially inspired understanding of New Zealand was becoming increasingly irrelevant as New Zealand evolved from the 1970's onward. As a result, European New Zealanders became disorientated in New Zealand, unable to define it and themselves. The easiest way to rectify this disorientation and begin a process of relocation in this location was to focus on physical place. New Zealanders "knew" where they were: they could see it, and as a result they unconsciously created an understanding of their country that revolved around the landscapes encountered. In the post-1970's New Zealand society, the term "land fever" thus refers not only to the quest for identity, but the resulting

¹¹ The term postcolonial posed in this context refers to the development of ideas and ideals separated and in opposition to those established in the settler and colonial period that were deemed representative of all New Zealanders but were in reality reflective of the Eurocentric hegemony of settler and colonial ideology. See Ballara, Angela, *Proud to be white?: a survey of Pakeha prejudice in New Zealand*, Auckland: Heinemann, 1986.

effect: landscapes as the understanding of place enable identity which in turn facilitates an intense societal enthusiasm or craze for land.

Within landscapes the contemporary dilemma of identity and place are thus resolved; 'seeing' or 'viewing' New Zealand recreates an extremely tangible sense of nation that in turn enables the European New Zealander to re-establish or reposition themselves in 'their' place. Moreover, in re-establishing a sense of tangible and visible nation, European New Zealanders created an environment in which their recognition of this place could identify them as New Zealanders, of and from this geography. As the German-Jewish critic and theorist Siegfried Kracauer noted:

When significant components of reality become invisible in our world, art must do what is left, for an aesthetic presentation is all the more real the less it dispenses with the reality outside of the aesthetic sphere.¹²

In contemporary New Zealand, it is our own understanding of our tangible, landscape environs that must do what is left: relocate and re-orientate the population *after* the negation of a perceived universally understood New Zealand place, community and people. Without these landscapes that represent the most tangible description of lost nation available to a lost New Zealand population, contemporary New Zealand ceases to exist- as does the identity of the New Zealander. Without the landscapes we (or at least European New Zealand) would again retreat into the sphere of national nothingness or uncertainty from which we had come. The act of re-establishing New Zealand in reference to geographic landscapes is thus not to be confused with nationalism, without which identity and place as a position or location in which something belongs, can still exist. Similarly it should not be relegated to the realm of patriotism as pride in one's country, which is as Keith Sinclair explains, is "one of the basic elements of nationalism."¹³ Landscape is nation *after* nation.

It is important to recognize that New Zealanders have, since settlement period as Lawrence's "land fever" illustrates, always related to their land in some way, shape or

¹² Kracauer, Siegfried, Levin, Thomas Y., *The mass ornament : Weimer essays*; translated, edited, and with an introduction by Thomas Y. Leven, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995. p 79

¹³ Sinclair, Keith, *The growth of a New Zealand identity, 1890-1980*, Auckland: Longman Paul, 1987. p. 8

form. As Nigel Prickett states in *Landscape of Conflict: A field guide to the New Zealand Wars* (2002) “Our country has a rich historical landscape, which has many stories to tell for those who take the time to look.”¹⁴ This chapter by no means intends to suggest that New Zealanders have only since the 1970’s ‘discovered’ their surroundings, for we have ‘existed’ within it since Edward Gibbon Wakefield proclaimed that his “castle in the air is finished” in 1829.¹⁵ Rather, New Zealand place has always played an important role in New Zealand society, where these historical associations with land differ with that of the contemporary “land fever” phenomenon (the process of identifying one’s place and one’s identity in direct reference to this place) in that the New Zealander’s historical association with their land was primarily practicable, meaning that New Zealander’s perception of self in New Zealand place was inextricable from being *in* that place. In these relationships with New Zealand, the presence of the human figure in both paintings of New Zealand and perceptions of New Zealand is imperative in creating and upholding an understanding of the New Zealand self and New Zealand the place. Even while this chapter’s central focus is explaining the contemporary, post 1970’s phenomenon of New Zealand place existing in the minds of New Zealand citizens solely in reference to New Zealand’s physical landscape- the places that we are not- it is equally important that we understand the role that our land until recently has played in defining and enabling New Zealand society and by association, New Zealander’s. “New Zealand” has, since European settlement, played an important role in the way New Zealanders define themselves in this country. Without having a firm understanding of this history, any further discussion will be dislocated and lose momentum. The contemporary trend of understanding New Zealand in terms of New Zealand landscape is therefore inextricably linked to a changing understanding of our country. The history of New Zealanders in New Zealand place, moreover New Zealanders only existing when they are *in place*, as has been briefly introduced in the above discussion is as old as the

¹⁴ Prickett, Nigel, *Landscapes of conflict: a field guide to the New Zealand wars*, Auckland: Random House New Zealand, 2002. p. 7

¹⁵ Temple, Philip, 2002, p. 133. Edward Gibbon Wakefield is referring to the completion of his working method and theory for the successful British colonization of new lands, one of which is New Zealand. For a detail account of Wakefield’s colonial theory refer to Temple’s book. The complete quote is as follows “My castle in the air is finished. View it only as a structure of the imagination. Still, does its foundation appear solid? Are its ideal proportions just? Does it seem to unite the chief properties of a good buildings- usefulness, strength and beauty? If you answer, yes, then I ask though this plan be too magnificent for execution, may we not really consent a smaller edifice upon the model. In plain English- if the principles here suggested be correct, why should they be not reduced to practice, upon whatever scale?”

colonist's model for the ordered and formal settlement of New Zealand.¹⁶ The impact of individuals such as Edward Gibbon Wakefield on the developing perceptions of New Zealand place as inseparable from human inhabitation of that place is considerable.¹⁷ Because the aim of both the colonial theorist and the colonial agent was to get people to relocate they needed to construct an image of New Zealand that would entice the prospective colonial client to do so. As Phillip Temple discusses with specific regards to Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the propagation of the colonist's message:

It was one thing to postulate a theory but another to disseminate it and then to convince and galvanise. Because if it were to work at all, enough men who mattered would have to believe in it.¹⁸

Developing methods of advertising that invited a European individual to relocate themselves through their imagination to an open, temperate, green but not too different, place that was New Zealand, was an excellent way of spreading the colonial message. One such method that proved particularly useful to the colonists was producing texts and pamphlets to distribute their word. Hundreds of books, pamphlets and articles on New Zealand flooded the British market place in the 1830's and 1840's.¹⁹ As Alan Grey explains in *Aotearoa and New Zealand: a historical geography*:

In these writings, for the sake of selling land, most unfavourable statements [of New Zealand] were suppressed and the land was pictured as good beyond parallel, combining the best features of Britain and Southern Europe. Fine harbours, fertile alluvial valleys and reports of inland plains were coupled romantic scenes, a mild climate and great forests of remarkable luxuriance (suggesting a rich loam)- all this to show that New Zealand was a prime

¹⁶ The term 'colonist' is used here to refer to a British individual *in Britain* who strongly believes in the benefits of colonial development, primarily in capitalist and imperial terms, but may have no intention to relocate themselves. For a specifically New Zealand analysis of the colonist see Temple, Philip, 2002. For a more generalised discussion see Blaut, James., *A colonizer's model of the world: geographical diffusionism and Eurocentric history*, New York : Guilford Press, c1993.

¹⁷ Edward Gibbon Wakefield is histories most remembered affiliate of the New Zealand Association and its successor the New Zealand Company. See Temple, Philip, 2002.

¹⁸ Temple, Philip, 2002. p. 134

¹⁹ Ibid p. 145

destination for British settlers. As so pictured, it was a country that existed only in the imaginations of its publicists, most of whom had not seen New Zealand, and relied upon fanciful literature.²⁰

The act of reading such texts- truthful or not- aided by the sporadic reproduced images of New Zealand, allowed the individual imaginatively to transport themselves into this place. A New Zealander identity and a perception of New Zealand as place that consists of “people in land” began to take shape at this point before any physical recollection occurred. In 1837, the possibility of experiencing what personal existence in New Zealand could feel like, should you make the decision to relocate, was made even more accessible to the British public when Edward Gibbon Wakefield organised the commissioning of a painted panorama of the Bay of Islands based on the drawings of Augustus Earle.²¹ As Temple points out “In the days before photography and cinema, 360⁰ panoramas and three dimensional dioramas were the principal form of visual entertainment and illusion in transporting viewers to distant, exotic locations or re-creating historical events such as the Battle of Trafalgar.”²² The Bay of Islands panorama, painted by Robert Burford, opened to the public at Christmas in 1837 in a two level rotunda in Leicester Square; whereupon thousands of Britons paid to go and visit this New Zealand spectacle.²³ This approach to the marketing of colonial New Zealand put a very literal spin on placing people in New Zealand. In visiting the panorama, people were surrounded by a very foreign place, for those who may have been considering relocating to New Zealand it enabled them to experience what living in New Zealand could be like. Fear of the visual unknown was replaced a sense of what may one day become familiar. The process of creating a sense of place, which is explicitly reliant on people existing within that place, dates back to this period.

Colonial ‘New Zealand’: a disappointing reality

Many European settlers decided to relocate to New Zealand based on the images of this new place that they may have seen in New Zealand Company brochures or

²⁰ Grey, Allan, *Aotearoa and New Zealand: a historical geography*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1994. p 159-160

²¹ Temple, Philip, 2002. p. 195

²² Ibid, p. 196

²³ Ibid

‘experienced’ had they been in a position to be able to visit the Bay of Islands panorama. When these settlers arrived in New Zealand they docked in a place that was for the most part quite different to what they had been lead to believe. The British settlers’ perception of ‘New Zealand the Southern Utopia’, as with all pursuits for utopia, failed to realize itself. Whereas they had expected to arrive in a place similar to Britain and Southern Europe that was a readymade site on which community and civilization could be quickly erected, instead they encountered the dark and ominous “primeval shadow” of the bush:²⁴ “Never was any new antipodean land what the first-comers expected.”²⁵ Letters sent back to Britain reflected the disappointment many settlers felt of the place to which they had come; the following excerpt from a letter written by Charlotte Godley is but one example:

...we none of us like the place [New Zealand], the plains are hideous beyond all description so I won’t attempt it- the Port [Lyttelton] is confined and unhealthy, full of drunken sailors and cheating store-keepers and the like- and what we feel most, the climate of this country is particularly unenjoyable and disagreeable. I have been here a bit of the winter, all the spring and summer, and I declare I can see no difference in the seasons, you have a sort of spring, summer, autumn and winter all in one day frequently or at least every week. I think the climate nevertheless tolerably healthy, and there is clear cold water in the rivers, and some very nice families out on the plains, and then you have said all that can be said in favour of this place, unless you give reins to your imagination, and tell a lot of lies, as some would have you do, for the sake of getting others into the same mess...²⁶

In the face of such disappointment and despondence, settlers sought to recreate some sense of the familiar in what had steadily moved from being the hope-filled place of the settler’s future- “a perfect fairy land”²⁷ as one British settler dreamed- into an

²⁴ Holcroft, Montague, “The Deepening Stream” in Holcroft, Montague, *Discovered Isles: A Trilogy*, Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1950. p. 27

²⁵ Park, Geoff, *Theatre country: essays on landscape and whenua*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006. p. 50

²⁶ Quoted in Drummond, Alison, Drummond, Leo, *At home in New Zealand: an illustrated history of everyday things before 1865*, Auckland: B. & J. Paul, 1967. P. 33

²⁷ Quoted in Fell, Alfred, *A colonist's voyage to New Zealand under sail in the "early forties"* (New edition), Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, c1996. p. 3. Full quote reads “I must say that I went to bed on this my first night on board [Lord Auckland] with a feeling of loneliness and a something with regret to

inhospitable and unknown space. Alan Grey states, “when people transfer themselves to a new land full of what is to them alien life, they immediately seek to recreate familiar modes of living.”²⁸ These modes were towns, roads, ports, industry and community; in short they sought to recreate within New Zealand the European model of civilization that had evolved over centuries at home in Europe. Montague Holcroft in “The Deepening Stream”, his prize-winning essay in the New Zealand Centennial Literary Competition, illustrates the ferocity with which settlers transformed their hostile surroundings:

They burrowed in with axe and fire, until homes could be built and farms established a long way from the coast. Up and down the scars grew deeper. Smoke billowing from the ranges and darkened the planes where men worked destructively. Gradually the shadow²⁹ was rolled back to the foot hills and the mouths of the gorges whence water came white and wild from the unknown hinterland.³⁰

Holcroft continues this theme, stating the settlers “established homes where even the Maori had drawn back in fear of unknown gods.”³¹ Grey has also commented on these acts of total transformation, he states:

In Australasia bush was felled for timber where convenient. Usually the process was too slow to meet settlers’ demands for open land and the bush-burn became a familiar tool, particularly in New Zealand. The destruction seemed justified by its results and was questioned at the time only by a few naturalists. In New Zealand the alien nature of the dark and seemingly

the step I have taken I never felt before. It was not regret, I am sure it could not be, but in spite of every effort bygone days would crowd themselves on my mind, and before I went to sleep every scene, both of happiness and the reverse, right away back from childhood, all came vividly to my recollection, every well remembered face, all of whom I have ever had a regard, passed in review before me. At length, quite exhausted, I fell asleep, and dreamed of New Zealand being *a perfect fairy land*.”

²⁸ Grey, Allan, 1994. p. 17

²⁹ refers to the dark and menacing New Zealand bush, in this essay Holcroft attributes the name the ‘primeval shadow’ to the pre-cultivated, inhospitable and unfamiliar New Zealand environment

³⁰ Holcroft, Montague, p. 27

³¹ Ibid, p. 31

forbidding bush gave further impetus to its clearing in favour of something more familiar- grassy hills.³²

Through quickly and fiercely altering their surroundings, European New Zealand settlers made a bold statement with regards to their relationship with their land and their identity as colonial settlers within it. *Their* New Zealand was cultivated, it was peopled, moreover it had been conquered. Changing New Zealand into a society that for the most part reflected the municipal make up of Britain, complete with everyday amenities and social order, was touted as their success. Furthermore, juxtaposing this New Zealand against the primeval landscape that they had first encountered and still existed outside of the bounds of their communities and towns reaffirmed the successful creation of New Zealand society. These cultivated and developed places represented the real New Zealand, and this real New Zealand was incomplete without the groups of people that made it their home, and participated in community surrounded by this cultivated wilderness. Grey comments that “the historical geography of New Zealand shows elegantly the impress of society upon the land, rather than that of the land upon society.”³³ Early New Zealander’s- a noun used here cautiously to describe both the fact European settlers to New Zealand might still identify themselves as British and New Zealand’s Maori inhabitants were not formerly included within this community- literally carved out their space in the world within which New Zealand as their place could exist. As Paul Tillich asserts regarding the notion of space:

Space is not a thing, nor a container in which things exist, rather, space is the manner in which living things come into existence. Space is the power over space, the power of living things to create space for themselves. There is no space in itself; rather, there are as many kinds of space as there are ways in which living things create space for themselves, and that means ways in which life becomes actuality. It is by its spatiality that everything living, including the human, is recognizable.³⁴

³² Grey, Allan, 1994. p. 19

³³ Ibid, p. 10

³⁴ Tillich, Paul, Dillenberger, John, Dillenberger, Jane, *On Art and Architecture*, New York: Crossroads, 1987. p. 82

Being a New Zealander in this environment was thus largely circumstantial. This statement is not intended to negate the importance of place to people or suggest that the early New Zealander's placement had no bearing on their sense of national identity; it undoubtedly did. What this statement suggests is that whilst New Zealander's lived in New Zealand it was a New Zealand that they had themselves *created* as their place in space, and that there was room in this space for more than just nationalism and patriotism which was one part of their national identity. New Zealand's geography was the stage on which New Zealand society would act out community; the former only gained significance in reference to the latter. It was thus not so much the land, but the formal organization of people and the presence of a structured community on this land that moved New Zealand from being a geographic space into a recognisable place. As such, their place only existed when community and belonging was acted out within it: New Zealand the place was inextricable from human interaction on it. The things that they did in this place were equally important to their sense of location and place as the place was itself. This was because, as a Colony and then a Dominion, New Zealanders had a point to prove. New Zealanders wanted the world to recognise that civilisation had been successfully transplanted and erected in New Zealand, that they had transformed their place from a barren and hostile environment into a successful society that rivalled that of any other nation. Furthermore, they wanted to reaffirm that the choice they or their ancestors had made to relocate from older, more established places to New Zealand was not a mistake but a fortunate decision. Being seen to have created a national community in and of this land was of central importance to communicating a 'real New Zealand' to the rest of the world, and to New Zealanders at home. The New Zealander's twentieth century pride in their status as one of the worlds leading agricultural and horticultural producers and exporters epitomises the extent to which New Zealanders envisaged the success of their place in terms of what New Zealanders had done to it, and what they continued to do with it through the means of working in the land up until the 1970's.

A changing perception of place

Taking into account the changes that occurred in New Zealand with specific regard to national identity and community, this association with our land became increasingly unworkable from the 1970's onward. Imperial, colonial doctrine as the basis of our

understanding of New Zealanders in cultivated space was ousted, as was a sense of organized community that it enabled. Continuing to define ourselves as one people in one land that was the 'real New Zealand' when our people had formed at least two factions was farcical.³⁵ The pre-1970's perception of nation relied on people participating harmoniously and loyally in it. From the 1970's, the unwillingness of some to subordinate themselves to this constructed 'reality' of place, the ignorance of others who did not recognise New Zealand's requirement that immigrants should leave their own national identities at the customs desk (or at a minimum put them in their back pocket), and the renegotiation of community at the hands of the Rogernomic policies of the Fourth Labour Government deconstructed this New Zealand. As New Zealand society fractured New Zealanders lost not only their sense of the national, New Zealander self but also, and perhaps most importantly, the understanding of location and nation that was the platform from which New Zealand national identity took shape and form. Nameless and placeless 'New Zealanders', a term used to describe those primarily New Zealand European individuals who had no ethnic identity outside of their 'New Zealander' identity and had the least to gain from social change and renegotiation, frantically sought to reorientate themselves in New Zealand- a place that they could 'see' but could no longer relate to. As Kenneth Cumberland asserted:

Man is very much the maker and shaper of the landscape. This is more apparent in New Zealand than in other parts of the world. The physical environment is a stage in which man performs- a stage with the broad confines of which he designs and creates his sets; and frequently redesigns them to meet his constantly changing and infinitely diverse needs and purposes.³⁶

Since Cumberland made this statement contemporary New Zealanders have redesigned their interpretation of New Zealand, and what it means to be a New Zealander, to reflect that land as opposed to the experience of living in this land. Paul Morris, Professor in Religious Studies at Victoria University in Wellington has

³⁵ These two factions are those who continued to identify themselves as members of the pre-1970's all inclusive nation who were primarily white/European New Zealanders/*Pakeha* and those who wished to dissent from this identity or simply negated this identity through their continuing and growing presence who were chiefly Maori/Polynesian/other.

³⁶ Cumberland, Kenneth, *Landmarks*, Surry Hills, N.S.W.: Reader's Digest, 1981. p. 6

asserted “*Aotearoa* is the ground of our individual and collective life; it gives us our being and connects us to each other and our future. We do not live on the land but literally off it...This land is where we live and where we die.”³⁷ Whilst the term *Aotearoa* was not in prevalent use at this period in New Zealand history (it too, had become the victim of the colonizing enterprise) Morris’ statement epitomizes, if somewhat indirectly, the approach that a lost New Zealand public took to regain identity and place in their newly foreign New Zealand. A shift occurred that relocated our understanding of our environment from within a modernist discourse to a post-modern and romantic one. New Zealanders no longer shaped and made their country, they instead perceived that New Zealand place possessed the ability to shape and make them. New Zealanders quite literally redesigned their national identity and perception of nation in reference to New Zealand as *terra firma*.

In stark opposition to the pre-1970’s New Zealand that only came into true and authentic existence when humans imposed their civilizing mark on place, the post-1970’s New Zealand became a place from which the human figured was excised from its framework. This erasure of a population from its place is of course not literal, people continued to live in New Zealand; we did not see a sudden mass departure of New Zealand citizens from our shores. Instead what is indicated is a new approach to understanding our place that relied less on people living successfully *in* it and more on our experience of place, *placement on (or in reference to) place*. This dramatic shift in our attitude to our country is exhibited in a change of popular vernacular about our country. In 1940, The Governor, The Right Honourable Lord Bledisloe asserted that:

New Zealand possesses many outstanding natural advantages for which it may well thank a beneficent Providence; its fertile soil, its almost perfect climate, its standard of health, the physique and wholesome traditions of its people and the hitherto barely tapped wealth of its natural resources. But in two respects it

³⁷ Morris. Paul, “Spirit Abroad: Reflections on New Zealand Spirituality and Identity” in Morris, Paul, Ricketts, Harry, Grimshaw, Michael, *Spirit Abroad: a second selection of New Zealand spiritual verse*, Auckland: Random House, 2004. p. 227

is unique in the world. One is the number of beauty spots within a relatively small area, and the other is its native bush, which has no rival in the world.³⁸

This approach to New Zealand is typical of its period. In Bledisloe's description of New Zealand there is no evidence of any distinction created between people and place. The reference to 'Its fertile soil,' 'its almost perfect climate,' 'the physique and wholesome traditions of its people;' they are all one in the same. There is the distinct sense that if anybody tried to segment these facets off from each other they would be unable to do so as they all belong together, moreover they all exist together. In contrast, Rob Suisted and Kathy Ombler's conjoint 2002 publication *Scenic New Zealand*, a photographic account of New Zealand, portrays an attitude to New Zealand that is quite different to that of Bledisloe. They state "This young and untamed state has engendered a special spirit among the people of the land (known as kiwis after on of the unique flightless birds)."³⁹ Whilst this text is obviously aimed at the tourist market (New Zealanders, after all, understand where the term 'kiwis' in reference to themselves comes from) it is still useful in this context as it highlights a different understanding of our place and our self. To engender is to produce something, in this instance a particular feeling and response. Thus the text can be reread as saying New Zealand has *produced* a special spirit among New Zealanders. For New Zealand to do this, it must exist in its own isolated sphere, separated from human interference, specifically the interference of a community dead bent on manipulating the land itself. What this change in attitude indicates is that, from the mid 1970's onward New Zealand was gifted its autonomy by its population, this however was not an unconscious and selfless act.

New Zealand

The way in which New Zealanders went about formatting perception of New Zealand place that excluded its human population is illustrated in one of New Zealand's current promotional enterprises: the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign. Created and

³⁸ Bledisloe, Charles B., Buick, Thomas L., *Ideals of nationhood: a selection of addresses delivered in New Zealand by the Right Hon. Lord Bledisloe during his Governor Generalship of the Domain*; arranged by T. Lindsay Buick, New Plymouth: Thomas Avery, 1940. p. 81

³⁹ Suisted, Rob, Ombler, Kathy, *Scenic New Zealand*; photography by Rob Suisted, text by Kathy Ombler, Auckland: New Holland Kowhai, 2002. p. 8

launched into the global marketplace by the New Zealand Tourism Board in 1999, the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign is, as the Board itself professes, the basis through which all current and future marketing of New Zealand as a tourist destination takes shape.⁴⁰ Significantly, the campaign has been labelled a ‘brand’ by the New Zealand Tourism Board, a careful choice of words that moves 100% Pure New Zealand away from being an advertiser’s slogan for New Zealand and instead creates New Zealand: the identifiable consumer place. The static advertisements depict our most beautiful and largely empty places- Mount Cook, Fiordland, Mount Ruapehu, the Southern Alps to name a few- oversized and glossy- with the 100% pure New Zealand brand. Significantly the colour of the text is white, the traditional colour of virginal purity- plastered towards the bottom of the image. These advertisements direct the viewer to the website www.newzealand.com; should the viewer then visit this website they would discover the many experiences you can have in 100% Pure New Zealand, all of which enhance the experience of pure, perfect place- none of which negate its innocence. The global television marketing campaign for the 100% Pure New Zealand brand significantly develops on this theme. The advertisement begins with a panorama of the Pacific Ocean from which snow capped mountains begin to ascend. The dialogue, full of anthropomorphic expression that creates a sense of destiny, interjects. It starts “Legend says this land was hauled from the ocean like a giant fish” thus drawing on the Maori legend of *Maui’s* discovery of New Zealand. As the picture continues, sweeping over images of New Zealand scene, the dialogue continues “And then it waited. In fact, these islands waited until every other country had been discovered before any human ever set foot here. Welcome to the youngest country on earth.” As Kevin Roberts, Chief Executive Officer Worldwide of Saatchi and Saatchi and co-founder of NZEdge.com has critically pointed out (perhaps because of his short and uneventful association with the New Zealand Tourism Board itself) the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign is the most recent model of tourism marketing that has centred around New Zealand’s green fields and landscapes, a method of advertising that stems back sixty years in this country.⁴¹ Where it differs from past advertising campaigns is that, for the most part, it consists solely of places

⁴⁰ Tourism New Zealand, “Who We Are” http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/tourism_info/about-us/who-we-are/who-we-are_home.cfm, 1999-2000. Accessed 13 January 2009.

⁴¹ NZEdge.com, “Vision for New Zealand”; Kevin Roberts address to the Resource Management Law Association Conference, Auckland, October 6, 2000. <http://www.nzedge.com/speeches/rmla.html>. Accessed 13 Jan 2009.

that New Zealanders *are not*, our landscapes. New Zealand is no longer promoted in the global tourism market places as a conglomeration of beautiful places, rural places, sheep and Maori. Under the 100% Pure New Zealand umbrella, New Zealand is presented *solely* as a landscape. Whilst Tourism New Zealand states that they want to “embrace all that is young, fresh and unspoilt about New Zealand” and that “the stories of all New Zealanders are part of the campaign” their key imagery does not reflect this.⁴² 100% Pure *New Zealand* image is the real message the campaign projects. We need to remember that the while 100% Pure New Zealand marketing campaign is just that, a campaign- its principal focus is to entice foreign visitors to our shores- it is equally important to recognize that 100% Pure New Zealand is the product of New Zealanders, we ‘invented’ it here. Just as artworks as cultural products are not produced in a social vacuum, 100% Pure New Zealand was not produced in social isolation. The brain child of a government entity- one of New Zealand’s formal representative bodies- it unavoidably reflects our at home or domestic associations with New Zealand. In creating a New Zealand that was distinctly separated from the New Zealand population, New Zealanders ushered in an opportunity to perceivably recreate an unchallengeable sense of place. Paul Shepard illustrates this belief in his discussion of scenery:

“scenery” comes from the Greek word for “stage.” The idea that the world contains scenery marks one of the great evolutions of human perception. It converted the human habitat into a kind of coinage by creating a generalized scheme of reference.⁴³

In this New Zealand, New Zealanders saw a real, nonnegotiable entity that could be utilized to relocate a lost and wandering public. New Zealand geography was inherent, whilst it could be changed and indeed had been changed in the past, it could not be taken away. No matter what happened to New Zealand society, New Zealanders could find a physical location and identity in the perceived unchanging New Zealand the place. This reality of location being locating became the mantra for

⁴² Tourism New Zealand, “Tourism New Zealand Corporate Profile”, p.18 Accessed at <http://www.tourismnewzealand.com>, 1999-2009. 13 Jan 2009.

⁴³ Shepard, Paul, *Man in the landscape: a historic view of the esthetics of nature*; foreword by Michael Martin McCarthy, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, c1991. p. 119

a displaced generation. Tim Edensor in *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* explains how this approach to place works:

So ideologically charged are they [“national” landscapes], that they are apt to act upon our sense of belonging so that to dwell in them, even for a short time, can be to achieve a kind of national self-realisation, to return to ‘our’ roots where the self, freed from its inauthentic reality- usually urban- existence, is re-authenticated.⁴⁴

It seems as if Edensor could have written these words with specific reference to New Zealand. In the face of identity politics and conflict, and the demise of familiar forms of community the New Zealander’s sense that they lived in an inauthentic environment was suddenly heightened. This inauthentic environment was not primarily the place that they lived, but the communities that they had created within this place. Using the term ‘community’ to describe a cluster of people who lived together in one place, but increasingly held few or no beliefs in common- especially beliefs about the shape that this community should take- became an issue. European New Zealanders experienced a crisis of faith that led to an existential crisis which, in turn, saw them return to nature. Our urban environments provided no solace and this was not due to any direct fault of their own. New Zealanders within these places, namely Maori/Polynesian/Other/Dissenting individual and those who made decisions for all New Zealanders- the Roger Douglas’ of this world, were the ones who had deconstructed New Zealand’s spatial reality. There is an ancient Algerian saying that is particularly useful to explain the desire of New Zealanders at this point in time:

The desert is the Garden of Allah, from which the Lord of the faithful removed all superfluous human and animal life, so that there might be one last place where He can walk in peace.⁴⁵

New Zealand was no longer a place in which the New Zealander could walk in peace. Our people in their diversity were proving to be the problem. The solution that arose

⁴⁴ Edensor, Tim, *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*, Oxford; New York: Berg Publishers, 2002. p. 40

⁴⁵ Quoted in Jasper, David, “Wanderings in the desert: from the exodus to the English Patient” in *Literature and Theology* Vol 18: No 2 June 2004 p. 153-168. p. 153

seemed to be to exclude these dissenting individuals from our new place, this new-New Zealand, at all costs; New Zealanders wanted their Garden back. Osvaldo Romberg has stated “art begins when life is not enough.”⁴⁶ In New Zealand, the landscape began when we could no longer disseminate a sense of place that included ourselves. In separating people and place New Zealanders were able to reformulate their understanding of their surroundings to exclude themselves from their propagated understanding of nation. This functioned in defusing the effect that the social disorder relating to ethnicity and the demise of community in the wake of Rogernomics would have on New Zealand society. New Zealand became a commodity that could be (as the occurrence and commercial success of the anthologies of New Zealand painting and the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign illustrate) dispersed, sold and bought almost overnight. As with all human decision, it produced a specific and sought after outcome.

In excising the human form from our places, as the 100% Pure New Zealand campaign illustrates, we thus created an understanding of place that centred around a specific facet of New Zealand geography, the visual landscape. Using landscapes as the basis of our new sense of nation had some specific advantages for the New Zealand public who were at this period in time due to the re-emergence of ethnic identity and the dissolution of community lost in their space. The European New Zealanders ‘New Zealand’ had become increasingly unworkable at this point in time. This is a phenomenon best described in reference to a statement by Paul Shephard in *The cultivated wilderness, or, What is landscape?* where he states “the wilderness is what was there before humans came. The wasteland- which was once that same thing- is now something else: cultivation gone feral.”⁴⁷ Reformatting a sense of place in reference to our country’s landscapes created an enticing exit for New Zealanders in a difficult social spot, allowing us to identify with places that our previous understanding of New Zealand had not included.

⁴⁶ Romberg, Osvaldo, “Art to art. Life to life” in Aldrich Museum of Contemporary Art (Ridgefield, Conn.), *Faith: the impact of Judeo-Christian religion on art at the millennium: January 23- May 29, 2000*. Ridgefield, Conn.: The Aldrich Museum of Contemporary Art, c2000.

⁴⁷ Shephard, Paul, *The cultivated wilderness, or, What is landscape?*, Chicago: Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts ; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, c1997. p. 6

Our landscapes- New Zealand's mountains, rivers, lakes, beaches and fiords- had never been a part of the primary understanding of New Zealand place, they were in many respects an added bonus of creating civilized community here in New Zealand; a bragging point as opposed to a defining facet. Whilst we may have climbed some, swam in others and been to see the remainder, these brief visits were always temporary breaks from our cultivated places. Even as we enjoyed our temporary encounters with the beautiful places, home was always the civilized place from which we came and would always return. The attraction of permanently aligning our sense of place to these landscapes was that, in a time of social upheaval in our cultivated spaces, we could permanently distance ourselves from these occurrences. New Zealand landscape become a primal refuge for an insecure European New Zealander population, providing a sense of stability in a period of social upheaval because people were not included in their construct. Through engaging with the unique aesthetic that is New Zealand, which is not our cities but our scene, we could lose ourselves in its beauty. The poet Edmond Jabes has stated with reference to the desert "You do not go into the desert to find identity, but to lose it, to lose your personality, to become anonymous."⁴⁸ Whilst Jabes' words are somewhat out of place in this context- after all New Zealanders turned to the landscape to find- or perhaps more accurately 'see'- a sense of national place and thus national identity as opposed to losing it- they do highlight, if somewhat abstractly, the effect that turning our attention to our landscapes, the places that we are not, had on the lost New Zealand population. For the European New Zealander, landscape became their emotional *tabula rasa*.

In the landscape New Zealanders could find solace, there were no people to disrupt this calm sense of nation and no forms of civilization that could be negated or evolve into something we did not want to see. New Zealanders believed that landscapes were always there, as they always had been, as they would always continue to be- outside of human interference. Focusing our attention on these places meant we could reinstate a sense of nation that, perceivably, no New Zealander or future change in our society could challenge. As places existing in opposition to cultivation, moreover in opposition to 'cultivation gone feral,' creating an understanding of the 'real New

⁴⁸ Quoted in Jasper, David, *The sacred desert: religion, literature, art, and culture*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004. p 2

Zealand' in reference to these empty places enabled the New Zealander to permanently disassociate themselves from the unavoidable practicality of living in cultivation. If the real New Zealand was where we were not, the changes that were occurring in our urban environments in the 1970's and 1980's were not part of 'real New Zealand.' These natural places, as opposed to our cities and towns, were not only silent but also perceivably solid.

In re-creating New Zealand in terms of tangible geography, moreover tangible geography that existed outside of cultivated space, New Zealander's developed a *tabula rasa* from which society could reorientate. Recognising where we were, and that we existed on this place, was the first step in re-establishing a nation *after* nation state. Moreover, it was the first step in re-establishing a connection between people of this place and the place itself. The practicality of living here on this place, together, regardless of human difference was a non-negotiable experience. Whilst people could debate and change the structure of community and society in this country, they could not change the geographic characteristics *of* this country. No New Zealander (so the European New Zealanders believed), regardless of ethnic, political or social differences could negate their placement here, nor did they strive to do so. We were eternally attached to our place through our placement on it, and our recognition of it. Hirini Mead has stated that:

A mountain is part of the landscape and it is a reference point, a known landmark to which is attached some cultural meaning. Thus, Hikurangi, Tongariro, Ruapehu, Taranaki, Ngongotaha, Putauaki and Taupiri have special significance to those to whom these names are immediately recognisable as symbols of their people. Together, with other named features of the land- rivers, lakes, promontories, holes in the ground, fishing grounds, trees, burial places and islands- they form a cultural grid over the land which provides meaning, order and stability to the human existence. Without the fixed grid of named features we would be total strangers on the land- lost souls with nowhere to attach ourselves.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Quoted in Keith, Hamish, *The big picture: a history of New Zealand art from 1642*, Auckland: Godwit, 2007. p. 68. It is important to note that Mead's quote was broken by Keith between "A mountain" and the remainder of the text. As Keith did not cite the publication from which this quote

The rise of the landscape as the basis of our contemporary experience and understanding of this place not only reinvents our place *after place*, enabling New Zealand the nation to exist after the colonially inspired all inclusive nation state dissolved in the 1970's and 1980's, but also enabled the re-emergence of the New Zealander as a person that was from or of this place. In identifying our place as a specific and unique geographic landscape full of named and recognisable landmarks that were here as opposed to somewhere else- somewhere that we were not from- we could perceivably differentiate ourselves as population of individuals of this place as opposed to a series of individuals in one place. Geography- landscapes, located us here, together.

was originally excised, I am unable to find the original source in which Mead made this statement. The exact wording can thus not be guaranteed.

The Problem of Landscape

The question of land as a central element of Pakeha identity was discussed by Christine Dann in her contribution to Michael King's *Pakeha: The Quest for Identity in New Zealand* (1991) entitled "In Love with the Land":

No- I'm not a city person. Like most pakeha. Our so-called cities in New Zealand are just big towns- and that's fine by me. I'm a land person, even though I've never lived in the country. Even though I have never owned or tended more than a classic quarter acre.¹

Dann's statement is not some flippant remark made by a reluctant, or romantic metropolitan resident who dreams of relocating to the countryside, but a proclamation of her identity as a thoroughly modern, Pakeha, New Zealand woman. Yet as a metropolitan New Zealander the land and not the cities provided the basis for Dann's experience and understanding of her own country, a belief that is more directly highlighted when she states:

...my New Zealand is a landscape of intense light and colour, an almost uninhabited place, where the presence and nature of people is deduced from the structures they impose on the land.²

Dann's use of the term 'my New Zealand' illustrates that she has dislocated her self from her physical environment in favour of what can be termed her emotional or spiritual New Zealand. Dann's New Zealand is a personal belief and experience as opposed to a physical geography. Significantly, Dann had to leave New Zealand in order to truly discover the extent to which New Zealand landscape infiltrated her personal identity. In "In Love with the Land" Dann explains that she realised New Zealand as a place she was free "*to be*"³, a realisation that lead her to recognise herself as a 'land person' after awakening from a dream in Paris. Excising herself from New Zealand enabled her to determine 'her' New Zealand, a phenomenon

¹ Dann, Christine, "In Love With The Land" in King, Michael (ed.), *Pakeha: The Quest For Identity in New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1991. p. 53

² Ibid, p. 52

³ Ibid, p. 53. Italicised in original text.

inseparable from the expectations and inevitable realities of travel that is in itself not dissimilar from the process of reorientating national identity that took place in New Zealand society at home in the 1970's and 1980's.

International travel, in particular 'the Big OE [Overseas Experience]', has become a staple facet of New Zealand culture. Every year any number of predominantly young New Zealanders depart New Zealand to experience the world. Historically, the New Zealander's desire to travel, particularly to Britain, can be seen as a type of genealogical right-of-passage for New Zealanders primarily middle-class and of European descent to return 'home.' Peter Ireland expresses this peculiar phenomenon well, stating "The European cultural dilemma in New Zealand was voiced in the word **home** to describe somewhere else."⁴ In more contemporary times the urge to travel overseas and do 'the Big OE' is linked with the desire to obtain life experience, or perhaps more accurately to live 'real' experience. Siegfried Kracauer maintains that "When Goethe travelled to Italy, it was a country he sought with his soul. Today the soul- or whatever it is that is meant by the word- seeks the change of environment offered by *travel*."⁵ Travel, physically leaving your home in favour of somewhere different, fulfils the soul through relocating the body that it inhabits in the location into a perceivably more authentic existence. People seem to believe that an encounter with the unfamiliar- or the inverse, a severance from the recognizable mundane will 'change' them. The unconscious belief that has always accompanied a New Zealander on their international travel is that they will encounter a more authentic or 'real' experience outside of New Zealand than they will at home. Being from New Zealand, perhaps due to its short history, isolation from the rest of the world, relative emptiness, or perhaps its unavoidable and defining bond with Britain and Nineteenth Century expansionist policies, is not wholly inauthentic, but limited. Perceivably it is more authentic, or less limited to be from either the major cosmopolitan cities such as New York, London or Paris that are 'more' developed than New Zealand, or places such as the Greek Isles that encompass the bucolic romanticism of non-modern life. New Zealand represents an intermediary between the two that is intolerable to the New Zealander who sees their country as simultaneously not modern enough, or too

⁴ Ireland, Peter, "Introduction" in Morrison, Robin, *Sense of place : photographs of New Zealand*, Auckland: SeTo Publishing, 1984. p. 7

⁵ Kracauer, Siegfried, Levin, Thomas Y., *The mass ornament : Weimer essays*; translated, edited, and with an introduction by Thomas Y. Leven, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995. p. 65

modern to be 'real.' Robin Hyde in "The Singers of Loneliness" has stated of one of New Zealand's most famous expatriates:

People say that Katherine Mansfield ran away from New Zealand, but if you see and understand her exact environs, you might sympathise with the belief that she ran away from a sham England, unsuccessfully transplanted to New Zealand soil, and utterly unable to adapt itself to the real New Zealand. They have cut down all the pine trees where she lived, in order to give her a memorial consisting of flat grass garden beds and a red brick waiting shed. Running away from that sort of thing is the most understandable policy in the world.⁶

Hyde's analytic defence of Mansfield's departure from New Zealand highlights, even if in a somewhat dramatic fashion, one lasting impression that many young New Zealanders have of their country: that the authenticity of living and 'true' reality- the opportunity to live 'real' experience- exist primarily outside of it.

As Dann's statement suggests, [remembering that she truly realised the influence that New Zealand had on her identity when in Paris], the true reality of travel is quite different to what the individual expects prior to the experience itself.⁷ This is because

⁶ Hyde, Robin, "The Singers of Loneliness (1938)" in Brown, Russell (ed.), *Great New Zealand argument: ideas about ourselves*, Auckland: Activity Press, 2005. p 34

⁷ Whilst Dann might dispute the fact that she left New Zealand in search of an authentic experience, an encounter that would in turn authenticate her, her writing suggests otherwise. Throughout *In Love with the Land* she describes her youthful relationship with her country in restless and conflicting terms. Of Christchurch and the Canterbury region, the place that she grew up and in which she attended university, Dann on the one hand describes a physical environment that had an enormous influence on her understanding of herself in her country ("... I came to know the Port Hills as companions, mentors and inspiration.") On the other, she describes a place in which her experience of being what I consider a early post-colonial New Zealander, a New Zealander discontent with learning about New Zealand through imported academic terms and frameworks, is negated through New Zealand's then current inability or reluctance to recognise New Zealand in its own, independent and unique terms. She writes:

Once again there was a dissonance. Studying Political Science on the one hand and living politics on the other, Protesting the military, economic and cultural dominance of the United States and Great Britain in New Zealand- and being taught by British and American lecturers in a university that had an American Studies department ten years before it had a Maori Studies department. Being a founding member of the Woman's liberation movement in Christchurch, a new phase in one of the oldest, most effective of modern political rights campaigns- and being told that my proposed thesis on feminism should be supervised by sociologists, not political scientists. Daring to comment on class in New Zealand and being told by the (English) professor that there are no class divisions in New Zealand.

travellers overlook that in a new reality their identity is validated in the terms of the culture that they visit. As Zygmunt Bauman explains, the tourist [or traveller] is “everywhere he goes *in*, but nowhere *of* the place he is in.”⁸ Travellers, or more broadly ‘foreigners’, are superfluous to the foreign realities that they encounter and are thus inevitably viewed as ‘other’ or ‘outsiders.’ As opposed to validating or changing an individual, encounters with the perceivably more authentic foreign experience result only in the visitor being labelled ‘foreign’ by the cultures they visit, immediately existing within this ‘authentic’ reality without identity and origin. Travellers do not encounter a more authentic reality, instead they excise themselves from the only reality in which they themselves are pertinent. Predictably the experience of existing between reality’s, simultaneously being ‘foreign’ and (for want of a better description) ‘of place,’ results in the individual reorientating the self towards the environment in which they perceive the self to belong: home. Moreover, this reorientation more often than not relies on recollections of our respective place, in this instance New Zealand, that are easily accessible and recognisable. In this capacity New Zealand takes on the emotional moods of the observer- or in this case- the recollector and acts as the pathetic fallacy. As Yi Fu Tuan states in *Passing strange and wonderful: aesthetics, nature, and culture* “the farther removed we are from home, the more our engagement with the environment tends to be conscious and visual, rather than subconscious and multisensorial.”⁹ Overseas Dann was isolated from her reality by distance yet conscious of its continuation through her experience of the isolation and loneliness associated with foreign encounters. In situations such as these remembering home in terms of specific geographies *of home* when one

Even as Dann states that prior to her OE she had “learned to experience land as personality, land as character” for a woman so decidedly modern in her beliefs, New Zealand in the 1970’s and 1980’s must have seemed socially claustrophobic. Dann’s discovery of foreign literature had demonstrated the inspiration that alien cultures may have to offer a burgeoning writer from the other side of the world. The excitement she felt with ‘discovering’ foreign authors and thinkers, particularly Noam Chompsky and Paolo Freire- two authors she singles out in *In Love with the Land* as providing a lasting influence-, enabled her to make sense of her familiar surroundings. It is not stretching the point to assume that even as Dann states she somewhat flippantly “went to see... Mainly I went to see friends, share their life for a week at a time, get a flavour of the another way of living, and then move on” that her at home experiences of foreign cultures accessed through literature aided her impetus to travel. For a young writer who saw her country as significantly lacking in any definite literary or socio-political continuity of its own, ‘overseas’ perceivably offered a myriad of sincere and lasting cultural and academic influence.

⁸ Bauman, Zygmunt, “From Pilgrim to Tourist- or a Short History of Identity” in Hall, Stuart, du Gay, Paul, *Questions of Cultural Identity*, London: SAGE, 1996. p. 29

⁹ Tuan, Yi-Fu, *Passing strange and wonderful: aesthetics, nature, and culture*, Washington: Island Press/Shearwater Books, c1993. p. 113

cannot see/feel/perceive home because we are somewhere else is the obvious avenue through which a new sense of belonging at home, away from home can take shape. Significantly, Dann's chosen evocation of New Zealand is nature and not urban, a phenomenon that has more to do with her observations of foreign cities as it has to do with her real experiences of home, in New Zealand.

At the centre of Dann's realisation and subsequent proclamation that she is a 'land person' and not a 'city person' is the suggestion that urban environments cannot provide a lasting and meaningful sense of identity and place. Dann recognised metropolitan places as being, through her experiences of foreign and what she termed "real cities,"¹⁰ (Dann's use of real here is instructive) regardless of their location, as a pseudo-communities or places that were problematic to identity. Urban existence complete with the myriad of choices that it offers ("...food, entertainment, recreation, transport, clothing, social and political organizations, and so on..."¹¹), as opposed to providing or provoking a sense of authentic identity and experience instead function in stifling meaningful existence through the continual and relentless presence of these choices that Dann saw to be "dominating the lives of city dwellers to the virtual exclusion of deep relationships with the environment or other people."¹² The reality, at least in terms of Dann's observations, is that urban environments exist in direct opposition, or perhaps more accurately obstruction, to true identity and belonging. Her response to these places that both induced a sense of culture shock and aggravated her sense of dislocation was to formulate a sense of home- her authentic reality- that negated the reality and thus influence that these large and strange places could have on her sense of self. Rural New Zealand, uninhabited and largely unrefined, represented the antithesis of the foreign metropolis. When the antithesis is the authentic, as nature New Zealand is to Dann, the individual recreates a reality that exists outside of the cultures that marginalise the individual: "they have never been close to the land, they just don't get it."¹³

Developing, or reorientating her sense of identity to reflect that of a 'land person' enabled Dann to reconnect with New Zealand at a time in which she needed an

¹⁰ Dann, Christine, in King, Michael, 1991. p. 53

¹¹ Ibid, p. 53

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid p. 54

understanding of her identity and place in the world the most. For Dann, recognising you are a 'land person' equates to acknowledging the authenticity of being a New Zealander, in spite of modernity and all the distractions that accompany it. In New Zealand landscape, Dann not only found her solace, but also re-established a sense of place through which she could re-establish her sense of self outside of a nonchalant foreign environment.

Landscape and Identity in New Zealand

The events and encounters that lead Dann to first realise and then proclaim to anybody who was listening (or reading) that she was a 'land person' are, as was suggested at the beginning of this chapter, not dissimilar to those that lead primarily European New Zealanders 'at home' to renegotiate their understanding of New Zealand and national identity in direct reference to the New Zealand landscape in the 1970's and 1980's. In this period New Zealand society seemed as foreign to these individuals as the countries that Dann had visited. Just as Dann's New Zealand identity was stripped or dislocated due to the unavoidable consequence of travel that relinquishes the process of individual identification in terms of the culture visited, the changes that occurred in New Zealand during this period similarly left many New Zealander's unsure of who they were and where they were in a markedly different New Zealand environment. It is important to note that this was a dislocation we visited on ourselves as a population. New Zealand society was rapidly changing at the hands of New Zealanders; Maori and the feminists were demanding equality, politicians through Rogernomic policies altered the way that New Zealand society would operate in ways that many New Zealander's regardless of their ethnic or social differences perceived to be an abandonment of State responsibility, and minority ethnic groups such as Maori, Pacific Islanders since the 1970's and more recently Asians since the 1990's were asserting their own identities as part of their New Zealand reality. These occurrences not only challenged perceptions of New Zealand identity for those who were most affected- European New Zealanders- but also challenged understandings of what constituted 'our' European New Zealander dominated nation.

Since European settlement, New Zealanders recognised the success of their society in terms of the successful societies they created in a once hostile primeval environment. Our built environs, the peopled places, and our recognition of the way we had tamed the land and made it 'productive' were the basis of our perception of nation. The changes that occurred at the hands of New Zealanders in these places represented a departure from this understanding of New Zealand irreconcilable with New Zealand's changing social direction. European New Zealanders were steadily progressing into living a nihilistic existence. Wider New Zealand society's negation of the New Zealand that self-consciously "European" New Zealanders had developed since settlement left many European New Zealanders without a place that they could call home. Whilst alternate understandings of New Zealand were being propagated by New Zealanders in the 1970's and 1980's these 'New Zealands' did not accommodate for the European New Zealander's unyielding belief that 'we were all one people in one nation.' Unwilling to depart from these beliefs, the European New Zealand population continued to try and exist in the New Zealand they themselves had created that was being deconstructed by other New Zealanders- Maori, politicians and other ethnic minorities- at a steady rate. The resulting effect was that European New Zealanders, reluctant to incorporate themselves within alternate realities in which they would ultimately be viewed as 'European New Zealanders' or 'Pakeha', existed outside of and in opposition to any current and accepted understanding of New Zealand place from the 1970's onward.

Faced with the unsavoury reality of living in a state of nihilism, European New Zealanders frantically sought to find a concept around which they could reorientate their sense of national identity and nation. This concept needed to be timeless, resistant to social and civilising change, and represent New Zealand as an enduring, non-negotiable and 'real' entity in ways that previous concepts of national identity and nation had proven not to be. In the landscape, these New Zealanders believed they had found their resolution. European New Zealanders perceived 'their' landscapes to be natural facets of a 'New Zealand' geography. Disorientated, placeless and nameless, they believed, if somewhat automatically, that the propagation of landscape as New Zealand's neutral and unchallengeable reality as the true basis through which through which all New Zealanders could formulate their experiences of this place would appeal to wider New Zealand society and facilitate a reunification of the New

Zealand public with each other and of this place. European New Zealanders wanted to believe in this perception of nation not only because it negated the authenticity of the increasingly turbulent New Zealand urban existence through its inherent and primeval physicality, but because it presented New Zealand in familiar and innate terms. As uninhabited but known places, the landscape when positioned as the focal point of the nation, sought to reunite the population through distraction; the landscape became the relentless European New Zealander's tool to divert attention away from challenges to New Zealand through repositioning New Zealand outside of immediate human experience. Significantly, this New Zealand was highly reproducible. Through photography, television and film, this New Zealand could continually be incorporated into the urban existence. In enticing the population to turn metaphorically outwards, away from the contemporary troubles of New Zealand society, the landscape would ideally quell the impact that the social challenges currently being experienced in New Zealand society could have on society itself. Collectively contemplating the unique aesthetic that was New Zealand would reinforce a common sense of New Zealand and New Zealand identity through a shared response to our beautiful, unique place. All New Zealanders, so European New Zealanders believed, would recognise New Zealand scene in common terms, and this recognised cohesion would become the basis through which we would not only learn to appreciate a unified sense of place but also learn to identify and recognise each other as from common ground.

Whilst this process of national re-identification through our experience of place may have succeeded in the interim for a segment of New Zealand society, this hypothesis was blemished from the outset. In "Why Culture Works" Richard Maxwell stated:

The world we live in is fraught with conflict demanding explanation. When we encounter explanatory gaps without a thread of intelligibility, we tend to fill in the gap with whatever we have at hand. This is our culture work. By expanding the range of stories we are able to tell and hear about ourselves and others, we not only make a difference in the direction and possibilities of culture, but we ask questions about the kind of society we want to live in.¹⁴

¹⁴ Maxwell, Richard, "Why culture works" in Maxwell, Richard (ed.), *Culture works: the political economy of culture*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. p. 10

New Zealander's evocation of landscape as the binding point of a national identity and sense of place- our contemporary *religere*- in reality equates to what Maxwell has described as filling in of the gaps with whatever we had at hand. Using landscape- tangible, barren and aesthetic place- to redefine New Zealand place and people in this place was a mechanical reaction to the social challenges New Zealanders were facing in the 1970's and 1980's. In a time when civilised New Zealand, moreover the people in a civilised New Zealand, were challenging perceptions of an autonomous and unified New Zealand it was too easy for an anxious public to reassert that their true nation was to be found in civilisation's antithesis- empty and unrefined place- and not in a structured and cultivated community of which they were a part and was the root source of their angst. The physical ease with which people could 'access' New Zealand society's antithesis meant that this association could be made quickly and without a significant amount of forethought. As with any decision that is reactive, New Zealand's decision to tout landscape as the 'real New Zealand' through which a process of national reunification could begin and eventually be achieved was misguided.

National identity and community cannot be developed and dispersed overnight. To believe that it can be is not only ill-considered but fanciful. Whilst New Zealanders may recognise their landscapes as inherently natural and stable places, perfect sites in which to relocate a new sense of national identity (national identity that exists only in reference to the nation as a place) after national identity, these places are in fact inconsistent terrain, in more ways than one. The propagation of New Zealand landscapes as the contemporary binding point or *religere*- that which would bind us together- in New Zealand society since the 1970's, was flawed from its inception. Landscape could never be the basis of a successful society, because the very premise of landscape negates society from the outset. This is an argument that is inextricably linked to art history, art theory and aesthetic principles.

Precis

This chapter will proceed through first negating the New Zealander's belief that their landscapes, the natural entities through which they have chosen to relocate an understanding of nation in an attempt to reinstate a sense of unifying national place

and identity, are inherent and ‘real.’ It will instead suggest that the common understanding of landscapes as “an extensive area of land regarded as being visually distinct”¹⁵ is governed by established aesthetic principles that render our understanding of these places being natural, misguided and that the physical manifestation of the landscape (as opposed to the artist’s landscape) needs instead to be understood as the product of New Zealand actively investing meaning in these places from within a specific cultural framework. In light of this discussion, this chapter will then highlight the reasons why this contemporary understanding of our place cannot work. Specifically it will state that landscapes cannot form the basis of a collective *religare*- that which binds us together after the dissolution of national place and identity- because the concept itself, whilst it may initially reaffirm New Zealand place and allow for the development of a national identity, or nation-al identity, in the end functions in enabling and validating a multitude of national identities and perceptions of New Zealand. Moreover, it will state that the inauguration of an understanding of New Zealand that consists solely in reference to landscape in actuality serves in further deconstructing New Zealand, reducing New Zealand to a series of simulacrum reminiscent of place. Finally it will conclude by attempting to answer the question ‘what comes after the landscape?’

Geographic Landscapes and Landscape Art

In *The Big Picture: A history of New Zealand art since 1642* Hamish Keith makes a statement regarding landscape in art, the inference of which, when applied and analysed in terms of ‘real’ physical landscapes, will undoubtedly sit uncomfortably with majority of New Zealander’s. This is because European New Zealanders as the ethnic majority in New Zealand have increasingly come to see their picturesque country as providing the basis of their identity in the post 1970’s New Zealand society. He states:

The landscape has been around in art for a very long time; the ancient Greeks painted it, and in European art there is what might be called atmospheric painting in biblical illustrations 1500 years ago. Some time around 1339

¹⁵ Collins New English Dictionary, “Good Writing guide” by John Mannion, Glasgow: Collins, 2001. p. 423

Petrarch became the first man to leave a record of climbing a mountain just to look at the landscape. He thought himself well out of order and he felt so ashamed he went home and read an improving book.¹⁶

Keith is illustrating the central thesis of his argument: the landscape is not a constant entity. Whilst as a construct landscape may be contextually constant at any particular time, chronologically the structure of landscape will change to mirror current social patterns and beliefs. For landscapes are no more solid than the minds that shape them. Of landscape art Keith states:

After some two centuries, landscape as a subject for painting seems pretty commonplace to us. That's the problem with hindsight in art- you can only appreciate radical moments from the past by moving your imagination to the other side of them- before they happened.¹⁷

The linear method through which Keith describes his subject establishes landscape - a term used in this instance to describe human recognition and understanding of their surroundings - as an adjusted concept. As western human thought processes evolved, human understanding of the world that surrounded them necessarily adjusted in reference to these changes. This is perhaps best understood by juxtaposing the religious view of the world against those of two of the most influential philosophical movements that altered our understanding of the world in western history, The Enlightenment and Romanticism. Whereas religious doctrine dictated that the world was created for humans by a god, the development of Enlightenment and Romantic theories negated this premise. The Enlightenment propagated that humans were capable of discerning their own authentic truth through reason. Understanding our environment was no exception to this rule. Through reason- specifically the development of the sciences- humans would define their world through the acquisition of learned knowledge. The Enlightenment's suggestion that you can study the world, that human familiarity with our natural environs is not a prescribed religious experience, marks a dramatic shift- an evolution of sorts- in the way people

¹⁶ Keith, Hamish, *The big picture: a history of New Zealand art from 1642*, Auckland: Godwit, 2007. p. 67

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 66

thought about their surroundings. Romanticism extended on this premise, even if in quite a different way through highlighting the frailty of humanity in the absolute world. In the Romantic worldview the ‘world’ was a place that existed in its own innate terms, quite separate to humanity. Landscape went from being a god’s creation in ancient Greece and Rome, to God’s unquestioned creation through the middle ages and onto the Seventeenth Century, to then a place re-discovered by humans through reason and respected for and in terms of its own absolute qualities. Petrarch’s disturbed reaction to his contemplation of nature, when juxtaposed with the emergence and popularity of the Nineteenth Century landscape painting where “the actors were sent back to their dressing room and that scenery took over the stage”¹⁸ further illustrates the changing face of the natural landscape, and our adjusted attitudes to it.

I have used Keith to frame and introduce this critique of the (primarily European) New Zealander’s belief that a landscape is an enduring and natural feature not only because he effectively establishes the central thesis of my argument- that landscapes are not inherent and are thus not suitable places around which to encourage and foster national identity- but also because his argument places this discussion of ‘real’ landscapes in reference to landscape art. This juxtaposition is crucial to expressing and subsequently understanding the genuine and limited nature of the (European) New Zealander’s landscape in specific New Zealand terms because New Zealand was settled *after* landscape art.

Whilst landscape painting dates back to the Sixteenth Century, the popularity of the landscape as a standalone genre is most often linked with rise of Romanticism in Nineteenth Century Europe, a period renowned for its emotional and expressive response to nature, which was largely pitted against The Enlightenment’s strict emphasis on reason. As part of their cultural cargo, early British settlers to New Zealand in the Nineteenth Century imported a Romantic view of landscape inseparable from European Romanticism. Many settlers may not have been familiar with the great British landscape painters of the Romantic period such as J. M. W.

¹⁸ Ibid p. 68

Turner and John Constable¹⁹, but they would have been familiar with ‘New Zealand’ artists such as John Gully and William Matthew Hodgkins who continued to practise the Romantic aesthetic in painting in their new home. This continuation of the Romantic Nineteenth Century landscape aesthetic in settler New Zealand is not limited to art. Remembering that art is representative of respective current social customs and beliefs, the occurrence of Romantic landscape paintings indicates a specific belief of landscape held by a population. Just as Romantic landscapes accompanied British settlers to New Zealand, so did the Romantic worldview that facilitated these paintings. British New Zealander’s were predisposed to perceiving their new landscapes in imported European terms; the Southern Alps were framed and visualised in the same terms as their European namesakes. As the research in *Locating the ‘New Zealand’ icon* suggests and the discussion in *Land Fever* illustrates, contemporary New Zealanders for the most part still view the landscape - the places that we are not- in emotive, Romantic terms. The awe that British settlers to New Zealand felt about picturesque or sublime New Zealand places such as Fiordland, the Bay of Islands or Mount Ruapehu is mirrored by their Twentieth and Twenty First Century counterparts. Whereas Romanticism has been superseded in Europe and the wider Western World by subsequent philosophical movements, each of which will have influenced broader society, in New Zealand, Romanticism- or at least a facet of Romanticism in the Romantic landscape- lives on. Peter Ireland suggests that this is the fate of an emigrant culture:

It is the fate of a displaced culture that its social and creative dynamisms tend to survive much longer in the new environment than in their place of origin. The stranger and more hostile the new environment the longer they survive. In this way New Zealand often resembles a museum of Eighteenth [or Nineteenth] century ideas.²⁰

Gina Crandell states in *Nature pictorialized: "the view" in landscape history* that “undeniably, the landscape itself has become the repository of pictorial conventions

¹⁹ It is noted that Romanticism was a philosophical and artistic movement that occurred across Europe. For the purposes of this argument I have drawn only on British Romantic landscape painters as British settlers and thus British culture was the predominant shaping force to New Zealand society in the Nineteenth Century.

²⁰ Ireland, Peter, in Morrison, Robin, 1984. p. 7

and landscape architecture the perpetuator of the painterly vision.”²¹ The contemporary New Zealander’s landscape is inextricably linked to landscape (art) in New Zealand; the former being the physical embodiment of the latter. The suggestion that the New Zealander’s ‘New Zealand’ landscape is insubstantial is thus directly related to answering the question ‘what is a landscape?’ Whilst the answer may appear simple, because the concept of ‘landscape’ is entrenched in art history and aesthetics the reality is somewhat more complicated than one might expect.

What is a landscape?

In societies there are certain questions that you don’t ask. In New Zealand ‘what is a landscape?’ is invariably one such question. Asking somebody to qualify a landscape is like asking them to explain the most mundane of household objects. Just as every compos mentis adult and child after a particular age knows what a table is –a piece of furniture with a flat top and a leg or legs that is used for placing things on or doing things at- everybody believes they know what a landscape is: A landscape is a particularly beautiful natural place; a mountain, a series of mountains, a plain, a valley, a river, a lake, a beach, a desert and so on. The answer to some questions is perceivably so self evident that the question is never asked because it appears it never needs to be asked. This is because knowledge and learning render these questions irrelevant. ‘Intrinsic’ things do not need to be explained because they are perceived in essential and existential terms. What people neglect to consider is that knowledge is the resulting effect of learning, what we ‘know’ is what we have learned to experience and categorise through the experience of learning. It is only through human interaction with a subject or concept and the resulting categorisation or learned experience that the subject is corroborated as being ‘real.’ Nothing exists in its own inherent terms because what is perceivably ‘inherent’ is in itself the consequential effect of constructing reality in reference to learned knowledge. ‘New Zealand’ landscape is no exception to this rule.

²¹ Crandell, Gina, *Nature pictorialized: "the view" in landscape history*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, c1993p. 165

*Symbolic space, though created for a variety of purposes, is also rightly seen as the embodiment of strong aesthetic impulses- an artwork.*²²

Yi Fu Tuan

In his article “The Isle of Poplars: Does Landscape Exist?” Ian Wedde introduces the natural landscape as a cultural construct:

I want to start from the simple position that landscape does not exist without representation. That is, nothing called landscape exists without itself *being* a representation; or without our seeing it as capable of *becoming* a representation; or without *having being* a representation. Landscape is culturally produced: it has a history, or if you like a mythology, which gives it a life in the present and a future.²³

The inference of this statement is abrupt and clear: landscape is manufactured by humans through the contemplation of place reflecting a learned way of viewing the world. Wedde’s use of the word ‘representation’ to describe and define the ‘real’ landscape is crucial when we understand the term as being “anything that represents, such as a pictorial portrait.”²⁴ Wedde, in a round about way is really suggesting that landscapes- our beautiful natural places- are the resulting effect of learning aesthetics. Landscapes are essentially pictorial as opposed to places. Furthermore, landscapes are ‘pictures’ created and understood in reference to pictures of the land; defined and recognised through first the emergence and then our knowledge of landscape art. This point Paul Shepard reiterates and further clarifies in *Man in the landscape: a historic view of the esthetics of nature* when he states “the history of scenery is the history of painting and tourism.”²⁵ The former only exists in reference to the latter. Whilst ‘viewing’ the landscape in its own innate terms is (as previous discussion has highlighted) the product of Romantic thought, the landscape as a specific category or type of view was physically developed and communicated to society through art from

²² Tuan, Yi-Fu, Tuan, Yi-Fu, *Passing strange and wonderful: aesthetics, nature, and culture*, c1993. p. 173

²³ Wedde, I, “The Isle of Poplars: Does Landscape exist?” in Wedde, Ian, *How to be nowhere: essays and texts, 1971-1994*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1995. p. 263. Italicised in the original.

²⁴ Collins New English Dictionary, 2001. p. 659

²⁵ Shepard, Paul, *Man in the landscape: a historic view of the esthetics of nature*; foreword by Michael Martin McCarthy, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, c1991. p. 119

the Nineteenth Century onward. It is no coincidence that in Western society a 'view' is a synonym of the term 'landscape.' Recognising that our understanding of 'real' landscape is inseparable from the emergence of landscape art is the first step in establishing the landscape as a cultural construct as opposed to an innate and natural geographic feature.

Artists, through their initial contemplation of nature and subsequently their presentation of nature in their art, developed and presented a method of looking at the world that would influence the way societies would in turn respond to their natural surroundings. The Nineteenth Century landscape painting (remembering that until this point in time the landscape in art had been largely limited to providing a backdrop for figurative scenes) introduced European society to 'the view' - a scene observed from a particular place that is appealing to the eye. Landscape artwork elevated and framed natural geographies as being beautiful and 'like pictures' in societies that had, for the longest of time, viewed what would become landscapes primarily in terms of place or topography. As European society came in contact with landscape paintings in art galleries and in print mediums such as newspapers or books, individual members in society began to mirror the contemplation of geography that they observed in the artwork. Just as the artist learned to view the landscape as beautiful through engaging with Romantic philosophy and thought, society learned to view the 'real' landscape in reference to the painted images that he or she encountered. Central to the development of both the landscape as a painting, and subsequently of the landscape as a specific and 'real' fact of geography is thus the act of contemplating and engaging with the land. A landscape, whether it be the painted landscape that represents an artist's direct engagement with a specific geographic scene, or a 'real' landscape that necessarily relies on the individual being familiar with the painted landscape, only comes into existence once this act of contemplation is complete. It is thus our learned response to place that moves landscape from being innate geography to 'a landscape.' As Yi Fu Tuan states "culture is a physical process that changes nature."²⁶ Without culture as the beliefs and customs of a particular people, landscape remains geography. Gina Crandell takes this analysis one step further in stating that:

²⁶ Tuan, Yi-Fu, *Passing strange and wonderful: aesthetics, nature, and culture*, c1993. p. 6

Today we believe that our seeing has no history. We assume, for example, that representing a landscape from a single viewer's location is a timeless or natural way of looking at the world. This is not so. Such representation, whether painting or photographs, use a very specific convention, namely the linear perspective developed during the Renaissance.²⁷

Crandell implies landscape exists after, and only after, the geographic features in the land induce within the viewer a recollection of a learned aesthetic that we have come to *expect* will reflect our own imitations of nature. In viewing and contemplating a 'real' landscape, we thus engage with the features that we expect to find in the painted landscape. As Frances Pound has stated:

What we see is painted on the metaphorical glass (which is in fact opaque paper, or a canvas on board); we look *at* it, not *through* it- the painted surface is a system of signs, not a transparent medium. Try as he might, the landscape painter does not paint on that surface the landscape he wishes to celebrate. Invariably the painter paints the 'picturesque'- that in nature which reminds him of the pictures in paint- invariably what is painted is the already painted, the paintable.²⁸

Whilst societies, as Yi Fu Tuan illustrates, draw a distinction between the natural and the cultured:

Most societies distinguish between nature and culture and consider this distinction important. In general, wherever the distinction is recognized, the biological, the raw and the instinctive, the unconscious and the primordial are attributed to nature; and form and order, consciousness and deliberation, the developed and the achieved ideal are attributed to culture.²⁹

This distinction is largely superficial in regard to the landscape. The landscape painting both pre-empts and succeeds that 'real' landscape because the 'real'

²⁷ Crandell, Gina, c1993. p. 6

²⁸ Pound, Francis, *Frames on the land: early landscape painting in New Zealand*, Auckland: Collins, 1983. p. 12

²⁹ Tuan, Yi-fu, *Passing strange and wonderful: aesthetics, nature, and culture*. c1993 p. 8

landscape is result of humans seeking out physical examples of the scenes that they have viewed in paint. The former will always be governed by our familiarity with the latter, a truth that invariably indicates that the 'real' landscape is constructed in reference to landscape art- 'representations' of land- as opposed to the land itself. 'Real' landscape and landscape art are quintessentially one in the same- constructed and learned perceptions of specific, empty and perceivably innate geography. Landscapes are, in short, beliefs in the 'real.' Specifically they are beliefs in a 'real' that can be seen and represented. As such we have come to take landscapes, in a general sense, as a form of dogmatic cultural orthodoxy. This is a point that is both best understood and summed up by Pound when he states that "there is no English word for a piece of land perceived visually but not pictorially."³⁰

New Zealand landscape and New Zealand identities

The fact that New Zealand society propagates the veneration of New Zealand landscapes and perceives these landscapes as 'real' is in itself not an issue. For the most part, New Zealanders do not need to recognise that their understanding of New Zealand landscapes is intrinsically linked and constructed in response to European philosophical developments (namely Romanticism) and art history because engaging with and studying aesthetics is primarily an academic exercise. Landscapes only need to be recognised as constructed, interpreted geography when we attempt to invest definitive meaning and recognise them in terms other than that of picturesque place. New Zealand society has, since the 1970's - primarily at the influence of the displaced European New Zealander- attempted to do just that. Since the 1970's the reassertion of a Maori ethnic and political identity, Pacific and Asian immigration, socio-political movements such as feminism, and the political developments associated with Rogernomic policies have all challenged and in many respects superseded the European New Zealanders hegemonic sense of "their" 'New Zealander' self and nation. In response to these challenges European New Zealanders have made New Zealand landscape the repository and focal point of "their" ideally all inclusive nation-al identity. Furthermore, New Zealand landscape has become the basis through

³⁰ Pound, F. 1983 p. 23

which the 'real' New Zealand can be interpreted and read. Tim Edensor has stated with regard to what he terms the 'cultural nationalists' that:

The projects of cultural nationalists to imprint meaning on space for all time, like other attempts to fix national meaning, are doomed to failure. In any case, such symbolic sites are usually claimed by competing groups, who invest them with meanings which are attuned to their political project or identity.³¹

In our own New Zealand circumstance, the European New Zealander's efforts to imprint identifying and referential meaning on New Zealand landscapes are also destined to fail because landscapes are constructed, interpreted representations of New Zealand place. Recreating the 'real' New Zealand and New Zealand identity in reference to landscapes invariably equates to recreating identity in reference to a culturally constructed entity. Moreover, this actually means recreating a perceivably overarching New Zealand identity and perception of New Zealand place in reference to what is in reality an individually authorised and constructed entity. This occurs because the contemplation of landscapes is an individual as opposed to a communal exercise. Whilst we may 'see' landscapes and presume that these landscapes are universally understood, invariably sight is an individual sense; my understanding of New Zealand landscape will invariably differ from that of other New Zealanders. The resulting effect of this invested meaning in our seemingly national landscapes is that a multitude of New Zealand identities and perceptions of New Zealand are not only developed, but validated- including those of the individuals such as the Maori or the feminist who wish to dissent from any established form of the all inclusive New Zealand nation.

The physical ease with which the European New Zealander latched onto New Zealand landscapes in a time when their understanding of what constituted 'their' New Zealand identity and sense home was being continually deconstructed is inseparable from the human sense of sight. Until the 1970's, European New Zealander's recognised that they were part of a wider New Zealand community that perceivably shared a specific New Zealand world-view. This recognition was in many ways the

³¹ Edensor, Tim, *National identity, popular culture and everyday life*, Oxford; New York: Berg Publishers, 2002. p. 46

result of a European hegemony through which New Zealand Europeans could recognise their cultural dominance and respond to it as universal. The essence of this world-view is best analysed in reference to Edensor's lengthy explanation of a nation:

The nation is spatially distinguished as a bounded entity, possessing borders which mark it as separate from other nations. Borders enclose a definable population subject to a hegemonic administration in the form of a discrete political system holding sway over the whole of this space but which, in a world of nations, is expected to respect the sovereignty of other nations. These borders are also imagined to enclose a particular and separate culture, a notion which is articulated by hegemonic ways of differentiating and classifying cultural differences. It is not that different cultures cannot exist within any nation, but that they are subordinate to the nation, and conceived as part of national cultural variety.³²

The basis of the European New Zealander's understanding of New Zealand and New Zealand identity before the 1970's was thus inseparable from their experience of living in New Zealand. Our placement in our nation, when posited against those people and places that we were not, was the definitive way of characterising ourselves. Being a 'New Zealander'³³ meant living here as opposed to living elsewhere; furthermore it meant choosing to live here and participate in New Zealand society as was defined by the then current European hegemony. As wider New Zealand society began to challenge the dominance of this pre-1970's cultural hegemony, the European New Zealander's propagation of the 'New Zealander' and New Zealand was also steadily negated. Common experience of a shared, universally experienced location was not enough to tie the New Zealand population together after the social, political, and socio-political changes that occurred in 1970's and 1980's New Zealand society.

³² Ibid, p. 37

³³ In this instance the term New Zealander has been placed in quote marks as I am using the term 'New Zealander' in a categorical sense to illustrate the way in which European New Zealanders believed that our communal existence in New Zealand, regardless of individual ethnic backgrounds or political beliefs, was commonality enough to tie us together is a definitive and unique population.

European New Zealanders, as the portion of New Zealand society who had the most to lose from these changes, gravitated their national and identity attention towards New Zealand landscapes for several reasons. Firstly, for a cultural group living in what was for them an increasingly foreign New Zealand society, viewing New Zealand landscape reiterated a sense of home and the familiar. European New Zealanders knew that they were 'at home' because they could see it even if they were unsure of how they could relate to a changing New Zealand society from the 1970's onwards. Secondly, New Zealand Europeans hoped that the claim of New Zealand landscape into society would not only diffuse alternate claims on New Zealand and of New Zealand identity but also restore society through literally reasserting our place as a physical, locating *religare*. Visual recognition of New Zealand's 'innate' New Zealand landscapes (which as we have discussed are in reality culturally constructed) was perceivably constant- or so European New Zealanders believed. As Yi Fu Tuan states in *Space and Place*:

To see and to think are closely related processes. In English, "I see" means "I understand." Seeing, it has long been recognised, is not the simple recording of light stimuli; it is a selective and creative process in which environmental stimuli are organised into flowing structures that provide signs meaningfully to the purposive organism.³⁴

What New Zealand Europeans neglected to take into consideration was that humans do not 'view' the world in universal terms across socio-cultural groups. Sight - human perception of something using the visual sense - is individually authorised and governed by specific cultural beliefs relevant to specific world-views. Tuan illustrates this point, stating "culture is unequally developed in human beings. It strongly influences human behaviour and values. The Eskimos' sense of space and place is very different from that of Americans."³⁵ The European New Zealander's understanding of New Zealand landscape thus inevitably reflects a specific cultural discourse, that of the European New Zealander. This diversity of sight was not something European New Zealanders contemplated before proclaiming that 'seeing' New Zealand, furthermore, believing in this view was the basis through which the

³⁴ Tuan, Yi-Fu, *Space and place: the perspective of experience*, London: Edward Arnold, 1977. p. 10

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5

'real' New Zealand and 'real' New Zealand identity could be accessed and developed. As opposed to reuniting New Zealand through the dissemination of a singular quite literal 'view' of New Zealand, the idea and claim of New Zealand landscape into society only served to further diversify New Zealanders. Through attributing identifying power to the New Zealand landscape, European New Zealanders effectively ushered in a concept through which New Zealand identities as opposed to a universal New Zealand identity would take shape and form. Whilst these identities may be similar in that they drew on the same subject matter, they were invariably different because individual minds do not work to a prescribed method of thinking. This is a reality that not only negates the European New Zealander's premise that the visual recognition of New Zealand could restore national community after the negation of community, but also ensures the survival of society's dissenting voices, namely that of New Zealand's indigenous Maori. After landscape in the early 2000's there are at least four million New Zealand identities. All of these identities are theoretically valid, but as identities necessarily have political, cultural and social claims, not all of these identities are perceived as being equal by individuals from different cultural and social groups. It is because of this individual authorisation that the idea and claim of New Zealand landscape into New Zealand society cannot work. New Zealand's landscapes will not prove to be effective as *religare* because New Zealanders do not 'see' New Zealand in constant terms.

A Nihilistic 'Nation': New Zealand landscapes, society and metaphysical exile

The problems associated with the European New Zealander's self-conscious propagation of New Zealand landscapes as the focal point of New Zealand identity and perception of 'real' place after the 1970's extends beyond the fact that landscapes are both culturally constructed and individually authorised through the logistics of human sight. In repositioning their perception of 'real' New Zealand away from New Zealand's increasingly turbulent and contested urban environments towards New Zealand landscapes, European New Zealanders essentially recreated a New Zealand to which they could not belong. This is because New Zealand landscapes as specific, pictorially interpreted geographies are a construct that simultaneously reduces New Zealand to what is essentially a simulacrum of place that is resistant to human interference. Invariably, the propagation of New Zealand landscape by European New

Zealanders as their authoritative experience of the 'real' New Zealand that subsequently shapes their 'New Zealand' identity negates the existential authority of their physical reality. The resulting effect of wilfully fostering this sense of 'real place', that is in actuality a constructed and severely limited interpretation of New Zealand, is that European New Zealanders enhance their experience of nihilism as opposed to overcoming it. Yi Fu Tuan has suggested that:

The problem with attributing moral power to environment is that it is seldom justified: wilderness does not always console or inspire virtue, largeness of square can be *read* as largesse spirit, but one cannot produce the other, and the glass office tower has proven to be as opaque and impenetrable as the thickest masonry.³⁶

The result is that New Zealand landscape has proven to be, for the European New Zealander, as impenetrable as the contested urban New Zealand that they wished to both escape and supersede. In recreating a sense of New Zealand solely in reference to New Zealand landscapes, European New Zealanders have effectively created a place that exists outside of any substantive and referential meaning. This is because in recreating 'New Zealand', European New Zealanders have created an environment that does not and can never truly exist. Furthermore, because European New Zealanders respond to this interpretation of New Zealand as their 'real' New Zealand experience- that is an experience devoid of meaning- they reposition themselves outside of or in opposition to existential reality. This is an argument that is best analysed in reference to Jean Baudrillard's famous statement that:

The territory no longer precedes the map, nor survives it. Henceforth, it is the map that precedes the territory- PRECESSION OF SIMULCRA- it is the map that engenders the territory and if we were to revive the fable today, it would be the territory whose shreds are slowly rotting across the map. It is the real, and not the map, whose vestiges subsist here and there, in the deserts which are no longer those of the Empire, but our own.³⁷

³⁶ Tuan, *Passing strange and wonderful: aesthetics, nature, and culture* p. 150

³⁷ Baudrillard, Jean, *Simulations*, New York: Semiotext[e], 1983. p. 2

Since the 1970's European New Zealanders have created a perception of New Zealand that is quite different to New Zealand's geographic reality. This is because, if New Zealand were to be perceived in geographic terms, New Zealand's urban environments, and the dissent that they both housed and fostered, would remain not only 'real' but socially relevant. New Zealand Europeans perceived- if somewhat naively- that if they removed these places from their understanding of New Zealand, these obstacles to their evocation of 'real' New Zealand identity and place would in turn be rendered obsolete or 'fake.' In reality, the resulting effect of this self-conscious and deliberate renegotiation of place meant that New Zealand became a simulacrum of what New Zealand once was, a 'place' that had vague and limited similarities to the pre-1970's New Zealand. To paraphrase Baudrillard, New Zealand territory no longer preceded the landscape, nor survived it. New Zealand was simultaneously 'real' in that European New Zealanders perceived this evocation of New Zealand to be authentic, and 'fake' in that it was imagined, bearing no real witness to the geography that it attempted to encapsulate. In negating the 'complete' New Zealand that necessarily incorporated New Zealand's urban environments, European New Zealanders created a hyper-real nation. The illusion of the 'New Zealand landscape' New Zealand, that was not a place but a representation of what was once a 'complete' place, became the European New Zealanders reality. The mechanical, unsolicited by-product of this new 'real' New Zealand was that European New Zealanders erased any existential meaning from their environment and subsequently from themselves.

As Baudrillard states in *America* "for the sign to be pure, it has to duplicate itself: it is the duplication of the sign which destroys its meaning."³⁸ As European New Zealanders recreated New Zealand in reference to pictures, and continually duplicated these landscapes through repetitive viewing and mechanical and technological reproductions, their New Zealand dissolved into a place that existed only as a representation of itself. For a population desperately searching for a place to call home and a place through which they could define themselves, this New Zealand would inevitably disappoint. Humans require certain things of their home, none of which New Zealand landscape as a simulacrum of place can offer. A home is a place

³⁸ Baudrillard, Jean, *America*, London; New York: Verso, 1988. p. 136

that people not only live in, but feel that they *belong to*. The latter of these prerequisites is perhaps the most important because belonging somewhere- being of some place- is what makes a person feel secure in space. European New Zealanders could not belong to New Zealand landscape because New Zealand landscape is not a place, it is a simulacrum of place. In New Zealand the dissolution of place into simulacrum is thus also the deconstruction of the human sense of belonging and home. So long as the 'New Zealand landscape' New Zealand exists, European New Zealanders as people from New Zealand will not. It is landscape - or identity and belonging; and not landscape and identity and belonging.

Instead of a window on, or mirror of, reality, language and representation increasingly seem to form a screen or veil that obscures more than it reveals. As vision becomes questionable, representation changes from an ideal to be realized to a difficulty to be overcome.³⁹

What comes after landscape?

New Zealand landscape was the European New Zealander's final attempt to hold onto their cultural dominance in New Zealand society. As it stands, propagating and presenting New Zealand landscape as the universal, inherent and 'real' understanding of New Zealand to all New Zealanders failed, and miserably so. This occurred because European New Zealanders were naively unaware of the limitations of the concept itself. New Zealand landscapes are, as opposed to innate facets of New Zealand's geography, culturally constructed. Recognising a landscape as an uninhabited, natural and beautiful place is not an instinctive way of looking at and categorising the world, it is learnt through time and reflects a specifically European worldview. This means that landscapes are not perceived in a universal manner for several reasons. Firstly, as landscapes are a specifically European cultural construct not all New Zealanders will recognise a landscape as 'a landscape.' The most notable and relevant example of this dissonance across cultures is seen when juxtaposing the European 'landscape' against the beliefs of the Maori who as *tangata whenua* or 'people of the land' have a very different response to New Zealand landscape than

³⁹ Taylor, Mark C, *Disfiguring: art, architecture, religion*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c1992. p. 8

that of the European New Zealander. Whereas the European 'landscape' celebrates the pictorial beauty of natural places in opposition to urbanised and industrial places, *Aotearoa* is *turangawaewae* to New Zealand's *tangata whenua*, a place to which they feel connected and that as their home is the foundation of their identity. Whilst many European New Zealanders claim a connection and identity foundation to landscape as land- or to land as landscape, this differs from *turangawaewae* in that the European New Zealanders landscape is constructed and selected. Secondly, because landscapes can only be experienced through sight, landscapes are viewed inconsistently by individuals, one person's definitive experience of New Zealand landscape will invariably differ from that of another. Finally, the evocation of New Zealand landscape as 'real' place reduces landscape to a simulacrum of place, a relocation that inevitably results in European New Zealanders existing outside of place and without referential meaning. Where can the European New Zealander go to from here? What comes after landscape?

This question 'what comes after landscape?' is one that should not attempt to be answered. It is instead a question that needs to be engaged with. Furthermore, it is a question that New Zealand society, and in particular the European New Zealander, needs to recognise that they have to engage with. For if we attempt to *answer* this question, New Zealand will again- as it is in what can be termed the current landscape era- become a society that is prescribed before it is experienced. This is a point illustrated by Jean-Luc Nancy when he discusses the inevitable shortcomings of a community that arises through work:

...community cannot arise from the domain of work. One does not produce it, one experiences it as constituted by it as the experience of finitude. Community understood as a work or through its works would presuppose that the common being, as such, be objectifiable and producible (in sites, persons, buildings, discourses, institutions, symbols: in short, in subjects.) Products derived from operations of this kind, however grandiose they might seek to be and

sometimes manage to be, have no more communitarian existence than the plaster busts of Marianne.⁴⁰

Landscape has failed to do what European New Zealanders perceived it could do because it is in itself a product, and producible. In the early 2000's, after the inauguration of landscape, New Zealand society is still fractured and European New Zealanders are still unsure of who they are in New Zealand society and of what it means to be *pakeha*- a New Zealander of European descent living here, and not elsewhere. European New Zealanders need to recognise that a universal imposition of New Zealand identity and nation cannot be created, and then implemented in society overnight. To question 'what comes after landscape?' thus equates to questioning how society and identity can be rebuilt- if at all- *after* the nihilism of the empty landscape. As a European New Zealander, I have posed the question 'what comes after landscape?' not because I know the answer to this question but because something needs to come after landscape for any meaningful New Zealand society to flourish. So long as New Zealand landscape is perceived by European New Zealanders as New Zealand's contemporary *religare*, New Zealand society will remain elusive.

Having succeeded only in increasing the sense of nihilism felt after the changes began to occur in New Zealand society in the 1970's, European New Zealanders are, in the early 2000's, faced with two options. They can either continue trying to assert their cultural dominance in a New Zealand that has superseded the authority of the European hegemony and exist in opposition to New Zealand society, or they can relinquish definitive control of their identity and sense of nation and become part of New Zealand society. Ultimately, European New Zealanders will have to choose the latter option because humans, regardless of their beliefs and ethnic backgrounds, need to belong to a place that they can call home. Whilst the outcome of the abandonment of landscape is to date unclear, due to the fact European New Zealanders remain resistant to the suggestion that their interpretation of New Zealand and New Zealand identity has failed, it will necessarily require European New Zealanders to engage with all of society, no matter how volatile and hostile. Central to this process will be communication between ethnic, socio-political and socio-cultural groups, of which

⁴⁰ Nancy, Jean-Luc, *The inoperative community*; edited and translated by Peter Connor, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, c1990. p. 31

New Zealand Europeans are but one of many. This communication will undoubtedly result in ideological conflict because New Zealand includes two major groups- Maori and Pakeha- that both have strong and very different approaches to what constitutes New Zealand as their culturally perceived home. European New Zealanders need to recognise that New Zealand society can only be achieved, if at all, through recognising and attempting to resolve these conflicts at a national scale. It is as Nancy states "...one cannot make a world with simple atoms. There has to be a clinamen."⁴¹

As a European New Zealander I have not posed the question 'what comes after landscape?' to attempt to answer it for the sake of concluding this thesis on a positive and definitive note, but rather to suggest that the success of a post-landscape New Zealand relies on us relinquishing categorical control of our identity and nation. Deciphering what comes after landscape in New Zealand, for the European New Zealander, relies on us asking and engaging with the question and not attempting to prescribe an immediate answer. If European New Zealanders attempt to define both the post-landscape New Zealand and the post-landscape New Zealand identity without engaging with wider New Zealand society (as they did after the 1970's with New Zealand landscape), they will invariably recreate an identity and perception of New Zealand that will not only fail, but also reinforce the sense of nihilism experienced over the past thirty years.

⁴¹ Nancy, Jean-Luc, c1990. p. 31

Conclusion

The contemporary, post-1970's occurrence of anthologies of New Zealand painting is indicative of a (primarily) European New Zealander claim to identity and interpretation of nation inseparable from the changes that were taking place in New Zealand society. Until the 1970's, New Zealand was a hegemonic society defined by a worldview specific to European New Zealanders. Central to this was the claim that being in and of New Zealand (as common location) was commonality enough to engender both a national identity and collective interpretation of New Zealand despite an increasingly diverse population. As the authority of this hegemony was questioned by wider society (the details of which have been discussed at length in *Locating the 'New Zealand' icon*), so too were the associated claims to national identity and nation. Whereas these changes were liberating to minority and marginalised groups such as Maori and the feminists, who had been subordinate to the hegemonic articulation of New Zealand identity and nation for the self-identified European New Zealander these developments were disconcerting. The fracturing of "their" imposed and totalitarian interpretation of New Zealand society was disorientating, leaving many unsure of how to identify either themselves or their country. The emergence from this time of the anthologies of New Zealand painting, and their continuing success in the consumer marketplace, are symptomatic of the way in which European New Zealanders not only sought to relocate themselves in New Zealand after the 1970's, but also how they attempted to reassert their cultural dominance in a modified society and restore New Zealand to its "cohesive" pre-1970's state.

Therefore after the 1970's, as the experience of living in New Zealand became increasingly contested, European New Zealanders renegotiated their understanding of New Zealand identity and 'real' place in reference to images of and about New Zealand. European New Zealanders believed that asserting this new claim of identity and place into society could rectify the damage caused by New Zealanders in society for several reasons. Firstly, visually experiencing 'New Zealand' enabled European New Zealanders, as a displaced ethnic group, to authenticate and affirm their presence in what was for them an increasingly foreign place. Their familiarity with images specific to New Zealand, and the physical ease with which these could repeatedly be accessed via mediums such as the anthologies of New Zealand painting, suppressed

the insecurity that many were increasingly feeling in New Zealand society. Secondly, European New Zealanders believed that the presentation of 'New Zealand' images to the New Zealand public would serve as a catalyst to reunite. Using the anthologies of New Zealand painting as an example, it was hoped and believed that *all* New Zealanders, via these books, would recognise the cultural products (paintings) presented as iconic and distinctive 'New Zealand' images. In turn, this collective recognition and appreciation of 'New Zealand' imagery would encourage all New Zealanders to focus on this common experience, and not their social or political differences. In emphasizing every New Zealander's perceived familiarity with 'New Zealand' images, European New Zealanders believed society could be brought back together and the impact of the social and political change of the period negated.

In this re-turn to landscape European New Zealanders modified their interpretation of New Zealand identity and the 'real' New Zealand for this new claim of identity and 'real' place was reactive and pitted against societal changes. "Their" New Zealander identity and experience of the 'real' New Zealand moved away from the experience of living in an increasingly contested New Zealand society and towards the visual recognition of images of and about 'New Zealand'. The proliferation of anthologies of New Zealand painting as physical, consumer products of this adjusted New Zealand worldview illustrate the way that this new claim to identity and place functioned. These anthologies celebrated New Zealand solely in visual terms. Moreover, they presented New Zealand to a New Zealand audience as a series of specific images made by New Zealanders, many literally representing New Zealand subject matter specific to New Zealand culture and place. No New Zealander, so the European New Zealander believed, could negate the visual reality of their country. The anthology presented a visual icon that all, it was believed, could relocate themselves in reference to. The landscape without people would provide the counter-balance to the problems of a diverse people. What the 'problem of landscape' attempts to hide is the underlying problem of people.

National belief in national landscape cannot be the basis of a balanced society because the concept does not, and can never accommodate for society. It can only negate it. Landscape is a specifically European approach to visually interpreting the world. Furthermore 'seeing' visual landscape is a highly individual, and not a communal,

experience. Whilst the landscape as a visual 'New Zealand' icon may be similarly perceived across New Zealand's diverse populace, it will never be universally understood *because* New Zealanders *are* a diverse population, from a variety of ethnic backgrounds with a myriad of political and social beliefs. The problem with attempting to anthologise New Zealand identity is that New Zealanders cannot even agree on a canon. The unavoidable diversity in response to the anthologies, and the visual 'New Zealand' icon of the landscape that they present actually works against their stated claim and indicates that diversity, not uniformity is the basis for society and identity. The commercial success of these anthologies that above all else celebrate New Zealand culture and identity indicates that *all* New Zealanders love their country and the society that has developed here. European New Zealanders need to learn that difference does not always equate to irreconcilable dissonance. So long as European New Zealanders attempt to make us more alike by emphasising a common 'New Zealand' that will perceivably unite society through encouraging people to conform to this common experience, they will miss the opportunities that arise in our society such as our diverse appreciation for New Zealand's cultural imagery, that could actually bring us closer together. It is as Christine Dann states:

“if you love this place, these islands in the South Pacific that are your home, then you have to make a commitment to knowing and caring about the land and the people. *All* the land and *all* the people.”¹

¹ Dann, Christine, “In Love With The Land” in King, Michael (ed.), *Pakeha: The Quest For Identity in New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1991. p. 59, 60

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Appendix A: schedule of paintings that appeared across the 17 anthologies

Key to anthologies:

- A:** New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, *National centennial exhibition of New Zealand art: catalogue*, Wellington: New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940.
- B:** Cape, Peter, *New Zealand painting since 1960: a study in themes and developments*, Auckland: Collins, 1979.
- C:** Friedlander, Marti, Barr, Jim, Barr, Mary, *Contemporary New Zealand painters*; photographs by Mart Friedlander; text by Jim and Mary Barr, Martinborough: A. Taylor, 1980.
- D:** Bett, Elva, *New Zealand art: a modern perspective*, Auckland: Reed Methuen, 1986.
- E:** Brown, Gordon, Keith, Hamish, *An introduction to New Zealand painting, 1839-1980* (New and revised edition), Auckland: David Bateman in association with Collins, 1988.
- F:** Docking, Gill, *Two hundred years of New Zealand painting* (Revised edition), Auckland: David Bateman, 1990.
- G:** Brown, Warwick, *100 New Zealand paintings: by 100 New Zealand artists*, Auckland: Godwit, 1995.
- H:** Dunn, Michael, *Contemporary Painting in New Zealand*, Roseville East: Craftsman House, c1996.
- I:** O'Brien, Gregory, *Lands & deeds: profiles of contemporary*; photographic portraits by Robert Cross, Auckland: Godwit, 1996.
- J:** Caughey, Elizabeth M., Gow, John, *Contemporary New Zealand Art 1*, Auckland: David Bateman, 1997.
- K:** Caughey, Elizabeth M., Gow, John, *Contemporary New Zealand Art 2*, Auckland: David Bateman, 1999.
- L:** Caughey, Elizabeth M., *Art New Zealand today: sixty exhibiting New Zealand artists*, Auckland: Saint Publishing, 2002.
- M:** Caughey, Elizabeth M., Gow, John, *Contemporary New Zealand Art 3*, Auckland: David Bateman, 2002.
- N:** Dunn, Michael, *New Zealand painting: a concise history* (Revised and expanded edition), Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003.
- O:** Frontseat, Wynston Curnow's list, <http://frontseat.co.nz/viewtopic.php?id=24>, 2006. Accessed 5 April 2006.
- P:** Frontseat, Marshall Seifert's list, <http://frontseat.co.nz/viewtopic.php?id=24>, 2006. Accessed 5 April 2006.
- Q:** Frontseat, *The Frontseat Search for New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider*, <http://www.frontseat.co.nz/exclusive/poll/archive.php>, 2006. Accessed 5 April 2006.

An * in a column indicates that the corresponding painting was featured in this publication.

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Abbot, Edward J.	Little Paisley, Dunedin 1849	*																
Aberhart, Laurence	Nature Morte (silence), Savage Club, Wanganui, 20 February, 1986										*							

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Abraham, Caroline H.	From Captain Smith's House, Howick	*																
Adsett, Sandy	Nikau, 1983				*													
Adsett, Sandy	Turehu		*															
Adsett, Sandy	Untitled, 1974				*													
Aitken, Chrystabel L.	Cats	*																
Aitken, Chrystabel L.	Equestrian Group	*																
Albrecht, Gretchen	Annunciation, 1992								*									
Albrecht, Gretchen	Banded Orange		*															
Albrecht, Gretchen	Bright Mantled Ocean, 2000														*			
Albrecht, Gretchen	Drawing for Wooden Horse, 1967			*														
Albrecht, Gretchen	Drift II, 1976			*														
Albrecht, Gretchen	Groundwork, 1978			*														
Albrecht, Gretchen	In Time and Measure True, 1998											*						
Albrecht, Gretchen	Leda, 1982											*						
Albrecht, Gretchen	Magenta/Yellow, 1982				*													
Albrecht, Gretchen	Moonlight, 1985						*											
Albrecht, Gretchen	Nocturne, 1989											*						
Albrecht, Gretchen	Nomadic Geometries (At this Hour), 1994								*									
Albrecht, Gretchen	Nomadic Geometries (at this hour-blue), 1994							*										
Albrecht, Gretchen	Nomadic Geometries (Jupiter), 1993								*									
Albrecht, Gretchen	Rainfall, 1971														*			
Albrecht, Gretchen	Seven Sorrows (Loss), 1995														*			
Albrecht, Gretchen	Steppe, 1980				*													

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Albrecht, Gretchen	Untitled Drawing No. 2, 1964											*						
Albrecht, Gretchen	We See Ourselves in the Mirror											*						
Albrecht, Gretchen	Whatipu- Winter, 1976											*						
Albrecht, Gretchen	Wooden Horse, 1967						*											
Alexander, Kenneth A. E.	Feeding the Wrong Birds	*																
Allan, William	Ernie (Spastic), 1983				*													
Allen, William Henry	F. A. Shurrock Carving the Massey Memorial, Christchurch, 1930														*			
Allen, William Henry	Study of a Girl	*																
Anderson-Scott, Melissa	Daughter II, 1999												*					
Anderson-Scott, Melissa	Familiar Face, 2001												*					
Andrew, John	Ascension		*															
Angas, George French	House of Hiwikau	*																
Angas, George French	Monument to Te Wherowhero's Daughter	*																
Angas, George French	Ngeuhgeu and her Son, Plate 3 from The New Zealander Illustrated, 1847														*			
Angas, George French	Te Heuheu and Hiwikau; Te Kawau and his Nephew	*																
Angas, George French	Tukupoto at Kaitote, Te Wherohero's Pa 1844						*											
Angus, Rita	A. D. 1968, 1968				*													
Angus, Rita	Cass														*			*

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Angus, Rita	Central Otago, 1940		*												*			
Angus, Rita	Flight, c. 1969			*														
Angus, Rita	Flood, Hawkes Bay, 1955-6							*										
Angus, Rita	Fog, Hawkes Bay, 1967			*			*											
Angus, Rita	Head of a Maori Boy, 1938						*											
Angus, Rita	Portrait of Betty Curnow, 1942				*										*			
Angus, Rita	Rutu, 1950																	*
Angus, Rita	Scrub-burning, North Hawkes Bay, 1965					*												
Angus, Rita	Self Portrait, 1936-7																*	*
Angus, Rita	Self Portrait, 1959-60					*												
Angus, Rita	Sheds, Hawkes Bay		*															
Apple, Billy	Advised, Structured, Arranged, Traded, 1992							*										
Apple, Billy	Self Portrait, 1962															*		*
Armitage, David	North Shore Sunbathers		*															
Armitage, David	She said, Look at me. I looked. She rose into detail forever		*															
Armstrong, Michael	Reversible No. 9, 1983				*													
Arndt, Mina	Decorative Group	*																
Arndt, Mina	Girl in a Blue Blouse						*								*			
Arndt, Mina	Homewards					*												
Arndt, Mina	Pastel	*																
Arndt, Mina	Portrait	*																
Ashworth, Edward	Auckland, New Zealand, from the Government Domain c. 1843						*											
Atkinson, Esmond	Botanical Study	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Atkinson, Robert	Life Study	*																
Badcock, Douglas	Tooth Peaks from Crichton Station, Wakatipu		*															
Bagnall, Percy	Portrait	*																
Bagnall, Percy	Pukeko	*																
Bailey, John	Corner, Wall, Floor, Study, 1980				*													
Bailey, John	Noise, Noise, Noise, Noise, 1983				*													
Ball, Martin	B.M.W. 750, 1983				*													
Ball, Martin	Lisa Reihana, 2002														*			
Ball, Martin	Man in a Leather Jacket, 1975				*													
Ballantyne, Kenneth M.	Woodcut	*																
Baloghy, George	A Modern Antipodean Olympia, 1981				*													
Baloghy, George	Family of Saltimbanques (Picasso), 2000												*					
Baloghy, George	Wigmore Stream, 2001												*					
Baloghy, George	Yummies, 1985							*										
Bambury, Stephen	Adraitā (Chakra #7), 1993										*							
Bambury, Stephen	Co-ordinates, Vertical Five, 1978										*							
Bambury, Stephen	Forbidden City, 2002														*			
Bambury, Stephen	FVL 539, 1996										*							
Bambury, Stephen	Homage to Mondrian, No. 5, 1983-84				*													
Bambury, Stephen	Ideogram, 1994-5							*										
Bambury, Stephen	Model Painting (Advaita), 1993								*									
Bambury, Stephen	Necessary Correction, 1994								*		*							
Bambury, Stephen	Ngamotu, 1993										*							

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Bambury, Stephen	No. 23 (Orange/maroon), 1981-2				*													
Bambury, Stephen	Site Works, 1981															*		
Bambury, Stephen	Surfaces Will be Smooth and Bright (primary), 1990						*				*							
Bambury, Stephen	The Natural Colour of Materials must also Disappear' (Primary), 1988														*			
Banwell, Ingrid	Space Invaders, 1984				*													
Banwell, Ingrid	Taste Buds, 1983				*													
Baraki, Bashir	Landscape Diptych		*															
Baraki, Bashir	St Francis of Assisi		*															
Barker, David	Shed		*															
Barker, David	Valley Shadow		*															
Barraoud, William F.	A Piece of Old Delft	*																
Barraud, Charles D.	Opaki Plain	*																
Barraud, Charles D.	The Barracks, Napier, c. 1858						*											
Barraud, Charles D.	The Manawatu	*																
Barraud, E. Noel	Old Bridge, Wimbung	*																
Baverstock, William S.	Five Caricatures	*																
Baxter, Alfred E.	Mount Elliot and Jervois Glacier	*																
Beasley, Madeline	Alicia, 2001												*					
Beasley, Madeline	Imagination, 2001												*					
Benham, Malcolm	Bang!				*													
Benham, Malcolm	Golly! Golly!, 1982				*													
Bennett, Graham	Suspended Horizontal V, 1983				*													

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Bensemman, Leo	The Southern Alps		*															
Binney, Don	A Cape for Father Damien, 1991								*									
Binney, Don	Artists Garde: Scholes Teapot, 1993							*										
Binney, Don	Colonial Garden Bird, 1965					*												
Binney, Don	Contemporary Garden Bird (also listed as Canterbury garden bird on frontseat site)		*															*
Binney, Don	G. V. /Waihi-'35, 1992								*									
Binney, Don	G. VI/6-VIII-45, 1981-4				*													
Binney, Don	Kawaupaku, Te Henga, 1967														*			
Binney, Don	New Kereru at The Henga, 1966			*														
Binney, Don	Pond Bird, Te Henga		*	*														
Binney, Don	Remuera Verso Jug (I), 1995								*									
Binney, Don	Sun shall not burn thee by day nor moon by night, 1966						*											
Binney, Don	Te Waiti, Te Hinega		*															
Bonney, Don	Bikini Northward 1, 1980				*													
Blair, Helen	Molly, 2001												*					
Blair, Helen	Nikau and Paua, 2001												*					
Blair, Helen	The Catch, 2001												*					
Blair, Philippi	A Man's House is Like a God's Temple, 1982				*													
Blair, Philippi	Aeroplane Angel, 1990						*											
Blair, Philippi	Caging, 1994							*										
Blair, Philippi	Corral, 1994							*										
Blair, Philippi	El Miradon (Viewpoint), 1998										*							

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Blair, Philippi	Glenloch Interchange, 1984				*													
Blair, Philippa	Hello Yellow Blinds (diptych), 1979											*						
Blair, Philippa	Jumping Jack Flash, 1990														*			
Blair, Philippa	Morning Tipi (closed state), 1982											*						
Blair, Philippa	Navigation, 1990											*						
Blair, Philippa	Serendipity (Soundwatch), 1994							*										
Blair, Philippa	Upside Down March Heart Book, 1987											*						
Blair, Philippa	Walk with Me, 1994								*									
Blomfield, Charles	Lake Ada, 1881					*												
Blomfield, Charles	The White Terrace	*					*								*			
Blomfield, John Collis	Three Cartoons	*																
Blomfield, William	Four Cartoons	*																
Bogle, Andrew	Untitled, 1983				*													
Bollard, W. A.	The Estuary- Sunshine and Shower	*																
Bollen, Derek	The Hunt																	
Bolt, Derek	Wharves, Oamaru Harbour		*															
Booth, Leonard H.	My Mate Was Hooked and Played	*																
Booth, Leonard H.	Professor James Shelley	*				*												
Bowen, Sylvia	Jeanie				*													
Bower, Olivia S.	Tussock Country, 1957					*	*											
Bowler, Olivia S.	The Path to the Blowholes, Punaikaikai	*																
Bowring, Walter A.	The National Ministry	*																
Bracey, Edward N.	Field Shift 4		*															
Bracey, Edward N.	Transition 6		*															

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Bracey, Edward N.	Winter Horizon III, 1968						*											
Braithwaite, Joanna	Boat Head, 1995							*										
Braunias, Mark	Compound Vision, 1995							*										
Brees, Samuel C.	A Tangi at Kopekeheinga, Wairarapa	*																
Brees, Samuel C.	Court of Justice, Wellington, c.1844						*											
Brees, Samuel C.	Kai Warra Warra Saw Mills	*																
Brees, Samuel C.	The Hutt Road	*																
Brookbanks, Clenys	Half Round 2, 1994								*									
Brookbanks, Clenys	Perforated Panel (Large), 1995								*									
Brookbanks, Clenys	Striated Panels 1 & 2, 1995								*									
Brown, Helen	Manakau		*															
Brown, Helen	Night Race at Kawau, 1959						*											
Brown, J.	Six Early Cartoons	*																
Brown, Nigel	A Conversation between Te Kooti and Te Whiti at Tolaga Bay, 1993								*									
Brown, Nigel	A Native Discovering Cook Depressed, 1993-4									*								
Brown, Nigel	An Ark for Arama, No. 5, 1979				*													
Brown, Nigel	Driveway Painting: Raising Children, 1974													*				
Brown, Nigel	Gains and Losses A. 1979							*										
Brown, Nigel	Heartless Voids, 1997													*				
Brown, Nigel	Hikurangi, 1992									*								
Brown, Nigel	I Am- The Road to Muriwai, 2000													*				
Brown, Nigel	I Am the Trees of Aotearoa, 2000														*			
Brown, Nigel	Lemon Tree Painting No. 4, 1977			*														

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Brown, Nigel	Our Heritage, 1987													*				
Brown, Nigel	Potted History, 1994									*								
Brown, Nigel	Reading with the Sun, 1989									*								
Brown, Nigel	Second Paradise: Opoutama, Tolaga Bay, 1992								*									
Brown, Nigel	Sense of Direction (Second Version), 1993									*								
Brown, Nigel	Surviving History, 1994									*								
Brown, Nigel	The Dog Bit		*															
Brown, Nigel	The Family of the Axeman, 1977													*				
Brown, Nigel	The Yellow Christ, 1979				*													
Brown, Nigel	Whanganui Triptych, 1993								*									
Brown, Nigel	When Various Sorrows, 1977													*				
Brown, Vernon A.	Waiwera	*																
Bruin, Kees	Homage to a Skateboarder, 1980				*													
Buchanan Boswell, James E.	A Café Interior	*																
Buchanan Boswell, James E.	The Bar Room, Night	*																
Buchanan Boswell, James E.	The New Dress	*																
Buchanan, Dean	Landscape, 1983				*													
Buchanan, Dean	Large Flower Still Life, 1985							*										
Buchanan, J.	Lake Wanaka	*																
Buchanan, J.	Milford Sound	*																
Buchanan, J.	Mount Iron	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Buchanan, J.	The Milford Sound, Looking North-West from Freshwater Basin, 1863					*	*								*			
Buchanan, J.	Wakatipu from Crown Range, c. 1863						*											
Budd, L.	Fresh Ideas from Man the Masterpiece, 1988 (12 Panels from work)														*			
Bullmore, Edward	Hikurangi		*															
Bullmore, Edward	Icon No. 1		*															
Burton, Sally	Arezzo Strata, 2000												*					
Burton, Sally	Latitudes South, 2000												*					
Burton, Sally	Portrait of Frances Hodgkins, 1983				*													
Busch, Heather	Hostage, 1982				*													
Bustin, Debra	Rape, 1983				*													
Butler, George E.	Homeward	*																
Butler, Margaret	New Zealand	*																
Butler, Margaret	The Poi Dancer	*																
Butler, Samuel	Self Portrait	*																
Byles, W. H.	Fruit Market, Granada	*																
Cairncross, Sam	Highway 1		*															
Campbell, C. H.	Green and Grey	*																
Campbell, J	Lake Taupo	*																
Cane, T.	The Great Clock, Rouen	*																
Carbery, Andrew D.	The Ruin of Paratutu	*																
Carew, Keggie	A Way A Lone A Last A Loved A Long The, 1994							*										
Carey, Ida H.	Study	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Carkeek, Helene	Begonia with Blue Bottle, 1982				*													
Carmody, Brian	Lambton Store,		*															
Caselberg, Anna	Otago Harbour, Evening		*															
Chapman, W. E.	The Sisters	*																
Chaytor, Susan	Cloudbox		*															
Cheer, David	Mt William in Arthur's Pass National Park		*															
Chevalier, Nicholas	Crossing the Teremakau, 1874						*											
Chevalier, Nicholas	In the Upper Hutt Valley, Wellington	*																
Chevalier, Nicholas	Lake Wakatipu	*																
Chevalier, Nicholas	Sandfly Bay, Otago, 1879						*											
Chilcott, Gavin	A Day at the Villa Rotunda, 1982										*							
Chilcott, Gavin	Meet Me in the Sculpture Garden at 4, 1980				*													
Chilcott, Gavin	My Daughter, My Brother and Self, Fiesole, 1989										*							
Chilcott, Gavin	New York Painting, Still Life & Cloud, 1993							*										
Chilcott, Gavin	Rocks, Clouds and Tea Bowls, 1995										*							
Chilcott, Gavin	The Funeral Chorus, 1984										*							
Chilcott, Gavin	The Nile in Flood, 1976										*							
Chilcott, Gavin	Three Friends in the Park (An Urban Life), 1984				*													
Chilvers, Robert	End of Summer		*															
Christie, B.	Geddes' Stable Yard	*																
Clairmont, Philip	Big Fireplace		*															
Clairmont, Philip	Buddha, Vietnam 1971		*															
Clairmont, Philip	Coat, Hat and Gloves on Bed, 1971			*				*										

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Clairmont, Philip	Fireplace, 1971					*									*			
Clairmont, Philip	Holy Family, 1980				*													
Clairmont, Philip	Interior (Fireplace series), 1972				*													
Clairmont, Philip	Staircase Triptych 36 Roy Street, 1977						*											
Clairmont, Philip	The Scarred Couch, The Auckland Experience, 1978			*														*
Clark, R.	Creekbed		*															
Clark, R.	Old Keta, 1949					*	*											
Clark, R.	The Island Schooner	*																
Clark, R.	The Shearer's Wife, 1952														*			
Cole, Ruth	A Silence in the Land, Karamatura Valley, 2000												*					
Cole, Ruth	Island Shore, Two Boats, Hauraki Gulf, 1988							*										
Cole, Ruth	Lake Water Lapping, Late Summer, 2001												*					
Coley, John	Abacus Colour Grid IX		*															
Coley, John	Dark Light		*															
Coley, John	Lone Pedestrian, 1974				*													
Collier, Edith	My Uncle					*												
Collinson, Fergus	Warm Doorways, 1984				*													
Cooch, William J.	Wild, Wild and Blinding in his Lightest Note	*																
Cook, J	Gerona- the road to France	*																
Cook, J	Self Portrait	*																
Coolahan, Kate	Pacific Shield Marquette, 1984				*													
Copeland, Ivy M.	Winter Sunshine, Heathcote, Christchurch	*																
Correllii Nielson, Cora	Sir Eruera Tirikatene		*															

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Cotton, Shane	A', 1994									*								
Cotton, Shane	Artificial Curiosities, 1993									*								
Cotton, Shane	Brilliant View, 1992									*								
Cotton, Shane	Celestial Nets, 1991													*				
Cotton, Shane	Core, 1992									*								
Cotton, Shane	Daze, 1994								*									
Cotton, Shane	Departure and Entombment, 1991									*								
Cotton, Shane	Diamond Line, 1995							*										
Cotton, Shane	He Pukapuka Tuatahi, 2000													*				
Cotton, Shane	Kenehi III, 1998														*			
Cotton, Shane	Needlework, 1993													*				
Cotton, Shane	Picture Painting, 1994									*								
Cotton, Shane	Rangiheketini (triptych), 1998													*				
Cotton, Shane	Taiamai, 1996													*				
Cotton, Shane	Tekau Ma Ono, 1994								*									
Cotton, Shane	Untitled, 1994								*									
Cotton, Shane	x-d, 1994									*								
Coulter, R. W.	Verse With Illustration	*																
Cousins, Thomas S.	Kawarau and Swift Rivers Above Gibston	*																
Cousins, Thomas S.	Portrait- L. W. Wilson, Esq.	*																
Coventry, Frederick H.	High Tide, Knocke	*																
Coventry, Frederick H.	The Late Mrs Eliza Rockel	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Craig-Koning, Cornelia	Nuclear Family, 2001												*					
Craig-Koning, Cornelia	The Mothers I Miss, 1995												*					
Crook, Gordon	Birds and Orchids, 1984				*													
Crook, Gordon	Blue Clouds		*															
Crook, Gordon	Central Park, 1981				*													
Cross, Mark	Flux, 1993							*										
Cross, Mark	Girl with String, 1996												*					
Cross, Mark	Terra Sarcoma, 1998												*					
Crump, John	Early Winter Willows		*															
Cummings, Bill	Sounds Island Reflection		*															
Dagley, Arthur	Port Profile, 1989							*										
Dagley, Arthur	Port Theme Embryo No. 5		*															
Dahlberg, Brian	Between Jobs, Wharekaho Beach, 2001												*					
Dahlberg, Brian	On the Main Trunk Line, National Park, 2001												*					
Dashper, Julian	Regent, 1986													*				
Dashper, Julian	The Big Bang Theory, 1992-3													*				
Dashper, Julian	The Grey in Grey Lynn, 1989						*											
Dashper, Julian	Untitled (O), 1990-2													*				
Dashper, Julian	Untitled, 1992													*				
Dashper, Julian	Untitled, 1996													*				
Davis, Frank	Acculturation		*															
Davis, Frank	The Inheritors are You and Me		*															
Day, Melvin	Legend of a Monastic Saint, 1976				*													

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Day, Melvin	Makara Landscape II		*															
Day, Melvin	Still Life with Fruit and Rose Bud, 1954														*			
Day, Melvin	The Action (Triumphs of Caesar- Mantegna), 1980				*													
Day, Melvin	Uccello, 1969						*											
de Freitas, Nancy	Anathema/Anima, 1992							*										
de Freitas, Nancy	Thin Air Breather III, 1982				*													
de Sainson, M.	La Corvette L'Astrolabe	*																
de Sainson, M.	Natai, L'un Des Chefs De La Caie Bream	*																
de Sainson, M.	Village A L'anse De L'Astrolabe	*																
Deans, Austin	Along the Foot Hills		*															
Deans, Austin	Between the Two Thumbs		*															
Deans, Austin	Tasman from Cook		*															
Dew, Bryan	Jubilee, 1963						*											
Docking, Shay	South Seas Icon 5: Totem Mountain 1969						*											
Docking, Shay	Volcanic Landscape with Breached Crater and Distant Cone, 1969						*											
Dolezel, Jenny	Night Shift, 2000														*			
Dolezel, Jenny	On My Way Home, 1993								*									
Dolezel, Jenny	On the Day of the Ceremony, 1993							*	*									
Dolezel, Jenny	Then and Now, 1993								*									
Donn, R.	Bush	*																
Donn, R.	Maori Cosmogony	*																
Drawbridge, John	Coastline-Sunbreak, 1965						*											
Drawbridge, John	Mural at the Beehive, Wellington			*														

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Drawbridge, John	Pacific Lagoon, 1962																	*
Drawbridge, John	Sea Window No. 2, 1984				*													
Drawbridge, John	Vermeer with Malevich, 1984				*													
Drawbridge, John	Wide Open Yellow (with Blue), 2000														*			
Drawbridge, John	Window		*															
Driver, Don	Bartons Garnet, 1978					*												
Driver, Don	Eight-Part Piece		*															
Driver, Don	Horizontal No. 2, 1970-71			*														
Driver, Don	Painted Relief No. 17		*															
Driver, Don	Produce, 1982				*													
Driver, Don	Taranaki, 1970-72			*														
Driver, Neil	Fence and Gate		*															
Driver, Neil	Shortest Day		*															
Duff, Alison	Foal	*																
Duff, Alison	Portrait of Giraffe	*																
Duff, Alison	Slum Cats	*																
Duncan, John C.	The Lonely Lake	*																
Eaden, John	Figures Passing One to Another, 1982				*													
Eady, Terence	Frankton Arm, Lake Wakatipu		*															
Eady, Terence	Inland Canterbury Landscape		*															
Earle, Augustus	A Dance of the New Zealanders	*																
Earle, Augustus	Native Village and Cowdie Forest, Hokianga River	*																
Earle, Augustus	Rangihoua, a New Zealand Fortified Village- the Residence of Wharepoaka, 1827					*												

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Earle, Augustus	Te Rangituke, Chief of Kwakawa, Bay of Islands, with his Wife and Son, 1827						*											
Earle, Augustus	The Wounded Chief Hongi	*					*								*			
Eaton, Michael	Set 2, No. 11		*															
Edgar, J. D. C.	Central Otago Landscape	*																
Edwards, Marjorie	All Was Light		*															
Edwards, Victoria	Lolit Seated, 1983				*													
Edwards, Victoria	The Red Bathing Suit-Robyn, 1983				*													
Eise, Ida G.	Hawea River at Albert Town	*																
Eise, Ida G.	Landscape, King Country	*																
Elliot, George H.	The Fairy Queen, Mt. Spenser Range	*																
Ellis, Frederick V.	Pomahaka River, Otago	*																
Ellis, Robert	22 Aperira 93 Natura Morta, 1993							*										
Ellis, Robert	Cosmopolitan City, 1965						*											
Ellis, Robert	Motorway/City, 1969						*											
Ellis, Robert	Mural, situated at Auckland Airport			*														
Ellis, Robert	Natura Morta: 5 Hepetema, 1993								*									
Ellis, Robert	Nga Taonga: 29 Thema, 1993								*									
Ellis, Robert	Nga Taonga: 8 Pepuere, 1994								*									
Ellis, Robert	Rakaumangamanga 8 Maehe, 1981				*													
Ellis, Robert	Te Rawhiti I		*															
Ellis, Robert	Te Rawhiti: Ra Tapu, 15 Aperira 1990, 1990														*			
Ellis, Robert	Urban City, 1965					*												
Ensor, Alex	XXI (Self Portrait), 2000												*					

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Evans, Jane	No Bid																	
Evans, Jane	School Girl Eating an Egg, 1974				*													
Fahey, Jacqueline	Ben at French Bay/Emily at French Bay, 1994									*								
Fahey, Jacqueline	Departure, 1985-6									*								
Fahey, Jacqueline	Down in Grey Lynn Park, 2002														*			
Fahey, Jacqueline	Fraser Sees Me, I See Myself		*															
Fahey, Jacqueline	In Memoriam, 1990									*								
Fahey, Jacqueline	Me, Talking About Clytaemnestra, 1994									*								
Fahey, Jacqueline	Me, Talking About Pompeii, 1993							*										
Fahey, Jacqueline	Self Portrait: Artist as Warrior, c. 1957									*								
Fahey, Jacqueline	Sisters Communing, 1990									*								
Fahey, Jacqueline	With French Paint Use Protection, 1994									*								
Farquhar, J.	Margaret	*																
Farquhar, J.	Portrait	*																
Fell, Walter	Sketch From Hardians Villa, Rome	*																
Feu'u, Fatu	Fa'aoli, 1994													*				
Feu'u, Fatu	Ivi'ivia, 1995														*			
Feu'u, Fatu	Memory Navigator, 1995								*									
Feu'u, Fatu	Memory of Orator, 1995								*									
Feu'u, Fatu	Ole Malama, 1995								*									
Feu'u, Fatu	Tali Malo Lelei, 2001													*				
Feu'u, Fatu	Tama Ali'I, 1992													*				
Field, Robert N.	Christ at the Well of Samaria					*												
Field, Robert N.	Dame Kelsey	*													*			

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Field, Robert N.	Interior, 1928														*			
Field, Robert N.	Landscape: Taieri Mouth, 1930														*			
Field, Robert N.	Portrait of Lavinia Kelsey, 1931						*											
Field, Robert N.	The River and the Sea	*																
Findlay, Natalie	Rock Pool		*															
Finey, George E.	Caricature	*																
Finey, George E.	Finance	*																
Firth, Diana	Lawrence and the Terns, 1999												*					
Firth, Diana	The McPhersons, 2001												*					
Foley, Herb	Cabbage Tree, 1998												*					
Foley, Herb	Water and Bush #2, 2001												*					
Fomison, Tony	Advice from Her Ancestress, 1975			*														
Fomison, Tony	Another Happy Clown, 1980				*													
Fomison, Tony	Christ		*															
Fomison, Tony	Each Must Decide, 1976			*														
Fomison, Tony	Is the Bad One Dead?, 1978				*													
Fomison, Tony	Lucifer-Evil Flower, 1980							*										
Fomison, Tony	Omai, 1977			*													*	
Fomison, Tony	Question and Answer, The Tree of Life, 1989						*											
Fomison, Tony	Self Portrait, 1978														*			
Fomison, Tony	That little man he's not his biggest yet.; That little man he is to bigger get., 1976					*												
Fomison, Tony	The Hand, 1970														*			
Fomison, Tony	The Man of Peace and the Man of War, 1981				*													

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Fomison, Tony	The Overseer		*															
Fong, Luise	Blatant Cosmos, 1993								*									
Fong, Luise	Minor, 1994								*									
Fong, Luise	Pathology, 1993							*	*									
Fong, Luise	Transmission, 1998														*			
Forbes, Julia	The Prodigal Son at Waiheke Island		*															
Forbes, Julia	Waiheke Hotel		*															
Foreman, Nicky	Awakino, 2001												*					
Foreman, Nicky	Back Blocks, 2001												*					
Foster, Charles W.	In the Hollow of His Hand	*																
Fox, Sir William	Camping Out, Lyttleton, 1851														*			
Fox, Sir William	In the Aglionby of Matukituki Valley, looking into the Otapawa, 1846					*												
Fox, Sir William	In the Wairarapa Valley, Wellington 1846: Mr Northwood's Station, 1846					*												
Fox, Sir William	New Plymouth in 1849, 1849														*			
Fox, Sir William	Ocean Bay, 1848					*												
Fox, Sir William	On the Grass Plain below Lake Arthur, 1846					*												
Fox, Sir William	Port Lyttleton Immigrants' Luggage Disembarking, 1851						*											
Fox, Sir William	Teraumei or the Mangles Valley, 1846					*												
Fox, Sir William	The Mangles, Grass Valley, on the Teraumei River, 1846						*											
Fox, Sir William	Wanganui in 1857	*																
Franken, Robert	An Inner Wish																	

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Franken, Robert	Fish and Birds Walk in the Footsteps of Ghosts, 1983				*													
Franken, Robert	The Many Faces of My Genie		*															
Fraser, Alexander R.	Johannes C. Anderson, Esq.	*																
Fraser, Alexander R.	Maori in Action	*																
Fraser, Alexander R.	Statue in Oak- St. Francis	*																
Fraser, Alexander R.	Statue in Oak- St. Laurence	*																
Frazer, Neil	Sky White, 1994-5							*										
Freemantle, Gary	Driving Through the Wairarapa, 1987							*										
Fristrom, Edward	Mangere Hills, c. 1912						*											
Fristrom, Edward	Piha Head					*												
Fristrom, Edward	Pohutukawa, c. 1905														*			
Fristrom, Edward	Portrait of a Maori Girl, 1904						*											
Fristrom, Edward	Whiua	*																
Frizzell, Dick	(What I Yam), 1998											*						
Frizzell, Dick	A1 King Mack, 1979											*						
Frizzell, Dick	Big Parade (diptych), 1994								*			*						
Frizzell, Dick	Black Geisha, 1978			*											*			
Frizzell, Dick	Cleansed by the Blood of the Lamb, 1990																	*
Frizzell, Dick	Country Store, 1989						*								*			
Frizzell, Dick	Fabrication IV, 1994								*									
Frizzell, Dick	Good Value, 1981											*						
Frizzell, Dick	Grocer with Moko, 1992									*								
Frizzell, Dick	Holy Mackarel, c. 1978									*								

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Frizzell, Dick	Milling, 1987									*								
Frizzell, Dick	Rasta Triptych, 1977											*						
Frizzell, Dick	Stand-by, July 1994									*								
Frizzell, Dick	The Black Stump, 1987							*										
Frizzell, Dick	The Dancing Chicken, 1980											*						
Frizzell, Dick	Tiki with Chair Caning, 1992											*						
Frizzell, Dick	Wacky Tiki, 1992								*									
Frizzell, Dick	Waikato Landscape, 1985											*						
Frizzell, Dick	Yo Yo's Eternal Triangle, 1979				*													
Fuller, Edwin M.	Malindi Market, Zanzibar	*																
Fumpston, Rodney	Egypt Six, 1981				*													
Fumpston, Rodney	Garden Evening 2- 21/40				*													
Garden, Vicky	Chinese Vases, 2000												*					
Garden, Vicky	There is no peace there is no freedom, 1996												*					
Garden, Vicky	Tub, 2001												*					
Garrity, Tim	Keiko, 1981				*													
Garrity, Tim	No. 26		*															
Garrity, Tim	No. 29		*															
George, Ian	Atua Watching, 1997												*					
George, Ian	Where are our Leaders?												*					
Gerwonka, Alex	Willows		*															
Gibb, John	Low Tide, Governors Bay 1893						*											
Gibb, John	The Old Wharf, Dunedin	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Gibb, William M.	A Canterbury Pastoral	*																
Gibson-Smith, Peter	Between the Pillars-Maestoso, 1993							*	*									
Gibson-Smith, Peter	Capriole: Restless Sleep, 1993								*									
Gibson-Smith, Peter	Courbette: Hermaphrodite and Satyr, 1993								*									
Gifford, Edward A.	Auckland from the Wharf	*					*											
Gilfillan, John A.	Gillet's Whaling Station	*																
Gilfillan, John A.	Interior of a Native Pah	*																
Gilfillan, John A.	Native Council of War, 1853						*								*			
Gilfillan, John A.	Three Sketches from Sketch Book	*																
Gill, Janice	The Bludgers, 1983				*													
Gill, Janice	The Bowling Green, Winton		*															
Gill, Janice	The Fishmonger's Shop		*															
Gilmour, J.	Progress	*																
Gimblett, Max	Ananda, 1992-3								*									
Gimblett, Max	Aperture, 1991-2								*									
Gimblett, Max	Aquarius, 1990							*										
Gimblett, Max	Bridge, 1994										*							
Gimblett, Max	Buddha Amida, 1985										*							
Gimblett, Max	Buddha, 1980														*		*	
Gimblett, Max	Chariot, 1993								*									
Gimblett, Max	Current, 1999														*			
Gimblett, Max	Green/Blue Pacific, 1978										*							
Gimblett, Max	In the Void of the World, 1993										*							
Gimblett, Max	Myth 1983-5				*													

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Gimblett, Max	Opera in 28 Movements, 1989-91										*							
Gimblett, Max	Sengai: Homage to Colin McCahon, 1987						*											
Gimblett, Max	Temple, 1984														*			
Gimblett, Max	The Mineral Earth, 1988/9						*											
Gimblett, Max	Well, 1995/6										*							
Glover, Thomas E.	Cartoon	*																
Goldberg, Suzanne	Auckland, 1966		*				*											
Goldie, Charles F.	Memories	*																
Goldie, Charles F.	Patara to Tuhi	*																
Goldie, Charles F.	Tamehana, 1900					*												
Goldie, Charles F.	The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand, 1898 (Louis Steele)						*								*			
Goldie, Charles F.	The Noble Relic of a Noble Race, 1910						*											
Goldie, Charles F.	Tumai Tawhiti, 1913														*			
Goodwin, Arnold F.	The Timber Yard	*																
Gopas, Rudolf	I Saw (Painting for the sun, No. 11), 1976				*													
Gopas, Rudolf	Movement in Space, 1971			*														
Gopas, Rudolf	Old Wharf, Kaikoura, 1960			*											*			
Gopas, Rudolf	Shoreline, 1962						*											
Gopas, Rudolf	So Spake Christ, 1978			*														
Gopas, Rudolf	The Trawlers, 1959						*											
Gore, Henry M.	Craycroft Hill	*																
Gossage, Star	Out of the Gate, 2002														*			
Gouldsmith, E.	On the Teign, North Devon	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Graham, A. B. Barns	Portrait Study	*																
Graham, David	Set 33, 1966						*											
Graham, David	Set 41, 1966					*												
Graham, David	Set 5		*															
Greene, William	The Unemployed	*																
Griffin, Sally	New Zealand Landscape, 1984				*													
Gross, Richard O.	Harry Holland Memorial Group	*																
Gross, Richard O.	The Will to Peace- Wellington Citizens Peace Memorial	*																
Gross, Richard O.	Working Model for Frieze, Auckland Domain Gate	*																
Gulliver, T. V.	Hendersons, High Street	*																
Gulliver, T. V.	High Street	*																
Gulliver, T. V.	Old Doss House, Federal Street	*																
Gully, John	Breakers on the Kaikoura Coast	*																
Gully, John	In the Southern Alps, 1881						*											
Gully, John	Mount Arthur, Motueka Valley	*																
Gully, John	Paekakariki	*																
Gully, John	Running for Milford Sound, 1880														*			
Gully, John	The Chimney, Milford Sound, 1878					*												
Gully, John	Thunderstorm Approaching the Hotel, Wanaka, 1877														*			
Haddon, Oriwa T.	Hine Kohu and Uenuku	*																
Haffern, Gail	Marginal Matters, 1991							*										
Hammond, Bill	Bank Video, 1989										*							

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Hammond, Bill	Death Row, Auckland Islands, 1994									*								
Hammond, Bill	I heat Up, I Can't Cool Down, 1985									*								
Hammond, Bill	Japan 8, 1992										*							
Hammond, Bill	Japan, 3, 4, 5, 1992									*								
Hammond, Bill	Out in the Real World in Real Terms, 1985										*							
Hammond, Bill	Piano Forte, 1992									*								
Hammond, Bill	Placemakers 2, 1996										*							
Hammond, Bill	Slow Game, Good Game, 1987							*										
Hammond, Bill	The Quik and the Ded, 1993								*									
Hammond, Bill	Twirl, 1995								*									
Hammond, Bill	Walter Buller Blind, 1994									*								
Hammond, Bill	Watching for Buller (Costume Design), 1994								*									
Hammond, Bill	Watching for Buller III, 1993									*								
Hammond, Bill	Watching for Buller, 1993										*				*			*
Handscomb, Terrence	"gÎG({ a,~a}ÊgÎG), 1984				*													
Hanly, Patrick	"Inside" the Garden (30), 1968						*											
Hanly, Patrick	Bouquet for Ben, 1991								*									
Hanly, Patrick	Bouquet for Women, 1991								*									
Hanly, Patrick	Bride and Bouquet, 1990								*									
Hanly, Patrick	Brown Model, 1978											*						
Hanly, Patrick	Day Bride and Groom, 1991							*										
Hanly, Patrick	Do It, 1972			*														
Hanly, Patrick	Figures in Light, 14., 1964					*												
Hanly, Patrick	Figures in Light, 17., 1964					*												

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Hanly, Patrick	Girl Asleep		*															
Hanly, Patrick	Golden Age, 1979											*						
Hanly, Patrick	Golden Age, 1980				*													
Hanly, Patrick	Groom and Bride, 1991																	*
Hanly, Patrick	Hope Vessel Afire, 1986											*						
Hanly, Patrick	Mother and Child, 1970				*													
Hanly, Patrick	New Every Morning		*															
Hanly, Patrick	New Order 29, Part II, 1963					*	*											
Hanly, Patrick	New Order 4.7. Part II, 1963											*						
Hanly, Patrick	Pintado Protest, 1978														*			
Hanly, Patrick	Showgirl: Dance before Gentleman, 1961					*												
Hanly, Patrick	Sidhartha, 1967			*														
Hanly, Patrick	Stripper Before a Mirror, 1961											*						
Hanly, Patrick	Telephone Table, 1973					*												
Hanly, Patrick	The Bride, 1990											*						
Hanly, Patrick	The Headland, 1969											*						
Harris, Jeffrey	Angel, 1977				*													
Harris, Jeffrey	Autumn, 1988													*				
Harris, Jeffrey	Cross, Eye and Nails, 2000													*				
Harris, Jeffrey	Family, 1981														*			
Harris, Jeffrey	Figure in a landscape, 1972-3			*														
Harris, Jeffrey	Figure Near the Sea, 1985							*										
Harris, Jeffrey	Girl, Calf and Angel, 1975													*				
Harris, Jeffrey	Green and Red, 1986													*				

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Harris, Jeffrey	Love's Beginning, 1978			*														
Harris, Jeffrey	On the Road to Gigotha, 1980				*													
Harris, Jeffrey	Ring Ner Name With Roses			*														
Harris, Jeffrey	Self Portrait, 1970																*	*
Harris, Jeffrey	The Child Mother, 1970													*				
Harris, Jeffrey	Two Women, 1975						*											
Harris, Jeffrey	Untitled, 1995													*				
Harrison, Rodger	Morning Light, Tauherenikau Valley		*															
Harrison, Rodger	Old Homestead, Southern Hawkes Bay		*															
Hartigan, Paul	Blue Blood, 1994							*										
Hartigan, Paul	Colorwords, 1980				*													
Hartigan, Paul	Double Happy, 1995								*									
Hartigan, Paul	Kindered Spirits, 1995								*									
Hartigan, Paul	Phantom, 1973														*			
Hartigan, Paul	Rite of Passage, 1994								*									
Haszard, Rhonda	Isle of Brechou, Sark	*																
Haszard, Rhonda	The Marne Valley	*				*									*			
Hawcrige, Robert H.	Fisherman's Hut, Purakanui	*																
Hawcrige, Robert H.	Maori Fisherman	*																
Hawcrige, Robert H.	The Mountains Hurt Poor Rangī	*																
Heaphy, Charles	Astrolabe Roads, Tasman's Gulf, c1842					*												
Heaphy, Charles	Bream Head, Whangarei, c1855					*												
Heaphy, Charles	Early Wellington	*																
Heaphy, Charles	Kakariki	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Heaphy, Charles	Kauri Forest	*				*	*											
Heaphy, Charles	Mount Egmont from the Southward, 1839					*	*											
Heaphy, Charles	Port Wakefield, Chatham Islands	*																
Heaphy, Charles	View of a Part of the Town of Wellington, New Zealand, 1841														*			
Hellabyy, R. S.	Aratiatia Rapids	*																
Henderson, Julia	Muri Lagoon, 2000												*					
Henderson, Julia	Oleander with Pink Nude, 2000												*					
Henderson, Louise	End of Winter, 1982							*										
Henderson, Louise	New Zealand Bush		*															
Henderson, Louise	Portrait of Betty Curnow, 1954				*													
Henderson, Louise	Pub Party		*															
Henderson, Louise	Still Life with Compotier, 1953														*			
Henderson, Louise	The Lakes, Triptych, 1965					*	*											
Henderson, Louise	Thornbush		*															
Hicken, Roger	Elegy for Rosalie Gasgoine II, 2000												*					
Hicken, Roger	Four Corners, 2000												*					
Hicks, Jason	Artefacts, 2001												*					
Hicks, Jason	Gathered, 2000												*					
Hight, Michael	Awakino, 1995											*						
Hight, Michael	Giotto: Padua, 1995											*						
Hight, Michael	Heartland Trinket, Kaeo, 1992											*						
Hight, Michael	Maungakakamea/Rainbow Mountain, 1998											*						
Hight, Michael	Migration, 1988											*						

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Hight, Michael	The Whale, 1990							*										
Hill, Mabel	Portrait of James Nairn	*																
Hipkins, Roland	Renaissance	*				*									*			
Hipkins, Roland	Wellington Harbour from Karori Hills, c. 1935						*											
Hipwell, Arthur C.	Opua Inlet, Bay of Islands	*																
Hodges, William	A Man of New Zealand	*																
Hodges, William	A View in Dusky Bay, New Zealand, 1773						*											
Hodges, William	Poe-Bird, New Zealand	*																
Hodges, William	The Endeavour in a Storm	*																
Hodgkins, Frances	By the Brook	*																
Hodgkins, Frances	Maori Woman and Child	*					*											
Hodgkins, Frances	My Landlady	*																
Hodgkins, Frances	Self Portrait: Still Life, 1941						*										*	
Hodgkins, Frances	Still Life, c. 1929														*			
Hodgkins, Frances	The Courtyard, Wartime, 1944														*			
Hodgkins, Frances	The Edwardians, c. 1918																	
Hodgkins, Frances	The Girl with Flaxen Hair, 1893					*												
Hodgkins, Frances	Woman and Child, c. 1912														*			
Hodgkins, Walter M.	After Rain, Lake Wakatipu, 1896					*												
Hodgkins, Walter M.	Gorse in Bloom	*					*											
Hodgkins, Walter M.	Mitre Peak, Milford Sound						*											
Hodgkins, Walter M.	The Southern Alps of New Zealand- An Evening Glow, 1885														*			
Hodgkins, Walter M.	The Southern Alps, New Zealand	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Holmwood, John	Landscape with a Saw Mill, 1952					*												
Honour, W. B.	Landscape, South-West Canterbury	*																
Hope, Esther S.	Autumn Afternoon	*																
Hope, Gabrielle	Forrest Hill, 1954					*												
Horridge, Herbert	Early Morning, Jacksons	*																
Hotere, Ralph	Aramoana Port Chalmers, 1983														*			
Hotere, Ralph	Aurora Koputai, 1980										*							
Hotere, Ralph	Aurora, 1980				*													
Hotere, Ralph	Black Drop, 1985										*							
Hotere, Ralph	Black Painting		*															
Hotere, Ralph	Black Painting- Human Rights Series, 1963						*											
Hotere, Ralph	Black Painting, 1969						*											
Hotere, Ralph	Black painting/Human rights series, 1964					*												
Hotere, Ralph	Le Negro Sobre Lo Oro, 1993								*									
Hotere, Ralph	Mural situated at Auckland Airport			*														
Hotere, Ralph	Night Window- Carey's Bay, 1995										*							
Hotere, Ralph	Painting from Malady- A Poem by Bill Manhire, 1969-70										*							
Hotere, Ralph	Parehaka Song		*															
Hotere, Ralph	Polaris, 1984										*							
Hotere, Ralph	Polaris, 1989								*									
Hotere, Ralph	Requiem, 1973				*													
Hotere, Ralph	Requiem, 1973/4			*							*							
Hotere, Ralph	Sangro River Landscape, 1962										*							

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Hotere, Ralph	Te Taepaepatanga o te Rangi		*															
Hotere, Ralph	This is a Black Union Jack, 1983							*										
Hotere, Ralph	Towards Aramoana, Alumin Politik, 1982														*			
Hotere, Ralph	Ulysses, 1984																	*
Hotere, Ralph	Untitled Drawing, 1992								*									
Hotere, Ralph	Untitled, 1981				*													
Hovell, John	Te Kotore te Whenua, 1977				*													
Howorth, C. H.	Mountain and Stream	*																
Hoyte, J. C.	Entrance to Whangarei River, 1871						*											
Hoyte, J. C.	Lake Tarawera from Kariri, 1873														*			
Hoyte, J. C.	Lake Tarawera from Wairoa, 1873					*												
Hoyte, J. C.	Milford Sound	*																
Hoyte, J. C.	Otira Gorge, New Zealand	*																
Hoyte, J. C.	The Lower Harbour, Otago	*																
Hoyte, J. C.	The Road to Otira, Arturs Pass, c.1875						*											
Hoyte, J. C.	View of Whitford, c. 1869														*			
Hughes, Eleanor	Chepstowe Bridge	*																
Hughes, Eleanor	Study of Tree	*																
Hughes, Robyn	Protection Figure- Home Ground, 1993								*									
Hughes, Robyn	Roman Entrance Walled, 1993-4							*										
Hughes, Robyn	The Inside Space with Outside Boundary, 1993								*									
Hughes, Robyn	Untitled Triptych, 1990								*									
Hughes, Sara	Dot..., 2001														*			

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Hunt, Frances I.	A Bend in Manganotaki River, King Country	*																
Hunter, Alexis	The Blood Dimmed Tide, 1986-9																	
Hunter, Enid	Maui and Hinenui-o-te-po		*															
Hurrell, John	Painting for Jane and Ludwig, 1982				*													
Hurrell, John	Remove to Expose, 1981				*													
Hutson, Ian	Nesting Figures 3		*															
Hutton, David C.	Hut on the Milford Track	*																
Hutton, David C.	Study of a Girl	*																
Hutton, David C.	The Sketching Class, 1872						*								*			
Hutton, David C.	Woodhaugh, Dunedin	*																
Illingworth, Michael	"What lies between these Fragments of Reference.", c1964					*												
Illingworth, Michael	Adam and Eve				*													
Illingworth, Michael	Antroceles' Last Year, 1965									*								
Illingworth, Michael	Eve Figure in Landscape with Portraits, 1966							*										
Illingworth, Michael	Land, Land and Island		*															
Illingworth, Michael	Man and Woman Figures with Still Life of Flowers		*															
Illingworth, Michael	Painting With Rainbow, 1965						*											
Illingworth, Michael	Portrait of Alan Thornton, 1968			*														
Illingworth, Michael	Still Life		*															
Illingworth, Michael	The Golden Kiwione, 1975				*													
Innes-Kemp, Aileen	Self Portrait with Husband and Kapiti Island Background, 1996												*					
Innes-Kemp, Aileen	The Council, 1996												*					

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Isaac, Nelson	Landscape	*																
Isbey, Annette	Flags, Horses and Running Figures, 1996												*					
Isbey, Annette	Girl Running, 1973				*													
Isbey, Annette	Head 90, 1990												*					
Isbey, Annette	Prone Figure, Evening		*															
Isbey, Annette	Two Hurdlers, 1983				*													
Jackson, Emily	Coromandel Images 1, 1989									*								
Jackson, Kase	Big Bass					*												
Jackson, Paul	Manakau Sunset, 2000												*					
Jackson, Paul	Road to Reinga, 2000												*					
Jackson, Russell	Gannet Rock- Waiheke Island, 2001												*					
Jackson, Russell	On the Ascension of Trees 3, 1991							*										
Jackson, Russell	The King is Dead, 2001												*					
James, Bryan	A Gay Friend		*															
Jameson, Cecil	Portrait of an Italian Girl	*																
Jenkin, Thomas H.	Portrait of a Young Musician	*																
Jennings, Claire	The Widow		*															
Joel, Grace	Girl with Scarf, 1899						*											
Joel, Grace	Self Portrait																	
Joel, Grace	The School Girl, 1896					*									*			
Johns, Gregory	Ikon, 1984				*													
Johns, Paul	Portrait- Rosaria Hall, 1981				*													
Johnson, W. R.	The Spit, Millde Harbour, Sydney	*																
Johnstone, James A.	Evening, Lake Wanaka	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Kahukiwa, Robyn	Gang		*															
Kahukiwa, Robyn	He Aha Te Mea Nui O Te Ao?, 1984										*							
Kahukiwa, Robyn	He Kakano Rangatira, 1994										*							
Kahukiwa, Robyn	He Taonga Tuku Iho, 1995										*							
Kahukiwa, Robyn	Hineteiwaiwa (One of the series entitled Nga Waka Marama), 1984				*													
Kahukiwa, Robyn	Karu Hama, Urukehu, Kiri Tea, Engari He Kakano Rangatira, 1994								*									
Kahukiwa, Robyn	Ko Hine Te Iwa Iwa, Ko Hine Korako, Ko Rona Whakamau Tai, 1992								*									
Kahukiwa, Robyn	Ko Hineteiwaiwa Te Whare, 1990										*							
Kahukiwa, Robyn	Nga Tipuna Ki Mua Tatou Kei Muri, 1996														*			
Kahukiwa, Robyn	Taranga, 1982										*							
Kahukiwa, Robyn	The Choice		*															
Kahukiwa, Robyn	The Migration		*															
Kahukiwa, Robyn	Three Kuia, 1971										*							
Kahukiwa, Robyn	We Listen to Our Heart Beat, 1993								*									
Karaka, Emily	Tears of Biko, 1981				*													
Karaka, Emily	Uri, August 1992							*										
Kelly, A. E.	North-West Country Pastoral, Torlesse Range	*																
Kelly, A. E.	Youth, c. 1926						*											
Kelly, Cecil F.	St. Paul's Cathedral	*																
Kelly, Cecil F.	The Heathcote Valley	*																
Kettle, Charles H.	Lower Harbour, Otago	*																
Keulemans, J. G.	New Zealand Pigeon	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Keulemans, J. G.	Shining Cuckoo	*																
Killeen, Richard	Black Horse, 1980														*			
Killeen, Richard	Blue Vase with Octopus, 1995								*									
Killeen, Richard	Boy Eating an Ice Cream, 1968									*								
Killeen, Richard	Collection from a Japanses Garden 1937			*	*													
Killeen, Richard	Dispersal of Usual, 1995														*			
Killeen, Richard	Dreamtime, 1980											*						
Killeen, Richard	Five Men, Three Women, 1969											*						
Killeen, Richard	Frog Shooter, 1976			*														
Killeen, Richard	Head Clamps, 1998											*						
Killeen, Richard	House Dogs, 1995								*									
Killeen, Richard	Jar of Traffic, 2002														*			
Killeen, Richard	Man and Window Reflection, 1968						*											
Killeen, Richard	Measuring Tools, 1994									*								
Killeen, Richard	Monkeys Revenge, 1986														*			
Killeen, Richard	Peacock's Reason		*															
Killeen, Richard	Politics of Difference, 1984				*													
Killeen, Richard	Pooled Memory and Some Empty Fish, 1984						*											
Killeen, Richard	Regeneration, 1978											*						
Killeen, Richard	See, I am still talking!, 1995							*										
Killeen, Richard	Some of His Parts, 1976									*								
Killeen, Richard	Still Life with James Joyce, 1994									*								
Killeen, Richard	Still Life, 1994								*									
Killeen, Richard	Tracing the Lines of my Face, 1985											*						

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Killeen, Richard	Untitled, 1970									*								
Killeen, Richard	Untitled, 1977											*						
Kinder, Rev. John	Crater of Poerua, Pakaraka, Bay of Islands					*												
Kinder, Rev. John	Freehand Map and Plan of Auckland, c. 1856														*			
Kinder, Rev. John	Keri-keri Falls	*				*												
Kinder, Rev. John	On Mercury Island, 1857					*	*											
Kinder, Rev. John	Queen Charlotte Sound, Anakiwa	*																
Kinder, Rev. John	Semi-Panoramic View Taken from the Master's House attached to the Church of England Grammer School, Auckland, 1858														*			
Kinder, Rev. John	St Paul's, Auckland, 1856														*			
Kinder, Rev. John	St. Stephen's Chapel, Tauranga, c. 1861														*			
Kinder, Rev. John	Te Aroha, 1891						*											
Kinder, Rev. John	Waikouaiti Dunedin, 1873					*												
Kingstone, Ian	Misery Seeking Company												*					
Kingstone, Ian	The Famous Arthurs (Rimbaud, Garfunkel and King), 2000												*					
Knight, Gwen	Autumn, Lake Taupo		*															
Knight, Gwen	Suzie's Garden		*															
Kreisler, Tom	Coat No. 3 (Key)		*															
Kreisler, Tom	Night Weather, 1984				*													
Kreisler, Tom	Old and New, 1982				*													
Kronfeld, Sacha	Holiday at Lake Tama, 1999												*					
Kronfeld, Sacha	Malia's Necklace, 1999												*					

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Laita, Lily	How Do You Like Your Culture, 1999														*			
Lambert, Peter	A House Appears, 1999												*					
Lambert, Peter	Arawhata, 2000												*					
Lander, Mark	Iron Bedstead		*															
Lane, Tony	Beatrice and Dante, 1984				*													
Lane, Tony	Chair, 2001														*			
Lane, Tony	Image of Love, 1990											*						
Lane, Tony	Resurrection c. 1979											*						
Lane, Tony	Resurrection, 1980				*													
Lane, Tony	Small Tree with Stigmata, 1992											*						
Lane, Tony	St. Francis, 1986											*						
Lane, Tony	Study for a Mural: Six Veils with Portraits, 1991								*									
Lane, Tony	Terra Firma, 1998											*						
Lane, Tony	Three Veils, 1995											*						
Lane, Tony	Votive Image: Water, 1990								*									
Lane, Tony	War, 1994							*										
Lane, Tony	Water, 1990								*									
Lauvergne and Paris	La Favourite	*																
Lauvergne and Paris	Plage de Korora-reka	*																
Lawlor-Bartlett, Margaret	Masked-Unmasked III, 1980				*													
le Breton, L.	Mouillage D'Otago	*																
le Breton, L.	Port Otago	*					*											
Leach, Wendy	Otama Bay, Coromandel, 1999												*					

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Leach, Wendy	Skippers 1, 2000												*					
Leader, Richard	Head of Christ, 1984				*													
Leader, Richard	Observation, 1984				*													
Lee-Johnson, Eric	Calm Morning, Island Bay		*															
Lee-Johnson, Eric	Creamstand, c.1950						*											
Lee-Johnson, Eric	Hudson House		*															
Lee-Johnson, Eric	In the back blocks, 1950					*												
Lee-Johnson, Eric	The Slain Tree, 1945														*			
Leenards, Gerda	Islands, 1992									*								
Leenards, Gerda	Nijmegen Triptych- Turning Point, 1993									*								
Leenards, Gerda	Reclaimed Landscape, 1994									*								
Leenards, Gerda	Trees, 1983									*								
Leenards, Gerda	Vantage Point, 1988							*										
Left, Ron	Unfurling No. 6, 1989							*										
Leitch, Peter	Douglas's Old House, Waiuku		*															
Leitch, Peter	House on Hill Street, Thorndon		*															
Lejeune and Chazal	Cascade de Fanafoua Pres Du Village De Kidikidi	*																
Lejeune and Chazal	Etablissement des Missionaries Anglas a Kidikidi	*																
Lela'ulu, Nanette	Child with Paper Hat, 1998												*					
Lela'ulu, Nanette	Portrait of Olivia as Olga, 2000												*					
Lela'ulu, Nanette	Sense, 2001												*					
Leleisi'uao, Andy	The Immigrants, 2000														*			
Lethbridge, John	Mimic		*															

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Lethbridge, John	Portrait		*															
Lett, Barry	Nga Tapuwae, 1983				*													
Lett, Barry	Wish, 1981				*													
Lewis, Louise	Mrs Nice		*															
Lewis, Louise	The Visitor		*															
Lindauer, Gottfried	Anehana, Ngati Whatua, 1897														*			
Lindauer, Gottfried	Chief Taraia Ngatuki	*																
Lindauer, Gottfried	Girl with Gourd, 1888														*			
Lindauer, Gottfried	Hori Kingi Te Anau						*											
Lindauer, Gottfried	Maori Plaiting Flax Baskets, c. 1903														*			
Lindauer, Gottfried	Mother and Child, Manaia Pah	*																
Lindsay, Joan	Shoreline		*															
Lloyd, Arthur J.	Mai Body Convoy in the Tasman Sea	*																
Lloyd, Constance	Twisted Tree	*																
Lloyd, Trevor	Fern Trees	*																
Lloyd, Trevor	Lizard Skin	*																
Lovell-Smith, Colin S.	The Camp	*																
Lovell-Smith, Rata	Back Country, Lake Selfe Area, 1929					*												
Lovell-Smith, Rata	Bridge, Mt Cook Road, 1933														*			
Lovell-Smith, Rata	Hawkins, c. 1933														*			*
Lovell-Smith, Rata	The Top of the Pass	*																
Low, David	Early Drawing for 'Christchurch Spectator'	*																
Low, David	Five Contemporary Cartoons	*																
Low, David	Sketch for 'Bulleting,' 1912	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Lusk, Doris	Alexandra Bridge, Central Otago	*																
Lusk, Doris	Finale (Demolition Series), 1982							*										
Lusk, Doris	Kurow II		*															
Lusk, Doris	Kurow III		*															
Lusk, Doris	Onekaka Wharf		*															
Lusk, Doris	Portrait of Betty Curnow, 1983				*													
Lusk, Doris	Pump Station Tuam Street, 1970			*														
Lusk, Doris	Tahunanui, Nelson, 1947														*			
Lusk, Doris	The Pumping Station, 1958						*											
Lusk, Doris	Tobacco Fields, Pangatotara, Nelson, 1943					*												
Lusk, Doris	Tuam- Commerce (Constructed Demolition Series), 1982				*													
Lye, Len	Fire Devil Leaving, 1978				*													
Lynn, Vician	Lamella- Asherim, 1983				*													
MacCormick, Bill	Rangataua Evening		*															
Mackfarlane, Quentin	Marine: Sept/Oct, 1966						*											
Mackfarlane, Quentin	Near Otanerito, 1994-5							*										
Mackfarlane, Quentin	Pegasus Bay Series, 1983				*													
Mackfarlane, Quentin	Southerly		*															
Mackfarlane, Quentin	Untitled, 1975			*														
Macky, E. S.	Boy with Kite	*																
Madden, John M.	Lake Te Anau	*																
Madden, John M.	Sighting Machine, 2001												*					
Madden, John M.	Telluric Horizon, 2001												*					

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Madden, John M.	To see it clearly through the dark lense, 2001												*					
Maddox, Allen	C. 1.		*															
Maddox, Allen	Four Rectangles, 1976			*														
Maddox, Allen	Old Tent Transvestite, 1982				*													
Maddox, Allen	Rhythm Grid, 1976												*	*				
Maddox, Allen	Untitled, 1975												*					
Maddox, Allen	Untitled, 1985												*					
Maddox, Allen	Untitled, 1994							*										
Maddox, Allen	Untitled, 2000												*					
Maddox, Allen	Work This Out Jungle Boy, 1976				*													
Madill, Kathryn	Rush, 1983				*													
Maher, Ed	Moongaze		*															
Maihi, Toi	Waewaetorea, 1976				*													
Malone, Patrick	Red Head, 2001												*					
Malone, Patrick	Rockville, 2001												*					
Martin, Albin	Bay of Islands														*			
Martin, Albin	The Artist's Farm at Tamaki, c. 1865					*	*											
Matchitt, Para	Mural, 1971				*													
Matchitt, Para	Untitled		*															
Matthews, M.	A Maori to Mary	*																
Maughan, Karl	In My Mothers Garden, 1985							*										
Maughan, Karl	The Stranger, 2001														*			
McCahon, C	A Poster for the Urewera		*															

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
McCahon, C	Christ as a Lamp, c. 1948			*														
McCahon, C	Gate III, 1970																	*
McCahon, C	Jet out of Muriwai, 1978			*														
McCahon, C	Kauri, 1957					*												
McCahon, C	Landscape Series A, 1963					*												
McCahon, C	Let Us Possess One World..., 1955						*											
McCahon, C	Mahau Sound, 1939/40									*								
McCahon, C	Mapua Landscape, 1939					*												
McCahon, C	Mondrians's Last Chrysanthemum, 1976			*														
McCahon, C	Nelson Hills, c1947					*												
McCahon, C	North Otago Landscape		*															
McCahon, C	On Building Bridges (triptych), 1952			*			*											
McCahon, C	Painting, 1958				*													
McCahon, C	Practical Religion: The Resurrection of Lazarus showing Mount Martha, 1969-70																*	*
McCahon, C	Six Days in Nelson and Canterbury, 1950					*									*			*
McCahon, C	Takaka Night and Day, 1948														*			
McCahon, C	Teaching Aids No. 2, 1975						*								*			
McCahon, C	The Angel of the Annunciation, 1947			*														*
McCahon, C	The Blessed Virgin compared to a jug of pure water and the Infant Jesus to a lamp, 1948						*											
McCahon, C	The King of the Jews, 1947					*									*			
McCahon, C	The Larks Song (a poem by Matire Kareama)														*			

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
McCahon, C	The Northland Panels, 1958														*		*	*
McCahon, C	The Promised Land, 1948															*		*
McCahon, C	The Song of the Shining Cuckoo, 1974															*		*
McCahon, C	The Virgin and Child Compared, 1948									*								
McCahon, C	Three Views of Otago, c. 1968							*										
McCahon, C	Through the Wall of Death, a banner, 1972			*														
McCahon, C	Untitled Triptych		*		*													
McCahon, C	Urewera Mural, 1975			*		*												
McCahon, C	Victory Over Death 2, 1970				*	*												
McCahon, C	Waterfall with Overhanging Red Rock		*															
McCahon, C	Will He Save Him: from the <i>Elias</i> series, 1959					*												
McCahon, C	Works on Paper		*															
McCormack, Thomas A.	Flowers					*												
McCormack, Thomas A.	Landscape, Lake Tekapo, c. 1963							*										
McCormack, Thomas A.	Sunset, c. 1960							*										
McCormack, Thomas A.	Tapu Te Ranga	*																
McCracken, Francis	Portrait of a Lady, c1920					*												
McCracken, Francis	Seen from Calton Hill, Edingurgh	*																
McCracken, Francis	Still Life	*																
McCracken, Francis	The Creche						*											
McFarlane, Shona	Arrangement with Peppers		*															

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
McFarlane, Shona	Stones on my Step		*															
McIntyre, Gordon	Dunedin's Dozen	*																
McIntyre, Mary	Commemorating the 80th Birthday of Roy Dalgarno, 1992								*									
McIntyre, Mary	Crown of Flags, 1982				*													
McIntyre, Mary	Disasters of Love 2. 1993							*										
McIntyre, Mary	Disasters of Love 4: Nude Hesitant, 1994								*									
McIntyre, Mary	Portrait of Don Binney, 1995								*									
McIntyre, Peter	King Country Dusk		*															
McIntyre, Peter	King Country Farm, 1983																	
McIntyre, Peter	Maori Children on the Kakahi Marae		*															
McIntyre, Peter	Maori Children, King Country, 1963														*			
McIntyre, Peter	On the Para Para, c. 1961						*											
McIntyre, Raymond	Interior, c. 1918														*			
McIntyre, Raymond	Lizette, c. 1913														*			
McIntyre, Raymond	Portrait	*																
McIntyre, Raymond	Portrait of a Girl	*																
McIntyre, Raymond	Saint Cloud	*																
McIntyre, Raymond	Self Portrait	*				*	*											
McIntyre, Simon	Intersection II, 1995							*										
McIntyre, Simon	Lock 1, 1984				*													
McIntyre, Simon	Site I, 1982				*													
McIvor, Lois	Golden Hill		*															
McIvor, Lois	Tree of Life		*															

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
McKay, Claudia	Facing the Gaze, 1998												*					
McKay, Claudia	Paid Work, 2000												*					
McKay, Jean	Autumn Flowers	*																
McKenzine, Ronald J.	Street Scene, Dinard, Brittany	*																
McLean, John	Fish and Chips, 1989							*										
McLeod, Euan	Real Men, 1982				*													
McLeod, Robert	Coming in the Cloisters		*															
McLeod, Robert	Krakula, 1984				*													
McLeod, Robert	Larnark No. 29- Sum Burd 1984				*													
McLeod, Robert	September Splattered, 1978			*														
McLeod, Robert	Shottz No. 2, 1994							*										
McMillan, Ian	Painted Planks, 1982				*													
McWhannell, Richard	"...tails you lose" Self Portrait, 1983				*													
McWhannell, Richard	3, 1989										*							
McWhannell, Richard	Face, 1978										*							
McWhannell, Richard	Figure in My Room (Donogh), 1994									*								
McWhannell, Richard	Head, 1994							*										
McWhannell, Richard	King Peninsula, Tasman Bay, 1976									*								
McWhannell, Richard	Moehau: The Quiet, 1985										*							
McWhannell, Richard	Nude, 1995									*								
McWhannell, Richard	Pararaha (Squally Day), October 1993									*								
McWhannell, Richard	Pararaha, 1993										*							
McWhannell, Richard	Peter Hawksby, 1995										*							
McWhannell, Richard	Self Portrait (As my Father), 1994										*							

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
McWhannell, Richard	Self Portrait, 1994									*								
McWhannell, Richard	Sniff, 1991									*								
McWhannell, Richard	St John in the Desert, 1986										*							
McWhannell, Richard	Strange Painting of a Strange Object, 1994									*								
McWhannell, Richard	View of Auckland, 1980									*								
Meadows, Gilbert	Tiger	*																
Merle Woodhams, Natalie	Untitled		*															
Merrett, Joseph J.	Native Feast Held at Remuera, Auckland, N.Z. May 11th, 1844						*											
Merton, Owen	Carpenters Shop, Rye	*																
Merton, Owen	Convent in Snow, Murat, France	*																
Merton, Owen	Riwaka, 1908						*											
Merton, Owen	The Old Curiosity Shop	*				*												
Meryon, Charles	Akaroa	*																
Meryon, Charles	Banks Peninsula	*																
Meryon, Charles	Le Morte de Marion Du Fresne, La Baie Des Iles, Nouvelle Zelande						*											
Middleditch, John	Visible Bearing		*															
Minhinnick, Gordon	His Bit	*																
Minhinnick, Gordon	The Drums	*																
Minhinnick, Gordon	The Socialist Roll Skip	*																
Mitchell, Leonard C.	Design for New Zealand Stamp	*																
Moffitt, Trevor	9th October 1941, Graham Fleeing into the Night Wounded, 1987									*								

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Moffitt, Trevor	A Last Look Back (from My Father series), 1979									*								
Moffitt, Trevor	An Evening at Home (from Human Condition series), 1975									*								
Moffitt, Trevor	Cutting Edges, 1980							*										
Moffitt, Trevor	Human Condition		*															
Moffitt, Trevor	Mackenzie and the Judge (from Mackenzie series)									*								
Moffitt, Trevor	Mackenzie Wounded (from Mackenzie Series), 1966									*								
Moffitt, Trevor	Miner Eating an Egg, 1967				*													
Moffitt, Trevor	No Son of Mine Goes to University (from My Father series), 1980									*								
Moffitt, Trevor	Now What?				*													
Moffitt, Trevor	The Big Fisherman, No. 6, 1968						*											
Moffitt, Trevor	The Bull Paddock, 1990									*								
Moffitt, Trevor	The Human Condition		*															
Moffitt, Trevor	The Miner's Family (from The Miner series), 1967									*								
Moffitt, Trevor	When Is He Coming to Bed?		*															
Moore-Jones, Horrace M.	Murphy and his Donkey	*																
Moriarty, Peter	Beach Road, Akaroa		*															
Moriarty, Peter	Inner Harbour, Wellington		*															
Morison, Julia	Book for Micromegus, 1992								*									
Morison, Julia	Codex, 1993								*									
Morison, Julia	Decan: Heartease, 1989														*			

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Morison, Julia	Decanted, 1992-3										*							
Morison, Julia	End to Begin, 1996										*							
Morison, Julia	Equivocation EA5, 1982										*							
Morison, Julia	Eternity, 1989						*											
Morison, Julia	Hermes, 1985										*							
Morison, Julia	I,mOnOchrOmes, 1995										*							
Morison, Julia	Invocation, 1984				*													
Morison, Julia	Melancholia II, 1992								*									
Morison, Julia	Somniloquist, 1987										*							
Morris, Simon	Nine Points, 1994							*										
Mortimer, Rosemary	Arthurs Pass, diary of a journey 1, 2001												*					
Mortimer, Rosemary	Book of Dreams Series No. 8., 1999												*					
Mrkusich, Milan	Achromatic Yellow with Red, Green and Blue, 1994								*						*			
Mrkusich, Milan	City Lights, 1955					*									*			
Mrkusich, Milan	Emblem IV: The Dividing of the Waters, 1963			*														
Mrkusich, Milan	Emblem XVI, 1964		*			*												
Mrkusich, Milan	Four Elements Above (Crimson), 1965						*											
Mrkusich, Milan	Golden Centre Earth Emblem, 1962-3						*											
Mrkusich, Milan	Meta Grey, Light series No. 2		*															
Mrkusich, Milan	Painting Green 1976				*													
Mrkusich, Milan	Painting Ochre, 1974														*			
Mrkusich, Milan	Progression Achromatic, 1994								*									
Mrkusich, Milan	Segmented Arc on Black, 1982				*													

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Mrkusich, Milan	Yellow Achromatic, 1992							*	*									
Muggeridge, Marianne	Lucy in her Green Dress, 1999-2000												*					
Muggeridge, Marianne	Mt Taranaki- Mid Winter, 1995-2000												*					
Muller, Rene	Concept 4		*															
Munro, Sarah	Chagall, 1997												*					
Munro, Sarah	Modigliani, 1997												*					
Munro, Sarah	Self-Portrait in a Garden												*					
Munz, Anne	Procession of the Firstborn		*															
Muru, Selwyn	Parihaka Suite, 1974-5				*													
Muru, Selwyn	The Glory that was Parihaka, 1975				*													
Muru, Selwyn	The Hapua Landscape		*															
Mutch, Tom	Meeting the Taniwha, 2000												*					
Mutch, Tom	Ode to Brett Whitely, 1993												*					
Nairn, James M.	Barrett Reef, Wellington					*												
Nairn, James M.	Chrysanthemum Garden	*																
Nairn, James M.	Hutt River, 1892						*											
Nairn, James M.	Job Mabey, 1895					*												
Nairn, James M.	Mount Victoria, 1900														*			
Nairn, James M.	Near Timaru, 1891														*			
Nairn, James M.	Oatfields, Otago, 1901					*												
Nairn, James M.	Tess, 1893					*												
Nairn, James M.	Wellington Coast	*																
Nairn, James M.	Wellington Harbour	*					*											

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Nairn, James M.	Wharf at Kaikoura with S. S. Wakatu, 1903					*									*			
Nairn, James M.	Winter Morning, Wellington Harbour, 1894					*												
Neilson, D. R.	Simple Landscape		*															
Nerli, G. P.	A Study, Head of a Girl					*												
Nerli, G. P.	A Wet Winter Day, c. 1893														*			
Nerli, G. P.	At Rotorua, c. 1897						*											
Nerli, G. P.	Caricature (Nairn and Nerli)	*																
Nerli, G. P.	Portrait of a Young Woman Artist, c. 1889														*			
Nerli, G. P.	Portrait of Dr. D. M. Stuart, 1894														*			
Nerli, G. P.	Portrait of W. M. Hodgkins, 1895						*											
Nerli, G. P.	Scene in Italy	*																
Nerli, G. P.	The First at the Rendez-Vous, 1889														*			
Ngan, Guy	Animated Colours No. 7		*															
Nicholas, Darcy	Encounter, Tangatawhenua		*															
Nicholas, Darcy	Sacred Hill, 1983				*													
Nicholas, Darcy	Te Kotuku's Bush, 1984				*													
Nicholson, Michael	Abstract Composition, 1958					*												
Nicol, John	Fabrication 3, 2000												*					
Nicol, John	Fabrication 7, 2000												*					
Nicol, John	Gate		*															
Nicol, John	Large Cloud, 1982				*													
Nicol, John	Tree		*															
Nicoll, Archibald F.	G. Harper, Esq.	*					*											
Nicoll, Archibald F.	Peninsula, Winter	*				*									*			

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Nigro, Gerry	Island Series No. 1		*															
Nigro, Gerry	Island Series No. 19		*															
Nigro, Jan	Man in a field of lilies, 1969						*											
Nigro, Jan	The Hibiscus Garden, 1983				*													
Nigro, Jan	The Reunion		*															
Nin, Buck	Bold Fire, Whale Bay		*															
Nin, Buck	Challenge of the Land		*															
Nin, Buck	Rangitoto- Auckland, 1984				*													
Nisbet-Smith, Alistair	Head, c. 1974														*			
Nisbet-Smith, Alistair	Seated Figure, 1983				*													
Nisbet-Smith, Alistair	Self-portrait		*															
Nisbet-Smith, Alistair	Slip, 1991							*										
Nisbet-Smith, Alistair	Untitled, 1975				*													
Nixon, Kirsty	Magawhai Heads, 2001												*					
Nixon, Kirsty	Seeing the Light II, Tawharanui, 2001												*					
O'Brien, George	Early Dunedin	*																
O'Brien, George	View of Otago Heads and Port Chalmers, 1866						*											
Ogle, Tony	Great Barrier Summer, 2000												*					
Ogle, Tony	Ihumoana Island- Te Henga, 2001												*					
Ogle, Tony	Lion Rock from Old Piha Hotel, 1998												*					
O'Keefe, Alfred H.	A Defence Ministers Telegram, 1921						*											
O'Keefe, Alfred H.	A Model at Rest, 1906														*			
O'Keefe, Alfred H.	Still Life, Roses and Arum Lilies, 1906					*												

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
O'Keeffe, Alfred H.	The Garden Wall	*																
Olds, Paul	Portrait	*																
Olds, Paul	Riverbed, Otira, 1962						*											
Oliver, R. A.	Te Rangihaeata	*																
Ollivier, Helen	Green Shirt and Lines, 2001												*					
Ollivier, Helen	Twilight Chairs, 2001												*					
Olsen, Maria	Cauldrons, 1986														*			
Olsen, Maria	Leylia and Mejnum, 1983				*													
Olsen, Maria	Red Interior, 1994							*										
Olsen, Maria	Untitled 1., 1989						*											
Olsen, Rachel	El Establo, 2000												*					
Olsen, Rachel	Morning Glory, 2000												*					
Osborn, Daisy	Gods	*																
Osborne, Rona N.	Celestial Bodies, 2000												*					
Osborne, Rona N.	Whakapapa I, 2000												*					
O'Sullivan, Philip	Matauranga, 1982				*													
O'Sullivan, Philip	Prussian and Rose, 1983				*													
Overy, D. Joy	The Gardeners		*															
Page, Evelyn	Elespie and family					*												
Page, Evelyn	Lyttelton Harbour, c. 1945						*											
Page, Evelyn	Wellington Harbour					*												
Palmer, Anne	Birds of Paradise, Harataonga, Great Barrier Island, 2000												*					
Palmer, Anne	Nikau Detail, Cape Colville, Coromandel, 2000												*					

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Palmer, Neil	Flowering Nikau, 2001												*					
Palmer, Neil	Nikau, 2001												*					
Palmer, Neil	Whatipu Flax, 2001												*					
Palmer, Stanley	Above the Harbour, Akaroa, 1994									*								
Palmer, Stanley	Beside the Road- Karamea, 1996												*					
Palmer, Stanley	Beside the Road, Karamea, 1992									*								
Palmer, Stanley	Departure, Parua, 1991									*								
Palmer, Stanley	Hatters Terrace, 1994									*								
Palmer, Stanley	On South Terrace- NZ Index XVII, 1995									*								
Palmer, Stanley	Return- Te Kau-Aotea, 1990							*										
Palmer, Stanley	Te Henga (Self Portrait), 1998												*					
Pankhurst, Alvin	I Remember, 1981				*													
Pankhurst, Alvin	Katiki Point Lighthouse Moeraki, Otago, 2001												*					
Pankhurst, Alvin	Maybe Tomorrow		*															
Pankhurst, Alvin	Morning Tide, 1984				*													
Pankhurst, Alvin	On Reflection, 1994							*										
Pankhurst, Alvin	Sounds of Silence, 2001												*					
Papas, John	Journey Up River, 1982				*													
Papas, John	Man		*															
Papas, John	Marine Symbol I		*															
Papas, John	Marine Symbol II		*															
Papas, John	Silence on the Land, 1994							*										
Parker, John S.	Beach Music, 1998											*						

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Parker, John S.	Oh! No, Spirit Don't Ever Die, 1981				*													
Parker, John S.	Plain Song Chordal, 1994											*						
Parker, John S.	Potato Fields, 1978											*						
Parker, John S.	Red/Red, 1984				*													
Parker, John S.	Two Part Harmony, 1989											*						
Parker, John S.	Untitled, 1970											*						
Parkinson, Sydney	A Perforated Rock in New Zealand (Tolaga Bay)						*											
Parkinson, Sydney	A War Canoe of New Zealand	*																
Parkinson, Sydney	Head of a Chief	*																
Parkinson, Sydney	New Zealand Warrior	*																
Paterson, Alan S.	Two Cartoons	*																
Paul, Joanna Margaret	Absence, c. 1988									*								
Paul, Joanna Margaret	Beta St., c. 1982									*								
Paul, Joanna Margaret	in flowering, 1994									*								
Paul, Joanna Margaret	The Edge of the Sea, 1977									*								
Paul, Joanna Margaret	to Schubert, 1994									*								
Paul, Joanna Margaret	Virginia Lake, 1994									*								
Paul, Joanna Margaret	Winter dawn, Wanganui, 1994									*								
Payne, David J.	Evening	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Payton, E. W.	Residence of the Maori King	*																
Pearson, Alan	Miki		*															
Pearson, Chris	Side Post, 1993							*										
Peebles, Don	Abstraction, 1957													*				
Peebles, Don	Do it, 2000													*				
Peebles, Don	Otira Green, 1990													*				
Peebles, Don	Painting No. 9, 1969				*													
Peebles, Don	Pier & Ocean No. 2, 2001														*			
Peebles, Don	Relief		*															
Peebles, Don	Relief Construction: Yellow and Black, 1966					*	*							*				
Peebles, Don	Untitled 2-Part painting, 1978													*				
Peebles, Don	Untitled No. One, 1994								*									
Peebles, Don	Untitled No. Two, 1993								*									
Peebles, Don	Untitled paper relief, 1981													*				
Peebles, Don	Untitled Relief Painting, 1979				*													
Peebles, Don	Untitled, One, 1994							*										
Peebles, Don	Untitled: Breen/Violet, 1991								*									
Peebles, Don	Wellington XII, 1959					*	*											
Peele, James	Pack Train, Ocean Beach	*																
Pegler, Johanna	Jungle Beasts, 1992							*										
Perkins, Christopher	Frozen Flames, 1931					*									*			
Perkins, Christopher	Maori Meeting, 1932-4					*	*											
Perkins, Christopher	Meditation, 1931					*												
Perkins, Christopher	Pneumatic Spades	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Perkins, Christopher	Professor von Zedlitz	*																
Perkins, Christopher	Rangi, 1933					*												
Perkins, Christopher	Silverstream Brickworks, 1930														*			
Perkins, Christopher	Taranaki, 1931					*	*								*		*	
Perkins, Christopher	Volcanic Country Near Rotorua					*												
Peterson, Stuart	When we met the Springboks in 1928	*																
Philbin, Anne	Bodyworks, 1982				*													
Phillips, Margot	Coromandel Coast		*															
Phillips, Megan	Rebis 12, 1994							*										
Pick, Seraphine	Bad (Bath) Stack, 1995										*							
Pick, Seraphine	Lemon Stack, 1996										*							
Pick, Seraphine	Respitory 6, 1993										*							
Pick, Seraphine	Respitory 9, 1993										*							
Pick, Seraphine	Shedding Light, 1994										*							
Pick, Seraphine	The Couch, 2002														*			
Pick, Seraphine	Untitled (Brown Painting), 1995								*									
Pick, Seraphine	Untitled (Dress), 1994								*									
Pick, Seraphine	Untitled Diptych, 1995								*									
Piron, M.	Jeune Sauvage De La Nouvelle Zeelande	*																
Piron, M.	Sauvage De La Nouvelle Zeelande	*																
Polson, Evelyn	Charles Brasch	*																
Polson, Evelyn	Outskirts of Exeter	*																
Pond-Eyley, Claudia	Departure and Return (Blue surrounds), 1991							*										

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Pond-Eyley, Claudia	Departure and Return, 1994								*									
Pond-Eyley, Claudia	Mythic Image, 1994								*									
Pond-Eyley, Claudia	Spirit Garden, 1991								*									
Pond-Eyley, Claudia	Stonehenge Shield, 1983				*													
Porteous, Vida	Progress		*															
Porter, Frederick K.	French Landscape	*																
Power, Elaine	House Sparrows		*															
Power, Elaine	Song Thrush		*															
Prain, George	Reports and Repeats	*																
Preston, James	Opawa Station, Albury						*											
Prince, Diane	Silent Feathers- Whakapapa (detail), 2000														*			
Procter, Robert	In Sunny Italy	*																
Pule, John	Liku, 1989											*						
Pule, John	Mafola, 1991											*						
Pule, John	Many Times I Have Told You Not To Go, 1993								*									
Pule, John	Migration, 1995											*						
Pule, John	Moe Sleeping, 1993								*									
Pule, John	Omi Omi, 1996														*			
Pule, John	Prototypes: Sites of Old Myths, 1995							*										
Pule, John	Pulenoa (triptych detail), 1995											*						
Pule, John	Style (With Seven Moons) Fetu Mahuna, 1993								*									
Pule, John	Take These With You When You Leave, 1998											*						

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Radford, Paul	Italian Various, Take a Walk in the Land of Shadows, 1986							*										
Radford, Paul	Mad Mary, 1983				*													
Radford, Paul	Monumental, 1984				*													
Rae, Jude	Arras, 1994								*									
Rae, Jude	Manifold, 1994							*										
Rae, Jude	Nexus II, 1994								*									
Rae, Jude	Virago, 1994								*									
Randerson, Glenda	Carole, 1982				*													
Randerson, Glenda	In the Studio: Portrait of Carole Shepheard						*											
Randerson, Glenda	Janine in the Red Armchair, 1988							*										
Randerson, Glenda	Meditation, 1994								*									
Randerson, Glenda	Rag Doll Adornment, 1994								*									
Randerson, Glenda	Still Life		*															
Randerson, Glenda	Still-Life with Broken Gift, 1984														*			
Randerson, Glenda	The Frame, 1994								*									
Rands, Colette	Insistent Gardens of Truth, Creating Images of Embarkation		*															
Rands, Colette	Landform II		*															
Read, Barry	Strange Angels		*															
Reed, Michael	Bright, Light, Dark, Corner- 4, 1982				*													
Rees, Dilys	Mother and Child (Cilla Black and I- Fantasy), 1983				*													
Reid, David	Bull, 1993							*										
Rewiri-Thorsen, Kura	Nga Tohu o Te Tiritiri, 1986						*											

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Rewiri-Thorsen, Kura	Whenua, Wahine, Whenua, 1989														*			
Reynolds, John	100 Drawings Around a Beckett Soliloquy, 1994								*									
Reynolds, John	Armature for a Headland, 1985											*						
Reynolds, John	I'm Doing Nothing Wrong, 2002														*			
Reynolds, John	Karangahape Road, 1995								*									
Reynolds, John	Persian Letters, 1990											*						
Reynolds, John	Protocol for an Odalisque, 1980											*						
Reynolds, John	The Acacacademy of Anthropometry, 1995								*									
Reynolds, John	The Fall of Icarus, c.1984											*						
Reynolds, John	Winter Notes on Summer Impressions, 1993							*										
Reynolds, John	Y2K (detail), 1999											*						
Richardson, Gwyneth	Mrs Thornley of Titahi Bay, 1931-2														*			
Richardson, Gwyneth	One Tree Hill	*																
Richardson, Harry L.	A School Girl, c. 1921						*											
Richardson, Harry L.	The Old-time Maori Pah	*																
Richardson, Harry L.	The Wahine	*																
Richmond, Dorothy K.	Gun Trees and Pigs	*																
Richmond, Dorothy K.	Mount Egmont, 1929					*	*											
Richmond, Dorothy K.	Mount Ruapehu	*																
Richmond, Dorothy K.	Purple and Bronze, 1905														*			
Richmond, Dorothy K.	Zinnias	*																
Richmond, James C.	Detribalised Natives, Taranaki	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Richmond, James C.	Junction of Thomas and Porter	*																
Richmond, James C.	River Clarence, Bridle Track, Nelson	*																
Richmond, James C.	The Reinga Falls on the Wairoa, Hawkes Bay, 1867					*	*								*			
Rickard, Bruce	Bush Landscape with Tuatara, 1982							*										
Ritchie, John	Stone Image		*															
Ritchie, Ross	Large Reefton Lady		*															
Ritchie, Ross	Reefton Lady I, 1966					*												
Ritchie, Ross	Study, 1971-2				*													
Ritchie, Ross	The Colonials, 1994-5							*										
Ritchie, Ross	The Ninetieth Garden, 1965						*											
Ritchie, Ross	Whitebread, 1984				*													
Robinson, Andrea	Aging Hero, 1983				*													
Robinson, Ken	Throwaway Gesture, 1994							*										
Robinson, Peter	100%, 1994								*									
Robinson, Peter	100%, 1994								*									
Robinson, Peter	Big Al Kaida's Double Trouble Slumber Party, 2002														*			
Robinson, Peter	Crazy Deals At Any Cost, 1995							*										
Robinson, Peter	Painting, 1993								*									
Robinson, Peter	The Big Crunch (detail), 1998											*						
Robinson, Peter	The Queen is Dead! Long Live the King!, 1997											*						
Robinson, Peter	Untitled, 1993											*						
Robinson, Peter	Untitled, 1994											*						

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Robley, Gen. Horatio G.	Matata, 1865	*																
Robley, Gen. Horatio G.	Moko and Whakairo	*																
Robley, Gen. Horatio G.	Scenes in the Pits, Gate Pa, 1864						*											
Rockel, Helen	The Embrace		*															
Ropata-Higgott, Hariata Mei	Expulsion in Paradise, 1983				*													
Ross, James	Chasm, 1984				*													
Ross, James	Pool (New Myth), 1985						*											
Ross, James	Red Studio (2), 2002														*			
Ross, James	Tall Painting: Gothic 1983				*													
Ross, James	The Sorrows of the King, 1991							*										
Rountree, Harry	A Day on My Farm	*																
Rountree, Harry	Sparrows	*																
Ruifrock, Wilhelm	The First Idea of the Given and Taken		*															
Ryan, Thomas	Champagne Falls, Wairaki Geysir Valley, 1891						*											
Salmond, Kathleen	Early Morning, Warrington, Otago	*																
Sampero, Delicia	Dance of Strength, 2001												*					
Sampero, Delicia	Outside II (diptych), 1999												*					
Sampson, Andre	Parlour Games for High Rollers, 2001												*					
Sampson, Andre	Parlour Games for High Rollers, P.M., 2001												*					
Sampson, Andre	Two Names for the Same Things, 2000												*					
Savage, Cedric	Camping	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Scott, Ian	All Black Painting, 1990						*											
Scott, Ian	Blue of Day, 2003														*			
Scott, Ian	Colour Chord No. 2 (Red-white-green), 1982				*													
Scott, Ian	Early Lattice No. 3 July 1976										*							
Scott, Ian	Golden Dreams		*															
Scott, Ian	House Painter, 1992								*									
Scott, Ian	Lattice 45, 1978										*							
Scott, Ian	Lattice 58, 1979										*							
Scott, Ian	Lattice No. 137, 1987														*			
Scott, Ian	Lattice No. 56., 1979					*												
Scott, Ian	Lattice No. 91, 1982						*											
Scott, Ian	Lawn Lovers		*															
Scott, Ian	Leapaway Girl, 1969										*							
Scott, Ian	Memory of a Night in Haast, 1990										*							
Scott, Ian	Painting Wall, 1993								*									
Scott, Ian	The Hot Sweet Air		*															
Scott, Ian	Under Three Flags, 1990-4								*									
Scott, Ian	Vermillion Light, 1984				*													
Scott, Ian	Watering Daylight		*															
Scott, Ian	Yellow Wall, 1993							*										
Scott, James F.	Australian Troops Resting	*																
Scott, James F.	Capri	*																
Scott, James F.	The Sculptor's Studio	*																
Scott, John H.	Moeraki Boulders	*					*											

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Sedgwick, Frederick	Top of the Hill	*																
Shae, Errol	Panel Construction, 1982				*													
Sharpe, Alfred	A Jam in the Lava Cleft	*																
Sharpe, Alfred	A View of Wenderholm, 1880														*			
Sharpe, Alfred	Coromandel, 1875						*											
Sharpe, Alfred	The Environs of Auckland (Mountain Road)					*	*								*			
Sharpe, Alfred	The Gates of Dawn														*			
Shepard, Carole	Amazon Shield, 1984				*													
Shepard, Carole	Days Without Words, 1994								*									
Shepard, Carole	Lacan's Mirror, 1994								*									
Shepard, Carole	With No Visible Horizon, 1994								*									
Shepard, Michael	A Colonial Male's Colonial Mail, 1992/5										*							
Shepard, Michael	A Memory of the Baby-boomers' Playthings, 1994							*										
Shepard, Michael	Excavating the Historical: Landscape with Historical Figure, 1992								*									
Shepard, Michael	Excavating the Historical: Landscape with Non-Existing Elements, 1992								*									
Shepard, Michael	Large Collar and Tie, 1979										*							
Shepard, Michael	Looking for Mercer, 1990									*								
Shepard, Michael	Monuments- On Building Bridges, 1990									*								
Shepard, Michael	Monuments- One Land, One People, 1990									*								
Shepard, Michael	My Memories of my Mother's Memory of My Grandmother's Memories, 1994									*								
Shepard, Michael	North Waikato Still Life, 1990									*								

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Shepard, Michael	Paspalum, 1987						*											
Shepard, Michael	Portland Road Swamp, 1985									*								
Shepard, Michael	Still-Life for the Year of the Comet, 1986										*							
Shepard, Michael	Study after Courbets Atelier, 1980									*								
Shepard, Michael	Study of a Mobile, 1988										*							
Shepard, Michael	Taranaki Landscape, 1985										*							
Shepard, Michael	The Cotton Reel Tractor, 1976										*							
Shepard, Michael	Two Panels from Five Fiscal Envelopes (the language of colonialism), 1995									*								
Shepard, Michael	View of an Ideal Town, 1992								*									
Sherman, Frank	All Quiet on the Western Front	*																
Sherwood, Maud W.	Dee Why Beach	*																
Sherwood, Maud W.	Girl in the Boat, 1922														*			
Sherwood, Maud W.	Horse and Cart	*																
Sherwood, Maud W.	Reading, 1921						*											
Shin, April	Four Seeds, 2001												*					
Shin, April	Movement in Blue and Green, 2002														*			
Shin, April	Rhythm Growth Diptych, 2001												*					
Shin, April	Simultaneous Rhythm, 2001												*					
Shore-Bennett, Beverley	Smisek and Garlic		*															
Shurrock, Francis A.	Cheshire Cat	*																
Shurrock, Francis A.	Christopher Perkins	*																
Shurrock, Francis A.	Commemorative Panel, Robert McDougall Gallery, Christchurch	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Shurrock, Francis A.	Peter	*																
Shurrock, Francis A.	Sale Day	*																
Siddell, Peter	After Breakfast, 1982				*													
Siddell, Peter	Arno								*									
Siddell, Peter	City		*															
Siddell, Peter	Corner Shops, 1980													*				
Siddell, Peter	Eastern Cloud, 1995													*				
Siddell, Peter	Estuary, 1998													*				
Siddell, Peter	Fiord, 2000													*				
Siddell, Peter	House with Trellis, 1983				*													
Siddell, Peter	Man and Building, 1974													*				
Siddell, Peter	Northern Shore, 1995														*			
Siddell, Peter	Rangitoto, 1994								*									
Siddell, Peter	Two Palms, 1988													*				
Siddell, Peter	Western Balcony, 1986						*											
Siddell, Peter	Western Cloud, 1995							*										
Siddell, Peter	Western Road, 1994								*									
Siddell, Sylvia	Beheaded, 1992								*									
Siddell, Sylvia	Blender, 2002														*			
Siddell, Sylvia	Divided, 1993								*									
Siddell, Sylvia	Seethe, 1993								*									
Simmonds, Freda	Bird in Waves		*															
Simmonds, Freda	Northland Landscape, 1957-8						*								*			

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Sing Tai, Wong	Threshold No. 7, Thunder on the Mountain Series		*															
Sing Tai, Wong	Yantra, "Jetsun"		*															
Smith, May	Characterization in colour, 1941					*												
Smith, Peter G.	750-Painting, 2001														*			
Smither, Michael	Alfred Road Bridge		*															
Smither, Michael	Blankets on Chair, 1996										*							
Smither, Michael	Composite Self-portrait, 1995									*								
Smither, Michael	Domestic Still Life, c. 1965										*							
Smither, Michael	Gifts, 1977				*													
Smither, Michael	Grandparents at the Door, 1969		*												*			
Smither, Michael	Harmonic Chart, 1982				*													
Smither, Michael	Harmonic Chart, 1986										*							
Smither, Michael	In Bed, 1995								*									
Smither, Michael	Large Still-life with Green Plastic Plate, 1993									*								
Smither, Michael	Little Muddy Rock, 1994									*								
Smither, Michael	Mother Feeding Child, 1973										*							
Smither, Michael	Mt. Egmont, Rocks and Cows, c. 1970										*							
Smither, Michael	Nude on a Green Couch		*															
Smither, Michael	Pohutukawa Coastal Scene, 1980										*							
Smither, Michael	Portrait of My Mother, 1972							*										
Smither, Michael	Portrait of my Wife		*															
Smither, Michael	Rock Painting with Grasshopper, 1978									*								
Smither, Michael	Rocks with Mountain, 1968						*			*								

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Smither, Michael	Round Rocks and Waves (New Plymouth), 1980									*								
Smither, Michael	Sarah with a Yellow Ball		*															
Smither, Michael	Sleeping, 1994								*									
Smither, Michael	St Francis Denying Temptation, 1965																	*
Smither, Michael	Still Life, 1995														*			
Smither, Michael	Still Life, 1995								*									
Smither, Michael	The Sick Rose		*															
Smither, Michael	Untitled (Taset, table and armchair), 1972				*													
Smither, Michael	Walnuts in a blue bowl		*															
Smither, Michael	Woman in a Bath, 1995									*								
Speerstra, Souzie	Food for Thought, 1999												*					
Speerstra, Souzie	Sanctuary, 2000												*					
Spencer, Olivia	Getting About		*															
Spencer, Olivia	The Remarkables		*															
Sprott, William S.	Pacific Surf	*																
Steele, Louise J.	Prince Henry, Poins and Falstaff	*																
Steele, Louise J.	Spoils to the Victor	*				*	*								*			
Steele, Louise J.	The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand, 1898 (Charles Goldie)						*								*			
Stevens, Eion	Messenger, 1991							*										
Stevens, Eion	Portrait of a Marxist, 1983				*													
Stevens, Elizabeth	Still Point, 1967						*											
Stevenson, Michael	Double Negative- Fleetwood Mac version, 1994									*								

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Stevenson, Michael	Finer and Finer, 1993									*								
Stevenson, Michael	Jesus Loves Us All in Clinton, 1988									*								
Stevenson, Michael	Little Glowing Jesus Cross, 1989									*								
Stevenson, Michael	Mother of Harlots, 1994									*								
Stevenson, Michael	The Wolf Cubs, 1990									*								
Stevenson, Michael	We Have Come for Your Daughters, 1994									*								
Stocker Macaskill, Jeanne	Lake Rotoiti		*															
Stoddart, Margaret O.	Akaroa Harbour	*																
Stoddart, Margaret O.	Clematis	*																
Stoddart, Margaret O.	Hooker Glacier	*																
Stoddart, Margaret O.	View of Mount Cook					*	*											
Strathdee, Barbara	Nine Ships Full of People, 1991									*								
Strathdee, Barbara	Piazza Grande, 1991									*								
Strathdee, Barbara	Porirua Plaza, 1991									*								
Strathdee, Barbara	Signs of Settlement (With the Surveyors), 1989									*								
Strathdee, Barbara	Somewhere in Our Historical Memory- Pakeha Land ars, 1990							*										
Strathdee, Barbara	Staking a claim, 1987									*								
Strathdee, Barbara	The End of the Conventional Canvas, 1983				*													
Strutt, William	On the Beach, Onehunga, c. 1856															*		
Strutt, William	The Beach, New Plymouth, 1856	*				*	*											
Stuart, Sam	A Maori Pa, Whanganui River						*											
Summerton, Justin	South Auckland Volcanic Cone, 2001												*					

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Summerton, Justin	Tunnel Beach, 2001												*					
Sutton, William	Canterbury Grasses		*															
Sutton, William	Cemetery for Sheep						*					*						
Sutton, William	Country Church, Kirwee											*						
Sutton, William	Dry September, 1949		*									*			*			
Sutton, William	Landscape Elements 5		*															
Sutton, William	Landscape Synthesis III, 1980											*						
Sutton, William	Nor' Wester in the Cemetery, 1950					*									*			
Sutton, William	Pastoral, 1959						*											
Sutton, William	Plantation Series No. XVII, 1988							*										
Sutton, William	Plantation Series XVI, 1988											*						
Sutton, William	Professor Gordon Peterson		*															
Sutton, William	Snow on the tops near Bealy, 1946					*												
Sutton, William	The Four Seasons, Autumn, 1968						*											
Sutton, William	Threshold (with thanks to El Greco)				*													
Sutton, William	Threshold 4		*															
Sutton, William	Threshold Painting, c. 1974											*			*			
Swainson, William	Hutt Road, 1847	*																
Swainson, William	Scene on Hutt River	*																
Swanney-Macpherson, Robin	Max, 1982				*													
Sydney, Grahame	Dogtrials Room, 1980				*													
Sydney, Grahame	Killing House, 1983											*						
Sydney, Grahame	Lake Onslow, 1997											*						

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Sydney, Grahame	Ohau, 1994							*										
Sydney, Grahame	Repaint in Bannockburn		*															
Sydney, Grahame	Rozzie at Pisa, 1978																*	*
Sydney, Grahame	Slow Sign, 1975		*									*						
Sydney, Grahame	Southern Crossing, 1992											*						
Sydney, Grahame	Tarras Dogtrials, 1981											*						
Sydney, Grahame	The Silent Studio, 1987											*						
Tangahoe, Hariata R.	Departure, c. 1980									*								
Tangahoe, Hariata R.	From Home, Heart and Soul series, c. 1985									*								
Tangahoe, Hariata R.	Hinikiu Piripi-Kohe, 2002														*			
Tangahoe, Hariata R.	Mareikura 1, 1992									*								
Tangahoe, Hariata R.	Mareikura 2, 1992									*								
Tangahoe, Hariata R.	Parekawakawa, 1995									*								
Tangahoe, Hariata R.	Te Ira Wahine, 1994									*								
Tapper, Garth	Five o'clock, 1964-5						*											
Tapper, Garth	Securitas		*															
Tapper, Garth	Southdown Boy		*															
Tapper, Garth	The Prosecutor, 1979				*													
Taylor, Alan	Ihukatao Paa, Mangere, 1983				*													
Taylor, Alan	Maungatautiri, 1980				*													
Taylor, Cynthia	Gulf Edges, Waiheke Island, 2000												*					
Taylor, Cynthia	Woven Tribute (Pacific Rim Series), 2000												*					
Taylor, E. M.	Kauri Stump, 1959						*											
Taylor, E. M.	St. Mary's, Karori	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Taylor, Mervyn	Grove Arm, Queen Charlotte Sound		*															
Taylor, Rob	Birthplace		*															
Taylor, Rob	Lithic Link 1983				*													
Taylor, Rob	Masked Celebration, 1987							*										
Taylor, Rob	Thriving Myth, Ritual Writhe		*															
Te Waru-Rewiri, Kura	In Te Po- Tere are Many Beginnings, 1993/4								*									
Te Waru-Rewiri, Kura	Kahupapa I, 1991								*									
Te Waru-Rewiri, Kura	Where the Spirits Depart, 1994								*									
Thompson, Ernest H.	Circus Under the Trees	*																
Thompson, Ernest H.	Dancer Fatigued	*																
Thompson, Pauline	Albitross, Parihaka, 1994									*								
Thompson, Pauline	Auckland University Clock Tower, 1983													*				
Thompson, Pauline	Burning of the First Parliament Buildings in 1907				*													
Thompson, Pauline	Carrying Corn Bags, Norfolk Island, 1989									*								
Thompson, Pauline	City Square, 1983									*								
Thompson, Pauline	Emily and Zemira by Balcony, 1986													*				
Thompson, Pauline	Emily and Zemira Looking at the Taniwha, 1994									*								
Thompson, Pauline	Girl with a Brass Frog, 1987									*								
Thompson, Pauline	Governor King's Farewell to Tuki and Huru (Panel V), 1992													*				
Thompson, Pauline	In the Sweet By-&-By, 1992									*								
Thompson, Pauline	Judgement- Panel 7, 1987									*								
Thompson, Pauline	Meeting the Enemy, 2001													*				

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Thompson, Pauline	Mother Aubert with Baby (Cleft Palette), 1986									*								
Thompson, Pauline	Norfolk Still Life, 1994									*								
Thompson, Pauline	Painting B no 3, 66., 1966					*												
Thompson, Pauline	Rangitoto View Guy Fawkes Night, 1982							*										
Thompson, Sydney L.	Lyttleton from the Bridle Path, 1937						*											
Thompson, Sydney L.	Patient Horses	*																
Thompson, Sydney L.	Study of Head in Sunlight	*																
Thompson, Sydney L.	The Crucifix					*												
Thompson, Sydney L.	The Earthenware Market, Concarneau, 1913														*			
Thompson, Sydney L.	Wellington Harbour, 1936														*			
Thorburn, Ray	Edge and Surface, 1975-6							*										
Thorburn, Ray	Modular 12, series 2		*															
Thorburn, Ray	Modular Series II, 1970				*													
Thorburn, Ray	P. H. & D.- 4, 1984				*													
Thornley, Geoff	"edgings and inchings of final form" No. 16, 1999													*				
Thornley, Geoff	Alba Series, 1984													*				
Thornley, Geoff	Albus 13		*															
Thornley, Geoff	Cherry Albus, 1974												*					
Thornley, Geoff	Construction No. 5, 1982				*													
Thornley, Geoff	Day/Sequence, 1989								*									
Thornley, Geoff	Grey/Albus No. 3, 1974														*			
Thornley, Geoff	Inchings and Edgings of Final Form, No. 11, 1999														*			

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Thornley, Geoff	Naming the Site No. 5, 1998													*				
Thornley, Geoff	Ocean-Within, 1967						*											
Thornley, Geoff	Serrations/Blue No. 9, 1992								*									
Thornley, Geoff	Stupa No. 1, 1971				*													
Thornley, Geoff	Yellow Painting No. 26, 1992								*									
Tibbo, Teuane	The Waterfall, 1968														*			
Tole, Charles	Fertilizer Works					*												
Tole, Charles	Landscape		*															
Tole, Charles	Road to the Quarry, 1969						*											
Tombs, Harry H.	The Hill Top	*																
Tomkins, Riduan	Acknowledging a Cow, 1990								*									
Tomkins, Riduan	Couples, 1995								*									
Tomkins, Riduan	Standing Figure, 1992								*									
Tootill, Jon	Fangataufa and Mururoa, 2001												*					
Tootill, Jon	Mururoa, 2001												*					
Tovey, Gordon	Winter Sun, Lake Hayes	*																
Townshend, G. K.	She Loves Me- She Loves Me Not	*																
Trethewey, William, T.	Pioneer Men in New Zealand	*																
Trethewey, William, T.	Sacrifice	*																
Trethewey, William, T.	Victory	*																
Tripe, Mary E. R.	Sir Truby King	*																
Trusttum, Philip	E. R., 1995								*									
Trusttum, Philip	Grinning Horse, 1999													*				
Trusttum, Philip	In the Garden, 1973													*				

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Trusttum, Philip	L-24 1/4", 1980-82				*													
Trusttum, Philip	Net, 1993								*									
Trusttum, Philip	Raffles' Broken Leg				*													
Trusttum, Philip	Reach, 1994												*					
Trusttum, Philip	Steam Heat, 1994/2002														*			
Trusttum, Philip	Still Life		*															
Trusttum, Philip	The White Dress, 1966						*											
Trusttum, Philip	Untitled, 1994												*					
Trusttum, Philip	Us and Them, 1993							*										
Trusttum, Philip	Waiting, 1965														*			
Trusttum, Philip	Winners, 1993								*									
Tuck, Barbara	Gamut no. III, 1991										*							
Tuck, Barbara	Interlocutory, 1994							*										
Tuck, Barbara	Letter to Vermeer, 1994										*							
Tuck, Barbara	Mantle, 1986										*							
Tuck, Barbara	Siege, 1982										*							
Tuck, Barbara	Skirt, 1987										*							
Tuck, Barbara	Stick House, 1996										*							
Tune, Geoff	Lion Rock, series 3		*															
Tune, Geoff	Thoughts on Malevich No. 4 4/84, 1984				*													
Turkington, J.	Late Afternoon, Laingholm	*																
Turner, E. J. D.	Y. H. Mills, F. R. C. S	*																
Vaikalafi Dyck, Dagmar	Lashed Canoe, 1999												*					

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Vaikalafi Dyck, Dagmar	Ngatu ae 56 & 58, 2001												*					
Vaikalafi Dyck, Dagmar	Ngatu Fragments 1, 2001												*					
van der Velden, Petrus	A Waterfall at Otira Gorge, 1891														*		*	*
van der Velden, Petrus	Dutch Funeral, 1872														*			
van der Velden, Petrus	Dutch Lady	*																
van der Velden, Petrus	Figure Sketches	*																
van der Velden, Petrus	Interior	*				*												
van der Velden, Petrus	Landscape with Figures, 1912						*											
van der Velden, Petrus	Old Jack	*													*			
van der Velden, Petrus	Otira Gorge sketch					*												
van der Velden, Petrus	Otira Gorge, 1912					*	*								*			
van der Velden, Petrus	Portrait of a Lady, 1891						*											
van der Velden, Petrus	Three figures in a landscape					*												
van der Velden, Petrus	Tree Study					*												
van der Velden, Petrus	Woman Scrubbing	*				*												

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Vilisoni, Glenda	The Immigrant, 1995														*			
von Guerard, Eugene	Lake Wakatipu with Mount Earnslaw, Middle Island, New Zealand, 1877-9														*			
von Haast, Sir John F. J.	Samuel Butler's Cottage	*																
von Tempsky, Mjr. Gustavus F.	Ambuscade in Taranaki, 1866						*								*			
von Tempsky, Mjr. Gustavus F.	An Incident During A Hauhau Rain on A Settlers Farm	*																
von Tempsky, Mjr. Gustavus F.	British Forces Surrounded by Maoris who Were Driven off with Heavy Losses, c. 1866					*									*			
von Tempsky, Mjr. Gustavus F.	British Military Encampment, 1866	*																
Waddell, Peter	Bacchanal, 1995								*									
Waddell, Peter	Fleeing the Coop, 1994								*									
Waddell, Peter	Wake of the Flood, 1995								*									
Wadham, E.	Self Portrait	*																
Wadworth, Wendy	Arsonist, 2001												*					
Wadworth, Wendy	Just in Time, 2001												*					
Waghorn, R. J.	Afterglow No 3		*															
Waghorn, R. J.	Afternoon Light, Mount Sefton	*																
Waghorn, R. J.	Firebreaks		*															
Waldrom, Gary	One-Horse Town, 1999												*					
Waldrom, Gary	Tundra Runner, 2000												*					
Walker, M.	Still Life	*																
Wallace, Harry	Stanborough Park	*																

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Wallis, Wilfred S.	Abstract composition derived from X ray plates					*												
Wallwork, Elizabeth	Laura Fox	*																
Wallwork, Richard	Flight into Egypt	*																
Wallwork, Richard	The Drover	*																
Walsh, Alfred W.	A Valley in the Seaward Kaikouras	*																
Walsh, Alfred W.	An Alpine Stream, Otira, 1905						*											
Walsh, Alfred W.	Beach, New Brighton	*																
Walsh, Alfred W.	Camping at Cave, 1894					*												
Walsh, Alfred W.	Havelock, Marlborough Sounds	*																
Walsh, Alfred W.	In the Bush, 1901						*											
Walsh, John	Tane Introduces Hine-Ahu-One to his Brothers, 2002														*			
Walters, Gordon	Blue in Yellow, 1967														*			
Walters, Gordon	Construction with Yellow, 1991								*									
Walters, Gordon	Construction with Pale Blue, 1991								*									
Walters, Gordon	Genealogy 5		*													*		*
Walters, Gordon	Hiwi, 1966				*													
Walters, Gordon	New Zealand Landscape, 1947														*			
Walters, Gordon	Painting H, 1975				*													
Walters, Gordon	Painting No. 1, 1965						*											
Walters, Gordon	Painting, 1965					*												
Walters, Gordon	Tamatea		*															
Walters, Gordon	Untitled		*															
Walters, Gordon	Untitled Gouache, 1955														*			

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Walters, Gordon	Untitled, 1990														*			
Walters, Gordon	Untitled, 1991								*									
Walters, Gordon	Untitled, 1993							*										
Ward, Johanna	Dog and Hammock, 1995												*					
Ward, Johanna	Two Pears and Jetty, 1999												*					
Warner, Eric	The Goose Saw	*																
Warr, Malcolm	Bush Pool No. 5		*															
Warr, Malcolm	Flax in Flower, 2001												*					
Warr, Malcolm	Metamorphic Landscape with Pongas		*															
Warr, Malcolm	Untitled		*															
Warr, Malcolm	Waikanae Estuary, 2001												*					
Warre, Henry J.	Mount Egmont, Taranaki, 1862					*												
Warre, Henry J.	New Zealand Bush						*											
Watkins, Denys	Bi-Lingual, 1985														*			
Watkins, Denys	Birdsong/No. 4, 2000													*				
Watkins, Denys	Charles and Ray, 1997													*				
Watkins, Denys	El Nino, 1995								*									
Watkins, Denys	El Teddy, 1995								*									
Watkins, Denys	Fire in my Wire, 1989					*												
Watkins, Denys	Hula, 1992								*									
Watkins, Denys	In the Wilderness, 1989						*											
Watkins, Denys	Summer School, 1971													*				
Watkins, Denys	The Fall of Captain Musick, 1990							*										
Watkins, Denys	The Pool at 3am, 1983				*													

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Watkins, Denys	The Salt Sea, 1988													*				
Watkins, Denys	The Voyage of Maggie Papakura, 1982				*													
Watkins, Kennett	Home of the Cormorants	*																
Wauchop, William S.	The Hurunui River Bed	*																
Webb, Melvin	Invaders of the Southern Cross, 1983				*													
Webber, G. K.	The Life Class	*																
Webber, James	Cook's Cove, Queen Charlotte's Sound	*																
Webber, James	View in Queen Charlotte's Sound, New Zealand	*																
Webber, John	Cooks Cove, 1788						*											
Weeks, Hilary	The Stones Remain- Maen Y Bardd Dolmen, North Wales, 1993							*										
Weeks, John	A New Zealand Landscape	*																
Weeks, John	A New Zealand Mountain Stream					*												
Weeks, John	Cavern														*			
Weeks, John	El Maiz, c. 1928														*			
Weeks, John	Fruit and Flowers, c. 1932						*											
Weeks, John	Limestone Gorge, King Country, c. 1943						*											
Weeks, John	Precision Carbon Holder, c. 1951						*											
Weeks, John	Still Life	*																
Welch, Nugent	Shandon Landscape	*																
Welch, Nugent	The Coming Storm	*																
Wheeler, Colin	Black Peak from near Glendhu Bay, Wanaka		*															
Wheeler, Colin	South Canterbury Woolshed		*															
White, A. L.	Persephone's Return to Demeter, 1933														*			

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
White, A. L.	War Markers	*					*											
White, Minnie	Lawyers Head, Dunedin	*																
White, Robin	Fish and Chip, Maketu, 1975																	*
White, Robin	Florence and Harbour Cone, 1975		*									*						
White, Robin	Gerry at the Paekak Pub		*															
White, Robin	House of Worship, Maketu						*											
White, Robin	Michael at Home, 1978				*													
White, Robin	Nei Tiein Goes for a Walk, 1992											*						
White, Robin	Peninsula Landscape, 1969											*						
White, Robin	Rangi ni Kangkang te Amarake/ The Food is Very Delicious, 1985											*						
White, Robin	Sam Hunt at Bottle Creek														*			
White, Robin	The Beginner's Guide to Gilbertese, 1983				*													
White, Unk	Cheer Up Ginger, The Pub's in Sight	*																
Whiting, Cliff	Nga Hau E Wha				*													
Whyte, Alice F.	Cactus	*																
Wichman, Peter	Norns, 2001												*					
Wichman, Peter	Study for Jean Genet, 2001												*					
Williams, Edward A.	The Waingongoro River, 1969						*											
Williams, Mervyn	Blue Beyond, 1993														*			
Williams, Mervyn	Distant Stars (Diptych), 1995								*									
Williams, Mervyn	Gold Ascendant, 1992							*										
Williams, Mervyn	Radiance, 1993								*									
Williams, Mervyn	Redwing, 1982				*													

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Williams, Mervyn	Study (Axial), 1994								*									
Williams, Mervyn	Untitled Study, 1984				*													
Wilson, Keith	English Girl		*															
Wilson, L. W.	First Church, Dunedin	*																
Wilson, L. W.	Lake Manapouri	*																
Wilson, L. W.	Preservation Inlet	*																
Wimperis, Frances M.	A Study	*																
Wimperis, Jenny	Dunedin From A Hill	*																
Wimperis, Jenny	Mountain and Lake	*																
Wiseman, Hilda	Magnolia	*																
Wolfe, Pamela	Full Pink Rose and Buds, 2001												*					
Wolfe, Pamela	Red Hot Pokers, 1991							*										
Wolfe, Pamela	Two Full Pink Roses, 2001												*					
Wolfgram, Glen	Assimilate, 2000												*					
Wolfgram, Glen	Dark Veneer, 2000												*					
Wong, Brent	Abandoned Settlement, 1969						*											
Wong, Brent	Cloud Bank, 1979				*													
Wong, Brent	Eternal Journey, 1976-77							*										
Wong, Brent	Tide of Change		*															
Wong, Brent	Untitled Landscape, 1979				*													
Wong, Harry	Kauri Point, 1983				*													
Wood, Agnes	Peace Bird II, Chapter 1 of 'Two Chapters', 2001												*					
Wood, Agnes	The Ecologists I, Chapter I of 'Two Chapters', 2001												*					

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Woods, George	Girl Sunbathing	*																
Woollaston, M. T.	Above Wellington, 1986															*	*	
Woollaston, M. T.	After Mapua, 1934, 1994									*								
Woollaston, M. T.	Bayly's Hill, 1962					*					*							
Woollaston, M. T.	Charles Brasch from Memory, 1938-9										*							
Woollaston, M. T.	Farm Sheds and Church		*															
Woollaston, M. T.	Figures from Life, 1936														*			
Woollaston, M. T.	Greymouth Tower, 1955										*							
Woollaston, M. T.	Harmonium Player	*																
Woollaston, M. T.	Insert in Straw Hat, 1973										*							
Woollaston, M. T.	Joe Woollaston, 1955									*								
Woollaston, M. T.	Landscape with Fire, c. 1960						*											
Woollaston, M. T.	Mapua 1934, 1934									*								
Woollaston, M. T.	Mapua, 1970				*													
Woollaston, M. T.	Mt Arthur, Nelson, 1945										*							
Woollaston, M. T.	Nelson Landscape, c. 1948									*								
Woollaston, M. T.	Pah Hill		*															
Woollaston, M. T.	Path Hill with Crescent Moon, 1993							*										
Woollaston, M. T.	Portrait of Artists Wife, c. 1937					*	*											
Woollaston, M. T.	Portrait of Gregory Lucas		*															
Woollaston, M. T.	Rangitoto, 1995										*							
Woollaston, M. T.	Ready for Scorpio, 1986										*							
Woollaston, M. T.	Riwaka Wharf and White Heron, 1973					*												
Woollaston, M. T.	Seated Woman with Landscape, 1954/5									*								

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Woollaston, M. T.	Self Portrait, 1976										*							
Woollaston, M. T.	Spring, Auckland, 1989									*								
Woollaston, M. T.	Sunset, Grey River, 1955					*												
Woollaston, M. T.	Taranaki, 1963										*							
Woollaston, M. T.	Taranaki, 1965														*			
Woollaston, M. T.	The Artists House in Mapua, c1939					*												
Woollaston, M. T.	The Buchan Family, 1963					*												
Woollaston, M. T.	The Grey River and mountains, 1960					*												
Woollaston, M. T.	Untitled (possibly Lewis Pass), 1966									*								
Woollaston, M. T.	Wellington, 1937						*											
Worrall, Michael	Within Without		*															
Worsley, Charles N.	Bern	*																
Wright, Frank	After a Summer Storm	*																
Wright, Frank	Pen Drawing	*																
Wright, Frank	The Closing Day of 1909						*											
Wright, Walter	A Native Gathering	*				*									*			
Wright, Walter	The Burning of the "Boyd" in Whangaroa Harbour, 1908						*											
Wright, William H.	Bishop Pompallier	*																
Wright, William H.	My Wife	*																
Zusters, Jane	A Back View V, 1993								*									
Zusters, Jane	For Fernando Pereira, 1985														*			
Zusters, Jane	Handstand, 1983				*													
Zusters, Jane	Here-After III, 1990								*									

Artist	Work	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
Zusters, Jane	Promise Land No 7, 1993							*										
Zusters, Jane	Regional Icons Revisited, 1994								*									
Zusters, Jane	Triptych, 1987						*											
Zusters, Jane	Tear Away (Self Portrait), 2000												*					

Appendix B: Schedule of paintings included two or more anthologies

Key:

- **Bold** titles: paintings that have New Zealand placenames in their title
- *Italicised* titles: titles that include descriptive words specific to New Zealand
- Underlined titles: paintings that include imagery specifically indicative of a romanticized Maori pre-colonial New Zealand

Work	Artist	Number of Occurrences
Taranaki, 1931	Perkins, Christopher	4
<u>Spoils of the Victor</u>	Steele, Louis J	4
The White Terrace	Blomfield, Charles	3
The Milford Sound, looking North-West from Freshwater	Buchanan, J	3
<i>The Wounded Chief Hongi</i>	Earle, Augustus	3
Watching For Buller, 1993	Hammond, Bill	3
The Marne Valley	Haszard, Rhonda	3
<i>Kauri Forest</i>	Heaphy, Charles	3
Renaissance	Hipkins, Rolland	3
The Northland Panels, 1958	McCahon, Colin	3
Self Portrait	McIntyre, Raymond	3
Peninsula, Winter	Nichol, Archibald F.	3
Relief Construction: Yellow and Black, 1966	Peebles, Don	3
The Reinga Falls on the Wairoa, Hawkes Bay, 1867	Richmond, James C.	3
The Environs of Auckland (Mountain Road)	Sharpe, Alfred	3
The Beach, New Plymouth, 1856	Strutt, William	3
<u>Dry September, 1949</u>	Sutton, William	3
A Waterfall at Otira Gorge, 1891	van der Velden, Petrus	3
Otira Gorge, 1912	van der Velden, Petrus	3
Genealogy 5	Walters, Gordon	3
<i>A Native Gathering</i>	Wright, Walter	3
Cass	Angus, Rita	2
Central Otago, 1940	Angus, Rita	2
Fog, Hawkes Bay, 1967	Angus, Rita	2
Portrait of Betty Curnow, 1942	Angus, Rita	2
Self Portrait, 1936-7	Angus, Rita	2
Self Portrait, 1962	Apple, Billy	2
Girl in a Blue Blouse	Arndt, Mina	2
Necessary Correction, 1994	Bambury, Stephen	2
Surfaces Will be Smooth and Bright (primary), 1990	Bambury, Stephen	2
Contemporary Garden Bird (also listed as Canterbury garden bird on frontseat site)	Binney, Don	2
<i>Pond Bird, Te Henga</i>	Binney, Don	2
Professor James Shelley	Booth, Leonard H.	2
Tussock Country, 1957	Bower, Olivia S.	2
Coat, Hat and Gloves on Bed, 1971	Clairmont, Philip	2

Work	Artist	Number of Occurrences
Fireplace, 1971	Clairmont, Philip	2
The Scarred Couch, The Auckland Experience, 1978	Clairmont, Philip	2
<i>Old Keta, 1949</i>	Clark, R.	2
On the Day of the Ceremony, 1993	Dolezel, Jenny	2
Dame Kelsey	Field, Robert N.	2
Omai, 1977	Fomison, Tony	2
Pathology, 1993	Fong, Luise	2
Big Parade (diptych), 1994	Frizzell, Dick	2
Black Geisha, 1978	Frizzell, Dick	2
Country Store, 1989	Frizzell, Dick	2
Between the Pillars-Maestoso, 1993	Gibson-Smith, Peter	2
Auckland from the Wharf	Gifford, Edward A.	2
<i>Native Council of War, 1853</i>	Gilfillan, John A.	2
Buddha, 1980	Gimblett, Max	2
Auckland, 1966	Goldberg, Suzanne	2
The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand, 1898 (Louis Steele)	Goldie, Charles F.	2
Old Wharf, Kaikoura, 1960	Gopas, Rudolf	2
New Order 29, Part II, 1963	Hanly, Patrick	2
Self Portrait, 1970	Harris, Jeffrey	2
Mount Egmont from the Southward, 1839	Heaphy, Charles	2
The Lakes, Triptych, 1965	Henderson, Louise	2
<i>Maori Woman and Child</i>	Hodgkins, Frances	2
Self Portrait: Still Life, 1941	Hodgkins, Frances	2
Gorse in Bloom	Hodgkins, Walter M.	2
The Sketching Class, 1872	Hutton, David C.	2
The School Girl, 1896	Joel, Grace	2
Collection from a Japanese Garden 1937	Killeen, Richard	2
Keri-keri Falls	Kinder, Rev. John	2
On Mercury Island, 1857	Kinder, Rev. John	2
Port Otago	le Breton, L.	2
Hawkins, c. 1933	Lovell-Smith, Rata	2
Rhythm Grid, 1976	Maddox, Allen	2
The Artist's Farm at Tamaki, c. 1865	Martin, Albin	2
On Building Bridges (triptych), 1952	McCahon, C	2
Practical Religion: The Resurrection of Lazarus showing Mount Martha, 1969-70	McCahon, C	2
Six Days in Nelson and Canterbury, 1950	McCahon, C	2
Teaching Aids No. 2, 1975	McCahon, C	2
The Angel of the Annunciation, 1947	McCahon, C	2
The King of the Jews, 1947	McCahon, C	2
The Promised Land, 1948	McCahon, C	2
The Song of the Shining Cuckoo, 1974	McCahon, C	2
Untitled Triptych	McCahon, C	2

Work	Artist	Number of Occurrences
Urewera Mural, 1975	McCahon, C	2
Victory Over Death 2, 1970	McCahon, C	2
The Old Curiosity Shop	Merton, Owen	2
Achromatic Yellow with Red, Green and Blue, 1994	Mrkusich, Milan	2
City Lights, 1955	Mrkusich, Milan	2
Emblem XVI, 1964	Mrkusich, Milan	2
Yellow Achromatic, 1992	Mrkusich, Milan	2
Wellington Harbour	Nairn, James M.	2
Wharf at Kaikoura with S. S. Wakatu, 1903	Nairn, James M.	2
F. G. Harper, Esq.	Nicoll, Archibald	2
Wellington XII, 1959	Peebles, Don	2
Frozen Flames, 1931	Perkins, Christopher	2
<i>Maori Meeting, 1932-4</i>	Perkins, Christopher	2
Mount Egmont, 1929	Richmond, Dorothy K.	2
Moeraki Boulders	Scott, John H.	2
Northland Landscape, 1957-8	Simmonds, Freda	2
Grandparents at the Door, 1969	Smither, Michael	2
Rocks with Mountain, 1968	Smither, Michael	2
The Arrival of the Maori in New Zealand, 1898 (Charles Goldie)	Steele, Louise J.	2
View of Mount Cook	Stoddart, Margaret O.	2
<u>Cemetery for Sheep</u>	Sutton, William	2
<u>Nor' Wester in the Cemetery, 1950</u>	Sutton, William	2
Threshold Painting, c. 1974	Sutton, William	2
Rozzie at Pisa, 1978	Sydney, Grahame	2
Slow Sign, 1975	Sydney, Grahame	2
Interior	van der Velden, Petrus	2
Old Jack	van der Velden, Petrus	2
Woman Scrubbing	van der Velden, Petrus	2
Ambuscade in Taranaki, 1866	von Tempsky, Mjr. Gustavus F.	2
<i>British Forces Surrounded by Maoris who Were Driven off with Heavy Losses, c. 1866</i>	von Tempsky, Mjr. Gustavus F.	2
War Markers	White, A. L.	2
Florence and Harbour Cone, 1975	White, Robin	2
Above Wellington, 1986	Woollaston, M. T.	2
Bayly's Hill, 1962	Woollaston, M. T.	2

Appendix C: Artist frequency across the 17 anthologies

Artists that featured in 11 of the 17 or 65% of all sources surveyed.

Artists	Anthologies included in
McCahon, C	Cape, P., 1979 Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; O'Brien, G., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003; Curnow W, 2006; Seifert, M., Frontseat, 2006; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Woollaston, M. T.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughy, E., Gow, J., 1997; Dunn, M., 2003; Curnow W, 2006; Seifert, M., Frontseat, 2006

Artists that featured in 10 of the 17 or 59% of all sources surveyed.

Artists	Anthologies included in
Hanly, Patrick	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughy, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Hotere, Ralph	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughy, E., Gow, J., 1997; Dunn, M., 2003; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006

Artists that feature in 9 of the 17 or 53% of all sources surveyed.

Artists	Anthologies included in
Angus, Rita	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 2003; Seifert, M., Frontseat, 2006; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Binney, Don	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006

Killeen, Richard	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003
Smither, Michael	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughy, E., Gow, J., 1997; Dunn, M., 2003; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Walters, Gordon	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003; Curnow W, 2006; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006

Artists that feature in 8 of the 17 or 47% of all sources surveyed.

Artists	Anthologies included in
Albrecht, Gretchen	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003
Brown, Nigel	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003
Clairmont, Philip	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 2003; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Ellis, Robert	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003
Fomison, Tony	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 2003; Seifert, M., Frontseat, 2006
Frizzell, Dick	Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Gimblett, Max	Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughy, E., Gow, J., 1997; Dunn, M., 2003; Curnow W, 2006; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Harris, Jeffrey	Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003; Seifert, M., Frontseat, 2006; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006

Lusk, Doris	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 2003
Mrkusich, Mian	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003
Peebles, Don	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003
Scott, Ian	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1997; Dunn, M., 2003

Artists that feature in 7 of the 17 or 41% of all sources surveyed.

Artists	Anthologies included in
Bambury, Stephen	Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1997; Dunn, M., 2003; Curnow W, 2006.
Illingworth, Michael	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; O'Brien, G., 1996
Siddell, Peter	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003
Sutton, William	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003
Trustum, Philip	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003
Watkins, Denys	Cape, P., 1980; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003

Artists that feature in 6 of the 17 or 35% of all sources surveyed.

Artists	Anthologies included in
Blair, Philippa	Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003

Drawbridge, John	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Hammond, Bill	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1997; Dunn, M., 2003; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Henderson, Louise	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 2003
Maddox, Allen	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003
Randerson, Glenda	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003
Sydney, Grahame	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Seifert, M., Frontseat, 2006; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Thornley, Geoff	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003
van der Velden, Petrus	McLintoch, A. H., 1940; Brown, G., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003; Seifert, M., Frontseat, 2006; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
White, Robin	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003; Frontseat, 2006; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Zusters, Jane	Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003

Artists that feature in 5 of the 17 or 29% of all sources surveyed.

Artists	Anthologies included in
Clark, R.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Cape, P., 1979; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Cotton, Shane	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003
Hodgkins, Frances	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003; Seifert, M., Frontseat, 2006

Kahukiwa, Robyn	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Dunn, M., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1997
Lane, Tony	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003
Mackfarlane, Quentin	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995
Moffitt, Trevor	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; O'Brien, G., 1996
Morison, Julia	Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1997; Dunn, M., 2003
Perkins, Christopher	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003; Seifert, M., Frontseat, 2006
Ritchie, Ross	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995
Shepard, Michael	Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1997
Thompson, Pauline	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Brown, W., 1995; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002

Artists that feature in 4 of the 17 or 24% of all sources surveyed.

Artists	Anthologies included in
Arndt, Mina	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Blomfield, Charles	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Buchanan, J.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Day, Melvin	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Driver, Don	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988
Earle, Augustus	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Fahey, Jacqueline	Cape, P., 1979; Brown, W., 1995; O'Brien, G., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003
Field, Robert N.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Fox, Sir William	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Fristrom, Edward	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003

Goldie, Charles F.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Gopas, Rudolf	Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Gully, John	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Hartigan, Paul	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003
Heaphy, Charles	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Hipkins, Roland	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Hodgkins, Walter M.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Hoyte, J. C.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Kinder, Rev. John	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Lee-Johnson, Eric	Cape, P., 1979; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Lovell-Smith, Rata	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Dunn, M., 2003; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
McIntyre, Raymond	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
McLeod, Robert	Cape, P., 1979; Friedlander, M., Barr, J., Barr, M., 1980; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995
McWhannell, Richard	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughy, E., Gow, J., 1997
Nairn, James M.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Nerli, G. P.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Nicoll, Archibald F.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Nisbet-Smith, Alistair	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 2003
O'Keeffe, Alfred H.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M.,

	2003
Olsen, Maria	Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 2003
Pankhurst, Alvin	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Pule, John	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003
Reynolds, John	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003
Richmond, Dorothy K.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Richmond, James C.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Robinson, Peter	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999; Dunn, M., 2003
Ross, James	Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 2003
Sharpe, Alfred	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Steele, Louise J.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Strutt, William	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Thompson, Sydney L.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
von Tempsky, Mjr. Gustavus F.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Weeks, John	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Williams, Mervyn	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003
Wong, Brent	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990; Brown, W., 1995
Wright, Walter	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003

Artists that feature in 3 of the 17 or 18% of all sources surveyed.

Artists	Anthologies included in
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Angas, George French	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Apple, Billy	Brown, W., 1995; Curnow W, 2006; Frontseat, New Zealand's Greatest Painting Poll: Works to Consider, 2006
Baloghy, George	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995 Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Bower, Olivia S.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990
Chilcott, gavin	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Caughy, E., Gow, J., 1997
Dolezel, Jenny	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003
Feu'u, Fatu	Dunn, M., 1996; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002; Dunn, M., 2003
Fong, Luise	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M.; 1996 Dunn, M., 2003
Gilfillan, John A.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Graham, David	Cape, P., 1979; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990
Haszard, Rhonda	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Dunn, M., 2003
Hutton, David C.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Isbey, Annette	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Joel, Grace	Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Lindauer, Gottfried	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Martin, Albin	Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
McCormack, Thomas A.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990
McCracken, Francis	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990
McIntyre, Mary	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996
McIntyre, Peter	Cape, P., 1979; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Merton, Owen	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990
Nicol, John	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Nigro, Jan	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990
Palmer, Stanley	Brown, W., 1995; O'Brien, G., 1996; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Papas, John	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995
Pick, Seraphine	Dunn, M., 1996; Caughy, E., Gow, J., 1997; Dunn, M., 2003
Pond-Eyley, Claudia	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996
Sherwood. Maud W.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Simmonds, Freda	Cape, P., 1979; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Stoddart, Margaret O.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990

Strathdee, Barbara	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995; O'Brien, G., 1996
Tapper, Garth	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Docking, G., 1990
Taylor, Rob	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995
Thorburn, Ray	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995
Tole, Charles	Cape, P., 1979; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990
Walsh, Alfred W.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990
White, A. L.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003

Artists that feature in 2 of the 17 or 12% of all sources surveyed.

Artists	Anthologies included in
Adsett, Sandy	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986
Allen, William Henry	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Dunn, M., 2003
Ball, Martin	Bett, E., 1986; Dunn, M., 2003
Barraud, Charles D.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Booth, Leonard H.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988
Bracey, Edward N.	Cape, P., 1979; Docking, G., 1990
Brees, Samuel C.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Brown, Helen	Cape, P., 1979; Docking, G., 1990
Buchanan, Dean	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995
Burton, Sally	Bett, E., 1986; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Cole, Ruth	Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Coley, John	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986
Crook, Gordon	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986
Cross, Mark	Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Dagley, Arthur	Cape, P., 1979; Brown, W., 1995
Dashper, Julian	Docking, G., 1990; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 2002
de Freitas, Nancy	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995
Franken, Robert	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986
Garrity, Tim	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986

Gibb, John	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Gibson-Smith, Peter	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996
Gill, Janice	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986
Goldberg, Suzanne	Cape, P., 1979; Docking, G., 1990
Hight, Michael	Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999
Hodges, William	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Hughes, Robyn	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996
Jackson, Russell	Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Karaka, Emily	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995
Kelly, A. E.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Kreisler, Tom	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986
le Breton, L.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Leenards, Gerda	Brown, W., 1995; O'Brien, G., 1996
Madden, John M.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Matchitt, Para	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986
Maughan, Karl	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 2003
McIntyre, Simon	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995
Meryon, Charles	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Muru, Selwyn	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986
Nicholas, Darcy	v; Bett, E., 1986
Nin, Buck	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986
O'Brien, George	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Olds, Paul	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Page, Evelyn	Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; Docking, G., 1990
Parker, John S.	Bett, E., 1986; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1999
Parkinson, Sydney	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Radford, Paul	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995
Rae, Jude	Brown, W., 1995; Dunn, M., 1996
Rewiri-Thorsen, Kura	Docking, G., 1990; Dunn, M., 2003
Richardson, Gwyneth	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Dunn, M., 2003

Richardson, Harry L.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Robley, Gen. Horatio G.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Scott, John H.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Shepard, Carole	Bett, E., 1986; Dunn, M., 1996
Shin, April	Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002; Dunn, M., 2003
Siddell, Sylvia	Dunn, M., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003
Stevens, Eion	Bett, E., 1986; Brown, W., 1995
Tangahoe, Hariata R.	O'Brien, G., 1996; Dunn, M., 2003
Taylor, E. M.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990
Tuck, Barbara	Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E., Gow, J., 1997
Tune, Geoff	Cape, P., 1979; Bett, E., 1986
Waghorn, R. J.	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Cape, P., 1979
Warr, Malcolm	Cape, P., 1979; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Warre, Henry J.	Brown, G. H., Keith, H., 1988; <i>Docking, G., 1990</i>
Wolfe, Pamela	Brown, W., 1995; Caughey, E. M. (Ed), 2002
Wright, Frank	New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940; Docking, G., 1990

Appendix D: Schedule of paintings by a specific artist included across the 17 anthologies

Artist	Number	Works (in chronological order)	% Total Works
Colin McCahon	34	Mapua Landscape, 1939; Mahau Sound, 1939/40; Nelson Hills, c1947; The Angel of the Annunciation, 1947; The King of the Jews, 1947; Christ as a Lamp, c. 1948; Takaka Night and Day, 1948; The Blessed Virgin compared to a jug of pure water and the Infant Jesus to a lamp, 1948; The Promised Land, 1948; The Virgin and Child Compared, 1948; Six Days in Nelson and Canterbury, 1950; On Building Bridges (triptych), 1952; Let Us Possess One World..., 1955; Kauri, 1957; Painting, 1958; The Northland Panels, 1958; Will He Save Him: from the Elias series, 1959; Landscape Series A, 1963; Waterfall with Overhanging Red Rock, 1964; Three Views of Otago, c. 1968; The Larks Song (a poem by Matire Kareama) 1969; Practical Religion: The Resurrection of Lazarus showing Mount Martha, 1969-70; Gate III, 1970; Victory Over Death 2, 1970; Through the Wall of Death, a banner, 1972; The Song of the Shining Cuckoo, 1974; A Poster for the Urewera 1975; Teaching Aids No. 2, 1975; Urewera Mural, 1975; Mondrians's Last Chrysanthemum, 1976; Jet out of Muriwai, 1978; North Otago Landscape; Untitled Triptych; Works on Paper	1.7
M. T. Woollaston	33	Mapua 1934, 1934; Figures from Life, 1936; Portrait of Artists Wife, c. 1937; Wellington, 1937; Charles Brasch from Memory, 1938-9; The Artists House in Mapua, c1939; Mt Arthur, Nelson, 1945; Nelson Landscape, c. 1948; Seated Woman with Landscape, 1954/5; Greymouth Tower, 1955; Joe Woollaston, 1955; Sunset, Grey River, 1955; Landscape with Fire, c. 1960; The Grey River and mountains, 1960; Bayly's Hill, 1962; Taranaki, 1963; The Buchan Family, 1963; Taranaki, 1965; Untitled (possibly Lewis Pass), 1966; Mapua, 1970; Insert in Straw Hat, 1973; Riwaka Wharf and White Heron, 1973; Self Portrait, 1976; Above Wellington, 1986; Ready for Scorpio, 1986; Spring, Auckland, 1989; Path Hill with Crescent Moon, 1993; After Mapua, 1934, 1994; Rangitoto, 1995; Farm Sheds and Church; Harmonium Player Pah Hill; Portrait of Gregory Lucas	1.7
Michael Smither	29	Domestic Still Life, c. 1965; St Francis Denying Temptation, 1965; Rocks with Mountain, 1968; Grandparents at the Door, 1969; Mt. Egmont, Rocks and Cows, c. 1970; Alfred Road Bridge, 1971*; Portrait of My Mother, 1972; Untitled (Taset, table and armchair), 1972; Mother Feeding Child, 1973; Gifts, 1977; Rock Painting with Grasshopper, 1978; Pohutukawa Coastal Scene, 1980; Round Rocks and Waves (New Plymouth), 1980; Harmonic Chart, 1982; Harmonic Chart, 1986; Large Still-life with Green Plastic Plate, 1993; Little Muddy Rock, 1994; Sleeping, 1994; Composite Self-portrait, 1995; In Bed, 1995; Still Life, 1995; Still Life, 1995; Woman in a Bath, 1995; Blankets on Chair, 1996; Nude on a Green Couch; Portrait of my Wife; Sarah with a Yellow Ball; The Sick Rose; Walnuts in a blue bowl	1.5

Pat Hanley	25	Showgirl: Dance before Gentleman, 1961; Stripper Before a Mirror, 1961; New Order 29, Part II, 1963; New Order 4.7. Part II, 1963; Figures in Light, 14., 1964; Figures in Light, 17., 1964; Sidhartha, 1967; "Inside" the Garden (30), 1968; The Headland, 1969; Mother and Child, 1970; Do It, 1972; Telephone Table, 1973; Brown Model, 1978; Pintado Protest, 1978; Golden Age, 1979; Golden Age, 1980; Hope Vessel Afire, 1986; Bride and Bouquet, 1990; The Bride, 1990; Bouquet for Ben, 1991; Bouquet for Women, 1991; Day Bride and Groom, 1991; Groom and Bride, 1991; Girl Asleep; New Every Morning	1.3
Richard Killeen	25	Boy Eating an Ice Cream, 1968; Man and Window Reflection, 1968; Five Men, Three Women, 1969; Untitled, 1970; Frog Shooter, 1976; Some of His Parts, 1976; Untitled, 1977; Collection from a Japanese Garden 1937, 1978; Regeneration, 1978; Black Horse, 1980; Dreamtime, 1980; Politics of Difference, 1984; Pooled Memory and Some Empty Fish, 1984; Tracing the Lines of my Face, 1985; Monkeys Revenge, 1986; Measuring Tools, 1994; Still Life, 1994; Still Life with James Joyce, 1994; Blue Vase with Octopus, 1995; Dispersal of Usual, 1995; House Dogs, 1995; See, I am still talking!, 1995; Head Clamps, 1998; Jar of Traffic, 2002; Peacock's Reason	1.3
Ralph Hotere	24	Sangro River Landscape, 1962; Black Painting- Human Rights Series, 1963; Black painting/Human rights series, 1964; Black Painting, 1969; Painting from Malady- A Poem by Bill Manhire, 1969-70; Requiem, 1973 ; Requiem, 1973/4; Godwit/Kuaka (Mural situated at Auckland Airport,) 1977; Aurora, 1980; Aurora Koputai, 1980; Untitled, 1981; Towards Aramoana, Alumin Politik, 1982; Aramoana Port Chalmers, 1983; This is a Black Union Jack, 1983; Polaris, 1984; Ulysses, 1984; Black Drop, 1985; Polaris, 1989; Untitled Drawing, 1992; Le Negro Sobre Lo Oro, 1993; Night; Window- Carey's Bay, 1995; Black Painting; Parehaka Song; Te Taepaepatanga o te Rangi	1.2
Gretchen Albrecht	21	Untitled Drawing No. 2, 1964; Drawing for Wooden Horse, 1967; Wooden Horse, 1967; Rainfall, 1971; Drift II, 1976; Whatipu- Winter, 1976; Groundwork, 1978; Steppe, 1980; Leda, 1982; Magenta/Yellow, 1982; Moonlight, 1985; Nocturne, 1989; Annunciation, 1992; Nomadic Geometries (Jupiter), 1993; Nomadic Geometries (At this Hour), 1994; Nomadic Geometries (at this hour-blue), 1994; Seven Sorrows (Loss), 1995; In Time and Measure True, 1998; Bright Mantled Ocean, 2000; Banded Orange; We See Ourselves in the Mirror	1.1
Nigel Brown	21	Driveway Painting: Raising Children, 1974; Lemon Tree Painting No. 4, 1977; The Family of the Axeman, 1977; When Various Sorrows, 1977; An Ark for Arama, No. 5, 1979; Gains and Losses A. 1979; The Yellow Christ, 1979; Our Heritage, 1987; Reading with the Sun, 1989; Hikurangi, 1992; Second Paradise: Opoutama, Tolaga Bay, 1992; A Conversation between Te Kooti and Te Whiti at Tolaga Bay, 1993; Sense of Direction (Second Version), 1993; Whanganui Triptych, 1993; A Native Discovering Cook Depressed, 1993-4; Potted History, 1994; Surviving History, 1994; Heartless Voids, 1997; I Am- The Road to Muriwai, 2000; I Am the Trees of Aotearoa, 2000; The Dog Bit	1.1

Ian Scott	20	Leapaway Girl, 1969; Early Lattice No. 3 July 1976; Lattice 45, 1978; Lattice No. 56., 1979 Lattice 58, 1979; Colour Chord No. 2 (Red-white-green), 1982; Lattice No. 91, 1982; Vermillion Light, 1984; Lattice No. 137, 1987; All Black Painting, 1990; Memory of a Night in Haast, 1990; Under Three Flags, 1990-4; House Painter, 1992; Painting Wall, 1993; Yellow Wall, 1993; Blue of Day, 2003; Golden Dreams; Lawn Lovers; The Hot Sweet Air; Watering Daylight	1.0
Dick Frizzell	19	Rasta Triptych, 1977; Black Geisha, 1978; Holy Mackarel, c. 1978; A1 King Mack, 1979; Yo Yo's Eternal Triangle, 1979; The Dancing Chicken, 1980; Good Value, 1981; Waikato Landscape, 1985; Milling, 1987; The Black Stumo, 1987; Country Store, 1989; Cleansed by the Blood of the Lamb, 1990; Grocer with Moko, 1992; Tiki with Chair Caning, 1992; Wacky Tiki, 1992; Big Parade (diptych), 1994; Fabrication IV, 1994; Stand-by, July 1994; (What I Yam), 1998	0.9
Michael Shephard	19	The Cotton Reel Tractor, 1976; Large Collar and Tie, 1979; Study after Courbets Atelier, 1980; Portrland Road Swamp, 1985; Taranaki Landscape, 1985; Still-Life for the Year of the Comet, 1986; Paspalum, 1987; Study of a Mobile, 1988; Looking for Mercer, 1990; Monuments-On Building Bridges, 1990; Monuments- One Land, One People, 1990; North Waikato Still Life, 1990; A Colonial Male's Colonial Mail, 1992/5; Excavating the Historical: Landscape with Historical Figure, 1992; Excavating the Historical: Landscape with Non-Existing Elements, 1992; View of an Ideal Town, 1992; A Memory of the Baby-boomers' Playthings, 1994; My Memories of my Mother's Memory of My Grandmother's Memories, 1994; Two Panels from Five Fiscal Envelopes (the language of colonialism), 1995	0.9
Richard McWhannell	17	King Peninsula, Tasman Bay, 1976; Face, 1978; View of Auckland, 1980; "...tails you lose" Self Portrait, 1983; Moehau: The Quiet, 1985; St John in the Desert, 1986; 3, 1989; Sniff, 1991; Pararaha, 1993; Pararaha (Squally Day), October 1993; Figure in My Room (Donogh), 1994; Head, 1994; Self Portrait, 1994; Self Portrait (As my Father), 1994; Strange Painting of a Strange Object, 1994; Nude, 1995; Peter Hawksby, 1995	0.8
Shane Cotton	17	Celestial Nets, 1991; Departure and Entombment, 1991; Brilliant View, 1992; Core, 1992; Artificial Curiosities, 1993; Needlework, 1993; A', 1994; Daze, 1994; Picture Painting, 1994; Tekau Ma Ono, 1994; Untitled, 1994; x-d, 1994; Diamond Line, 1995; Taiamai, 1996; Kenehi III, 1998; Rangiheketini (tryptych), 1998; He Pukapuka Tuatahi, 2000	0.8
Max Gimblett	16	Green/Blue Pacific, 1978; Buddha, 1980; Myth 1983-5; Temple, 1984; Buddha Amida, 1985; Sengai: Homage to Colin McCahon, 1987; The Mineral Earth, 1988/9; Opera in 28 Movements, 1989-91; Aquarius, 1990; Aperture, 1991-2; Ananda, 1992-3; Chariot, 1993; In the Void of the World, 1993; Bridge, 1994; Well, 1995/6; Current, 1999	0.8
William Sutton	16	Snow on the tops near Bealy, 1946; Dry September, 1949; Nor'Wester in the Cemetery, 1950; Pastoral, 1959; The Four Seasons, Autumn, 1968; Landscape Synthesis III, 1980; Plantation Series XVI, 1988; Plantation Series No. XVII, 1988; Canterbury Grasses; Cemetery for Sheep; Country Church, Kirwee; Landscape Elements 5; Professor Gordon Peterson; Threshold (with thanks to El Greco); Threshold 4	0.8

Pauline Thompson	16	Painting B no 3, 66., 1966; Rangitoto View Guy Fawkes Night, 1982; Auckland University Clock Tower, 1983; City Square, 1983; Emily and Zemira by Balcony, 1986; Mother Aubert with Baby (Cleft Palette), 1986; Girl with a Brass Frog, 1987; Judgment- Panel 7, 1987; Carrying Corn Bags, Norfolk Island, 1989; Governor King's Farewell to Tuki and Huru (Panel V), 1992; In the Sweet By-&-By, 1992; Albitross, Parihaka, 1994; Emily and Zemira Looking at the Taniwha, 1994; Norfolk Still Life, 1994; Meeting the Enemy, 2001; Burning of the First Parliament Buildings in 1907	0.8
Bill Hammond	15	I heat Up, I Can't Cool Down, 1985; Out in the Real World in Real Terms, 1985; Slow Game, Good Game, 1987; Bank Video, 1989; Japan, 3, 4, 5, 1992; Japan 8, 1992; Piano Forte, 1992; The Quik and the Ded, 1993; Watching for Buller, 1993; Watching for Buller III, 1993; Death Row, Auckland Islands, 1994; Walter Buller Blind, 1994; Watching for Buller (Costume Design), 1994; Twirl, 1995; Placemakers 2, 1996;	0.7
Jeffery Harris	15	The Child Mother, 1970; Self Portrait, 1970; Figure in a landscape, 1972-3; Girl, Calf and Angel, 1975; Two Women, 1975; Angel, 1977; Love's Beginning, 1978; On the Road to Golgotha, 1980; Family, 1981; Figure Near the Sea, 1985; Green and Red, 1986; Autumn, 1988; Untitled, 1995; Cross, Eye and Nails, 2000; Ring Her Name With Roses	0.7
Trevor Moffitt	15	Mackenzie Wounded (from Mackenzie Series), 1966; Miner Eating an Egg, 1967; The Miner's Family (from The Miner series), 1967; The Big Fisherman, No. 6, 1968; An Evening at Home (from Human Condition series), 1975; A Last Look Back (from My Father series), 1979; Cutting Edges, 1980; No Son of Mine Goes to University (from My Father series), 1980; 9th October 1941, Graham Fleeing into the Night Wounded, 1987; The Bull Paddock, 1990; Human Condition; The Human Condition; Mackenzie and the Judge (from Mackenzie series); Now What?; When Is He Coming to Bed?	0.7
Don Peebles	15	Abstraction, 1957; Wellington XII, 1959; Relief Construction: Yellow and Black, 1966; Painting No. 9, 1969; Untitled 2-Part painting, 1978; Untitled Relief Painting, 1979; Untitled paper relief, 1981; Otira Green, 1990; Untitled: Breen/Violet, 1991; Untitled No. Two, 1993; Untitled, One, 1994; Untitled No. One, 1994; Do it, 2000; Pier & Ocean No. 2, 2001; Relief	0.7
Peter Siddell	15	Man and Building, 1974; Corner Shops, 1980; After Breakfast, 1982; House with Trellis, 1983; Western Balcony, 1986; Two Palms, 1988; Rangitoto, 1994; Western Road, 1994; Eastern Cloud, 1995; Northern Shore, 1995; Western Cloud, 1995; Estuary, 1998; Fiord, 2000; Arno; City	0.7
Gordon Walters	15	New Zealand Landscape, 1947; Untitled Gouache, 1955; Painting, 1965; Painting No. 1, 1965; Hiwi, 1966; Blue in Yellow, 1967; Painting H, 1975; Untitled, 1990; Construction with Pale Blue, 1991; Construction with Yellow, 1991; Untitled, 1991; Untitled, 1993; Genealogy 5; Tamatea; Untitled	0.7

Robyn Kahukiwa	14	Three Kuia, 1971; Taranga, 1982; He Aha Te Mea Nui O Te Ao?, 1984; Hineteiwaiwa (One of the series entitled Nga Waka Marama), 1984; Ko Hineteiwaiwa Te Whare, 1990; Ko Hine Te Iwa Iwa, Ko Hine Korako, Ko Rona Whakamau Tai, 1992; We Listen to Our Heart Beat, 1993; He Kakano Rangatira, 1994; Karu Hama, Urukehu, Kiri Tea, Engari He Kakano Rangatira, 1994; He Taonga Tuku Iho, 1995; Nga Tipuna Ki Mua Tatou Kei Muri, 1996; Gang; The Choice; The Migration	0.7
Philip Trusstum	14	Waiting, 1965; The White Dress, 1966; In the Garden, 1973; L-24 1/4", 1980-82; Net, 1993; Us and Them, 1993; Winners, 1993; Reach, 1994; Steam Heat, 1994/2002; Untitled, 1994; E. R., 1995; Grinning Horse, 1999; Raffles' Broken Leg; Still Life	0.7
Rita Angus	13	Self Portrait, 1936-7; Head of a Maori Boy, 1938; Central Otago, 1940; Portrait of Betty Curnow, 1942; Rutu, 1950; Flood, Hawkes Bay, 1955-6; Self Portrait, 1959-60; Scrub-burning, North Hawkes Bay, 1965; Fog, Hawkes Bay, 1967; A. D. 1968, 1968; Flight, c. 1969; Cass; Sheds, Hawkes Bay;	0.7
Steven Bambury	13	Co-ordinates, Vertical Five, 1978; No. 23 (Orange/maroon), 1981-2; Site Works, 1981; Homage to Mondrian, No. 5, 1983-84; The Natural Colour of Materials must also Disappear' (Primary), 1988; Surfaces Will be Smooth and Bright (primary), 1990; Adraitia (Chakra #7), 1993; Model Painting (Advaita), 1993; Ngamotu, 1993; Ideogram, 1994-5; Necessary Correction, 1994; FVL 539, 1996; Forbidden City, 2002	0.7
Don Binney	13	Colonial Garden Bird, 1965; New Kereru at The Henga, 1966; Sun shall not burn thee by day nor moon by night, 1966; Kawaupaku, Te Henga, 1967; Tikinui Northward 1, 1980; G. VI/6-VIII-45, 1981-4; A Cape for Father Damien, 1991; G. V. /Waihi-'35, 1992; Artists Garde: Scholes Teapot, 1993; Remuera Verso Jug (I), 1995; Contemporary Garden Bird (also listed as Canterbury garden bird on frontseat site); Pond Bird, Te Henga; Te Waiti, Te Hnega	0.7
Phillipa Blair	13	Hello Yellow Blinds (diptych), 1979; A Man's House is Like a God's Temple, 1982; Morning Tipi (closed state), 1982; Glenloch Interchange, 1984; Upside Down March Heart Book, 1987; Aeroplane Angel, 1990; Jumping Jack Flash, 1990; Navigation, 1990; Cagling, 1994; Corral, 1994; Serendipity (Soundwatch), 1994; Walk with Me, 1994; El Mirador (Viewpoint), 1998	0.7
Tony Fomison	13	The Hand, 1970; Advice from Her Ancestress, 1975; Each Must Decide, 1976; That little man he's not his biggest yet.; That little man he is to bigger get., 1976; Omai, 1977; Is the Bad One Dead?, 1978; Self Portrait, 1978; Another Happy Clown, 1980; Lucifer-Evil Flower, 1980; The Man of Peace and the Man of War, 1981; Question and Answer, The Tree of Life, 1989; Christ; The Overseer	0.7
Tony Lane	13	Resurrection c. 1979; Resurrection, 1980; Beatrice and Dante, 1984; St. Francis, 1986; Votive Image: Image of Love, 1990; Water, 1990; Water, 1990; Study for a Mural: Six Veils with Portraits, 1991; Small Tree with Stigmata, 1992; Water, 1994; Three Veils, 1995; Terra Firma, 1998; Chair, 2001;	0.7

Geoff Thornley	13	Ocean-Within, 1967; Stupa No. 1, 1971; Cherry Albus, 1974; Grey/Albus No. 3, 1974; Construction No. 5, 1982; Alba Series, 1984; Day/Sequence, 1989; Serrations/Blue No. 9, 1992; Yellow Painting No. 26, 1992; Naming the Site No. 5, 1998; "edgings and inchings of final form" No. 16, 1999; Inchings and Edgings of Final Form, No. 11, 1999; Albus 13	0.7
Denys Watkins	13	Summer School, 1971; The Voyage of Maggie Papakura, 1982; The Pool at 3am, 1983; Bi-Lingual, 1985; The Salt Sea, 1988; Fire in my Wire, 1989; In the Wilderness, 1989; The Fall of Captain Musick, 1990; Hula, 1992; El Nino, 1995; El Teddy, 1995; Charles and Ray, 1997; Birdsong/No. 4, 2000	0.7
Petrus van der Velden	13	Dutch Funeral, 1872; A Waterfall at Otira Gorge, 1891; Portrait of a Lady, 1891; Landscape with Figures, 1912; Otira Gorge, 1912; Dutch Lady; Figure Sketches; Interior; Old Jack; Otira Gorge sketch; Three figures in a landscape; Tree Study; Woman Scrubbing	0.7
Julia Morison	12	Equivocation EA5, 1982; Invocation, 1984; Hermes, 1985; Somniloquist, 1987; Decan: Heartease, 1989; Eternity, 1989; Book for Micromegus, 1992; Melancholia II, 1992; Decanted, 1992-3; Codex, 1993; I,mOnOchrOmes, 1995; End to Begin, 1996	0.6
Milan Mrkusich	12	City Lights, 1955; Golden Centre Earth Emblem, 1962-3; Emblem IV: The Dividing of the Waters, 1963; Emblem XVI, 1964; Four Elements Above (Crimson), 1965; Painting Ochre, 1974; Painting Green, 1976; Segmented Arc on Black, 1982; Yellow Achromatic, 1992; Achromatic Yellow with Red, Green and Blue, 1994; Progression Achromatic, 1994; Meta Grey, Light series No. 2	0.6
James Nairn	12	Near Timaru, 1891; Hutt River, 1892; Tess, 1893; Winter Morning, Wellington Harbour, 1894; Job Mabey, 1895; Mount Victoria, 1900; Oatfields, Otago, 1901; Wharf at Kaikoura with S. S. Wakatu, 1903; Barrett Reef, Wellington; Chrysanthemum Garden; Wellington Coast; Wellington Harbour	0.6
Robert Ellis	11	Cosmopolitan City, 1965; Urban City, 1965; Motorway/City, 1969; Rakaumangamanga 8 Maehe, 1981; Te Rawhiti: Ra Tapu, 15 Aperira 1990, 1990; 22 Aperira 93 Natura Morta, 1993; Natura Morta: 5 Hepetema, 1993; Nga Taonga: 29 Thema, 1993; Nga Taonga: 8 Pepuere, 1994; Mural, situated at Auckland Airport; Te Rawhiti I	0.5
Doris Lusk	11	Tobacco Fields, Pangatotara, Nelson, 1943; Tahunanui, Nelson, 1947; The Pumping Station, 1958; Pump Station Tuam Street, 1970; Finale (Demolition Series), 1982; Tuam- Commerce (Constructed Demolition Series), 1982; Portrait of Betty Curnow, 1983; Kurow II; Kurow III; Onekaka Wharf	0.5
Jacqueline Fahey	10	Self Portrait: Artist as Warrior, c. 1957; Departure, 1985-6; In Memoriam, 1990; Sisters Communing, 1990; Me, Talking About Pompeii, 1993; Ben at French Bay/Emily at French Bay, 1994; Me, Talking About Clytaemnestra, 1994; With French Paint Use Protection, 1994; Down in Grey Lynn Park, 2002; Fraser Sees Me, I See Myself	0.5

Sir William Fox	10	In the Aglionby of Matukituki Valley, looking into the Otapawa, 1846; In the Wairarapa Valley, Wellington 1846: Mr Northwood's Station, 1846; On the Grass Plain below Lake Arthur, 1846; Teraumei or the Mangles Valley, 1846; The Mangles, Grass Valley, on the Teraumei River, 1846; Ocean Bay, 1848; New Plymouth in 1849, 1849; Camping Out, Lyttleton, 1851; Port Lyttleton Immigrants' Luggage Disembarking, 1851; Wanganui in 1857	0.5
Michael Illingworth	10	"What lies between these Fragments of Reference.", c1964; Androcles' Last Year, 1965; Painting With Rainbow, 1965; Eve Figure in Landscape with Portraits, 1966; Portrait of Alan Thornton, 1968; The Golden Kiwione, 1975; Adam and Eve; Land, Land and Island; Man and Woman Figures with Still Life of Flowers; Still Life	0.5
Rev. John Kinder	10	Freehand Map and Plan of Auckland, c. 1856; St Paul's, Auckland, 1856; On Mercury Island, 1857; Semi-Panoramic View Taken from the Master's House attached to the Church of England Grammer School, Auckland, 1858; St. Stephen's Chapel, Tauranga, c. 1861; Waikouaiti Dunedin, 1873; Te Aroha, 1891; Crater of Poerua, Pakaraka, Bay of Islands; Keri-keri Falls; Queen Charlotte Sound, Anakiwa	0.5
John Pule	10	Liku, 1989; Mafola, 1991; Many Times I Have Told You Not To Go, 1993; Moe Sleeping, 1993; Style (With Seven Moons) Fetu Mahuna, 1993; Migration, 1995; Prototypes: Sites of Old Myths, 1995; Pulenoa (triptych detail), 1995; Omi Omi, 1996; Take These With You When You Leave, 1998	0.5
Graham Sydney	10	Slow Sign, 1975; Rozzie at Pisa, 1978; Dogtrials Room, 1980; Tarras Dogtrials, 1981; Killing House, 1983; The Silent Studio, 1987; Southern Crossing, 1992; Ohau, 1994; Lake Onslow, 1997; Repaint in Bannockburn	0.5
Robin White	10	Peninsula Landscape, 1969; Fish and Chip, Maketu, 1975; Florence and Harbour Cone, 1975; Michael at Home, 1978; Rangi ni Kangkang te Amarake/ The Food is Very Delicious, 1985; The Beginner's Guide to Gilbertese, 1983; Nei Tiein Goes for a Walk, 1992; Gerry at the Paekak Pub; House of Worship, Maketu; Sam Hunt at Bottle Creek	0.5