

Reframing Transcultural Encounters: Indigenous Agency, Cartes-des-Visites, and the Colonial Gaze in Gottfried Lindauer's Portrait of *Pare Watene*.

BRIANAH LEE

Independent Researcher

Abstract

This essay reexamines Gottfried Lindauer's 1878 Portrait of *Pare Watene* as a dynamic site of transcultural encounter rather than a passive artifact of colonial ethnography. Through decolonial frameworks—Mary Louise Pratt's "contact zone" and Ariella Azoulay's "watching"—it argues that Pare Watana's image, though rooted in colonial photographic traditions such as the cartes-de-visites, embodies Māori agency and autoethnographic resistance. By analysing the interplay between Lindauer's painting, its photographic source, and possible iwi collaboration, the essay reveals how Indigenous presence and mana persist within and against colonial visual systems, reframing the work as a living taonga that demands continued critical and institutional reconsideration.

Bohemia-born Gottfried Lindauer (1839–1926) was a successful commercial portraitist who produced a significant number of Māori portraits after migrating to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1874.¹ Historically, his portraits of Māori have been claimed as examples of a romanticising, ethnographic practice typical of the late nineteenth century. However, scholarship of the last fifteen years has identified a collaborative process between Lindauer and various Māori patrons.² In contemplating this new context, recent research has challenged long-held assumptions of there being a lack of Indigenous agency within his work. This has resulted in his oeuvre being reexamined by art historians (such as Leonard Bell, Ngahiraka Mason and Zara Stanhope) as a site of transcultural encounter.

This was, however, further complicated in 2016 when research for the publication *Gottfried Lindauer: The Māori Portraits* and its corresponding exhibition at the Auckland Art Gallery confirmed that a significant number of Lindauer's portraits were painted not from life but from photographic references. Carte-de-visite photographs of Māori sitters produced by popular photographic studios, such as the Foy Brothers, were found to bear a near exact match to multiple portraits of Māori painted by Lindauer.³ Troublingly, many of these portraits were part of the Partridge collection, an assemblage of Māori portraits commissioned by Pākehā (the settler-colonial population of Aotearoa New Zealand) businessman Henry Partridge—oftentimes without the Māori sitters' knowledge. These portraits were subsequently put on display for a largely touristic Pākehā public at Partridges' private 'Lindauer Gallery', hosted in the centre of Auckland city before the collection was donated to the Auckland Art Gallery in 1915.⁴ It is within this troubling and ambiguous history that this essay will attempt to critically explore the multiplicity of transcultural readings embedded within Lindauer's portrait of *Pare Watene*, 1878 (Figure 1), of the Partridge collection.

This essay deploys decolonial methodologies to re-examine Lindauer's portrait of *Pare Watene* and its photographic source as dynamic sites of transcultural negotiation. Combining analysis of carte-de-visite economies, Pratt's "contact zone," and identifying a Māori autoethnographic practice, this essay will demonstrate how Pare's representation actively subverts current colonial framings, identifying instead a site of Indigenous agency.⁵ This is supported through the application of Ariella Azoulay's "watching," of the photograph, through which this essay will unravel the portrait's layered agencies—photographer, sitter, and object—to reveal not only ethnographic capture, but an assertion of mana that transcends the imperial shutter.⁶ This approach rejects binary notions of "authentic" versus "assimilated" representation, instead positioning these images as dynamic sites of transcultural dialogue.⁷ Ultimately, this study reframes colonial encounters as spaces of Indigenous action, asking: how does Lindauer's photographic reference in the portrait *Pare Watene* compel us to rethink Māori agency within—and against—Pākehā visual traditions?

Introducing Gottfried Lindauer

Gottfried Lindauer was born in Pilsen, Bohemia (now the Czech Republic), and trained as an academic painter in Vienna before emigrating to New Zealand in 1874. His departure from Europe likely stemmed from a desire to avoid Austrian conscription, while his choice of New Zealand may have been shaped by encounters with Māori artifacts at the 1873 Vienna World Exhibition.⁸ He would arrive in New Zealand at a time when the Māori population was in a state of decline, affected by war and disease, as well as low fertility rates.⁹ At the same time, European migration was blossoming, with thousands of Pākehā migrating each year.¹⁰ Initially planning a short stay, he settled permanently, becoming a prominent portraitist of Māori.¹¹

Lindauer's career began in Nelson, where he worked briefly as a photographer before returning to painting.¹² Known colloquially as 'the Austrian,' he was an agnostic man with a sharp business sense and a curiosity toward Māori that set him apart from British settlers. It has been argued by Leonard Bell that through his inhabiting of such a marginal position within mainstream settler society, Lindauer was able to act as a mediator between cultures, navigating the tumultuous political and social context of his time with perhaps more freedom than his British contemporaries.¹³ Lindauer considered himself as a kind of artist-ethnographer, one who sought to capture the essence of Māori culture for both a Māori and Pākehā collecting public.¹⁴ In action, this resulted in Lindauer painting portraits of Māori for both Pākehā and Māori clients, the latter beginning within the first year of his arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand—a fact that has, as claimed by Bell, been historically overlooked by scholars.¹⁵

Though Māori patronage was central to Lindauer's career, two Pākehā patrons—Walter Buller and Henry Partridge—shaped his legacy. After Lindauer's first wife's death in 1880, the artist was convinced to stay in New Zealand by his photographer friend Samuel Carnell, who introduced him to the politician, lawyer and naturalist Walter Buller.¹⁶ Buller went on to commission courtroom sketches of Māori Land Court proceedings from Lindauer, and subsequently arranged tours of his collected works, including to the 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* in London, where Lindauer's *Terewai Horomona (The Māori Poi-Dancer)* (1886, Oil on canvas | 102.5 x 82.5 cm, Royal Collection Trust, England) was gifted by Buller to the Prince of Wales.¹⁷

Henry Partridge, a British-born businessman, had the most significant impact on Lindauer's legacy. Partridge amassed Lindauer's largest collection (62 portraits, 8 Māori life scenes) and showcased his work internationally, including as representations of New Zealand at the 1904 *Louisiana Purchase Exposition*.¹⁸ Perhaps controversially, Lindauer was known to accept commissions by patrons like Partridge for copies of works he had already completed for other patrons, resulting in various versions of his paintings being available in collections worldwide.¹⁹ Supported by these patrons, Lindauer traveled widely before settling in Woodville, where he painted until his death in 1926, leaving behind a complex legacy.²⁰

Lindauer occupies a significant position in Aotearoa New Zealand's multicultural history, as the biography of both the artist and his output embody complex dynamics of transcultural encounter. Transculturalism, in this context, refers to the dynamic interactions between cultures, where ideas, practices, and perspectives are exchanged, negotiated, and transformed. Such encounters often result in composite cultural expressions, whilst also revealing the power dynamics and tensions inherent in transcultural representation.²¹ As a European migrant in Aotearoa New Zealand, Lindauer adapted his artistic training to create portraits that accurately utilised Māori iconography whilst embodying aspects of Indigenous portraiture traditions. His portraits therefore do not merely depict Māori; they become a contested space of encounter, embodying what Mary Louise Pratt terms the "contact zone."²²

Negotiating the Contact Zone: Paintings as Sites of Transcultural Exchange

The "contact zone" refers here to the space of colonial encounter in which peoples "geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations," whilst taking into consideration that these encounters usually involve "conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict."²³ In analysing portraits of Māori by Lindauer through the lens of this "contact zone", the relations between the 'colonised' and 'coloniser' can be contemplated in terms of their copresence and interaction, assessing the means in which their understanding and practices are interlocked whilst also taking into account their asymmetrical relations of power.²⁴ Such a dynamic is exemplified in the painted portrait *Pare Watene*, resulting in a multilayered, complicated artwork representative of a troubling history of both colonial violence, and Indigenous agency. It is important to note here that there remain inconsistencies within the naming tradition of Pare in regards to this portrait. The painting was titled by Lindauer as 'Pare Watene'. However, the sitter herself is believed to be Pare Watana, her descendants ascribing a misspelling on Lindauer's part to the portrait.²⁵ Thus, when referring to Pare herself, her families' spelling will be utilized, whilst the portrait-'object' will be referred to by its given title.

The 1878 portrait of Pare Watana represents the complexities of transcultural encounter that surround Lindauer. The portrait depicts a young, clearly identifiable Māori woman.²⁶ She is seated in a half-length composition, yet unlike traditional European portraiture, she faces almost directly toward the viewer, her gaze puncturing the picture plane. Made up primarily of earthy tones and with a flattening light—hallmarks of Aotearoa's natural environment—the portrait of Pare Watana showcases an early expression of what would soon become Lindauer's signature style. With the painting's background rendered as soft earth-toned shadows and light, this choice not only highlights the figure depicted, but results in the painting becoming otherwise devoid of any discernible setting. This ambiguity not only ensures that the Māori iconography visually stands

out but also elevates their significance—the lack of location presenting viewers with a lack of contextualisation beyond the figure.²⁷



Figure 1. Gottfried Lindauer, *Pare Watene*, 1878, oil on canvas, 880x708mm. Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki.

It is within this absence of visual context that the iconographic aspects of the portrait become all the more important, and contribute immensely to its role as a colonial-Indigenous “contact zone”. This is most clearly seen in Pare being dressed in traditional Māori garments and adornments, including a mere pounamu (greenstone club), a carved greenstone hei-tiki necklace, a korowai (cloak), and two huia feathers atop her head. Her distinctively long, thick dark-brown hair frames her face and upper torso, falling low past her shoulders and blending into the upper tasseled-hem of her korowai.²⁸ Pare also wears a distinguishingly Māori facial tattoo: a moko kauae. Gifted to women as a representation of their whānau (family) and leadership within their community, the tattoo symbolises to Māori Pare’s whakapapa (genealogy), status and abilities.²⁹ Etched into her chin, lips and philtrum, its dark pounamu (greenstone) shade draws the viewer’s eye from her face down through her other pounamu adornments, which sit equally across each third of the works’ composition.

These adornments hold immense cultural value within te ao Māori (the Māori world), and their depiction within the portrait speaks to a specific Māori code of iconography. The strong grip Pare has around the handle of her mere pounamu, a weapon of both ceremonial and actual violence, asserts her own strength and leadership within te ao Māori, defying European gender norms that would have restricted her to the house and home. The focal point of the portrait—her luminous hei-tiki—not only anchors the composition, but marks her status and whakapapa, in its utilisation, representational form, and materiality. The huia feathers atop her head, which are themselves symbols of earned prestige, further signify her role as rangatira (elder/leader).³⁰ Lindauer also uses a shock of red to lead the eye around these important symbols of Māori prestige.³¹ Appearing as feathers in the outer hem of Pare's korowai, as inset iris' of her hei-tiki's eyes, and as the end of her bone earring, Lindauer's portrait exemplifies a dedication to artistic practices that considers colour, composition, and visual iconography to convey specific, Māori-coded meanings about the sitter.

In presenting Pare Watana in this way, Lindauer is utilising iconography specific to te ao Māori. This appears, as stated above, through Pare's dress and adornments, but it also occurs through the utilisation of portraiture to convey symbolic codes of mana (prestige). Māori engagement with portraiture both predated and persisted beyond colonisation.³² This occurred primarily through carving, where ancestors or gods would be depicted in pou whakairo (carved wooden figure) or in poupou (carved upright panels), adorned in and around wharenui (meeting houses), the core building of any marae (community space).³³ Portraiture as a cultural custom was additionally practiced through other, non-representational means, such as through weaving, song and dance.³⁴ In participating in these practices, Māori elevated important politicians, as well as cultural and spiritual leaders, who in their own time would have conveyed their immense prestige through the use of visual codes of adornment—many of which Pare is depicted with in her own portrait. In this way, *Pare Watene* becomes more than a representation—the painting transforms into a dynamic site of cultural encounter, where Māori traditions converge and complicate the very notion of “colonial portraiture” as it has been understood in the context of 19th century New Zealand.

Transcultural adaptation such as this was often a deliberate strategy within Māori socio-political systems.³⁵ As the first Indigenous people to secure legal recognition from the British Crown—however fraught the colonial terms—Māori wielded this engagement with remarkable agency. From the earliest encounters with Pākehā, Māori selectively integrated European systems of power and prestige, transforming foreign frameworks into tools for communal and personal advancement. This included legal land ownership, leasing, trade, and the acquisition of firearms for security.³⁶ Another example is the creation of the Kīngitanga, a Māori monarchy established by select chieftains to meet, and perhaps counter, British political dominance.³⁷ That Māori actively commissioned Lindauer's portraits fits this historic narrative, additionally underscoring their conscious adaptation of European artistic traditions to their own modes of representation.³⁸ By reimagining portraiture within their own cultural context, Māori navigated colonial visual and material codes while preserving elements of their own tradition. This adaptation highlights the interplay between preservation and innovation, as Māori redefined representation in a changing world. Lindauer's *Pare Watene* therefore exemplifies through its iconography and genre the dynamics of this “contact zone”, embodying the complex negotiations of representation, power, and artistry that determined this era of encounter.³⁹

***Pare Watene* and the ‘Māori Belle’: Staged Femininity in the Colonial Frame**

Even though Indigenous agency can be read into this portrait's codes and creation, a critical tension still persists: the specter of an idealising colonial gaze. While the iconography and subject retain their Māori origins, the visual language within the portrait of *Pare Watene*—the painting's brushwork, composition, and materiality—remains firmly rooted in European traditions.⁴⁰ Though Lindauer occupied a mediating position in Aotearoa, his artistic vision none-the-less remained filtered through the lens of colonial New Zealand's European aesthetic frameworks. This duality finds particular resonance with Pare's descendants. Her great grand-nephew John McEnteer acknowledges the portrait's status as taonga (treasure) while recognising its romanticised depiction: one that transforms Pare into an archetype of Māori beauty, obscuring the colonial violence that shaped her lived reality.⁴¹ This reading of the portrait exemplifies the 'Māori Belle' trope, where Indigenous identity became aestheticised through a reductive colonial imagination.

The 'Māori Belle' was a new colonial trope emerging for Western consumption in the second half of the 19th century. This figure reflected a localised adaptation of a broader imperial motif of the eroticised Polynesian woman, whose origins date to 18th-century European encounters with Polynesia, particularly the voyages of French explorer Louis-Antoine de Bougainville.⁴² Upon reaching Tahiti in 1768, Bougainville imposed Rousseau's 'noble savage' trope onto Indigenous women, framing them as eroticised curiosities in his 1771 *Voyage autour du monde*.⁴³ His claims—that Tahitian women lived solely to "please" and owed husbands "complete submission"—crafted the myth of Tahiti as an 'Island of Love,' where "primitive" sexuality and domesticity flourished.⁴⁴

Following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi, and the destructive influx of Pākehā to Aotearoa, these reductive, stereotypical tropes of the exoticised Polynesian woman were applied to wāhine Māori (Māori women).⁴⁵ Dressed in traditional cloaks, at times revealing the bust and torso, the 'Māori Belle' was a stereotyped "beautiful" Māori woman characterised by a gentle expression, center-parted flowing hair, and an air of docile exoticism.⁴⁶ She had a strong, full figure, and warm brown skin, which was often adorned with a generalised moko kauae design: one made for European viewers, and not representative of a real figures' ancestry or achievements. The 'Māori Belle' embodied an Aotearoa-specific exoticised beauty: a colonial construct designed to satisfy Eurocentric fantasies of idealised Indigenous femininity while reinforcing hierarchies of power.

Lindauer's portrait of Pare Watana troublingly embodies elements of this idealising colonial trope: her center-parted hair cascades with studied luxuriance, while her inscrutable expression—demure yet welcoming—occupies the apex of the composition's top third. Bathed in a bold chiaroscuro that sculpts her cheekbones and lips, the technical virtuosity of Lindauer's European training commands the viewer's attention towards these stylised attributes. The full curves of her dimpled cheeks and poised-but-relaxed mouth suggest neither the tensions of her era nor the political might she wielded.⁴⁷ This deliberate deracination renders her a sanitised icon, consumable by colonial audiences, an aspect that is readable for her descendants to this day.⁴⁸

In this way, the portrait embodies a composite of meanings. Where the colonial gaze sees an idealised "Māori Belle," divorced from historical struggle, the Māori gaze may (additionally)

recognise a complex whakapapa—a taonga that asserts enduring presence despite the artist's framing. The same brushstrokes that enforce colonial nostalgia for some become, for others, evidence of cultural achievement, and perhaps even survival. In this duality, the portrait transcends a singular, imperial reading: it is both a European aesthetic object *and* representation of Māori cultural and socio-political identity—its power lying precisely in these contested interpretations. Given the evident transcultural nature of the work, an important question must be raised: Just how much agency would Pare have had in determining the means in which she was depicted?⁴⁹

Questions surrounding the portrait's commissioning add further complexity to its interpretation, reinforcing its role as a “contact zone” of transcultural exchange. This is largely due to the finding of a photograph, mass produced as a carte-de-visite by the Thames-based Foy Brothers studio, that bears an unmistakable resonance to Lindauer's portrait (Figure 2).

Frozen by the Imperial Shutter: Cartes-de-Visite as Tools of Epistemic Violence

This striking photograph (Figure 2) was confirmed in the 2010s as the primary reference for Lindauer's *Pare Watene*. When viewed side by side, the direct correspondence becomes undeniable; from Pare's facial features and moko kauae to her cloak, mere pounamu, and bone earring. Even compositional details are replicated: her form and pose, the neutral background, and her peeking right hand, all derive from the photographic original.⁵⁰ This is somewhat unsurprising, as Lindauer openly embraced photography as a tool, using an epidiascope to project and trace studio portraits onto canvas.⁵¹ Other works, such as *Heeni Hirini and child* [previously known as *Ana Rupene and child*], 1878 and *Rangi Topeora*, date unknown, similarly reproduce their photographic sources (see Figures 3a & 3b, and Figures 4a & 4b). Ignoring questions of artistic originality, what holds the critical attention of this essay is how this method entangles Lindauer's practice with the problematic legacy of colonial photography. In this way, his portraits unavoidably participate in the same visual economy that reduced living subjects to ethnographic types, and the portrait *Pare Watene* is no exception.



Figure 2. Photo of Pare Watene, by the Foy Brothers, circa 1872-1886, AAG.⁵²

The carte-de-visite photo identified as depicting Pare Watana was produced by the Foy Brothers studio between 1872-1878.⁵³ Known for portrait photographs of both Pākehā and Māori, they became so popular that by 1885 they were able to expand their business into multiple locations around the North Island.⁵⁴ Much of this popularity came from their successful utilisation of a fairly recent invention: the cartes-de-visite.⁵⁵ Originally exchanged as bourgeois calling cards, these affordable cabinet photographs evolved by the mid-19th century into popular tourist souvenirs.⁵⁶ The practice of gifting and collecting these photographs helped forge what Deborah Poole has described as “feelings of community among metropolitan bourgeoisies”—a unifying visual language of European middle- and upper-class identity that transcended geographic boundaries.⁵⁷ In this way, the cartes-de-visite represented both the visual nature of its sitter, whilst also maintaining a distinct materiality as an object.



Figure 3b: *Heeni Hirini and child* [previously known as *Ana Rupene and child*], 1878, (oil on canvas, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, gift of Mr H E Partridge, 1915).

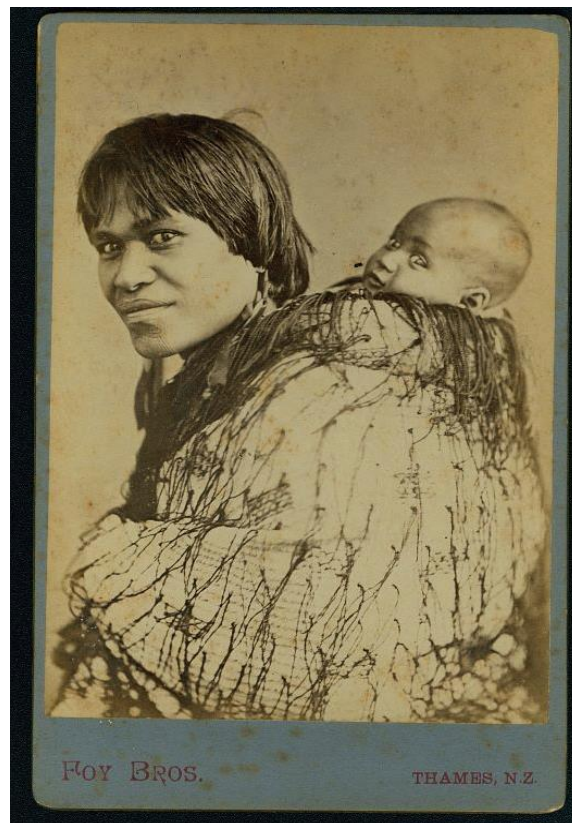


Figure 3a: *Heeni Hirini*, Foy Bros, ca. 1872-1878 (carte de visite, private collection).⁵⁸



Figure 4a: Rangi Topeora photographed by E S Richards (cropped), 1863-1875 (albumen silver photograph, 60 x 100 mm, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, purchased 1995)



Figure 4b: *Rangi Topeora*, Date unknown, (oil on canvas, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki, gift of Mr H E Partridge, 1915).

During the 1860s-1870s, as the carte-de-visite was finding its stride, European fascination with 'exotic' human types intensified, fueled by colonial expansion and the popular consumption of travel literature.⁵⁹ Poole's seminal work reveals how the confluence of photographic technology and imperial ideology enabled studios across South America to systematically stage Indigenous subjects as 'primitive' curios—transforming living individuals into collectible image-objects for commercial circulation from colonial peripheries to European metropolises.⁶⁰ Cartes-de-visite in this colonial context thus operated doubly: as both a stereotyped representation of colonised subjects and, following Poole, as nodes within networks of “accumulation, classification, and exchange.”⁶¹ Voraciously collected by Europeans, and compiled into albums that performed a kind of taxonomic violence, the history of the cartes-de-visite within a colonial context is one that actively helped to reduce living cultures to anonymised, static specimens of exotic intrigue.⁶² Just as cartes-de-visite were weaponised to classify Indigenous peoples in South America, colonial photographers in Aotearoa New Zealand deployed the medium to impose homogenising categories onto diverse iwi (tribes).

Pre-colonial Māori identity was rooted in whakapapa—a constellation of specific relationships to whenua (land) and hapū (sub-tribes/extended family). As scholars like King have argued, the pan-tribal “Māori” identity emerged only through colonial encounter, crystallising during Te Tiriti o Waitangi negotiations as a classification by colonists, and through the establishment of the Kiingitanga as a counter to British political structures.⁶³ This invented collectivity found visual expression in ethnographic cartes-de-visite photography, which Lindauer actively employed towards his own representations of Māori. The specific context in which Pare's photograph was taken must, therefore, be considered in order to contemplate the implications of colonial encounters that exist within the portrait of *Pare Watene*.

The Foy Brothers' portrait of Pare Watana exemplifies the kind of epistemic violence developed by Poole. Pare's image, like others of the period, served dual purposes: the photograph can be read as documenting an individual of rank, *and* of reinforcing the colonial fiction of a monolithic Māori people, in particular through employing the trope of the 'Māori Belle'. Where Pare might have understood herself foremost as Ngāti Maru (her iwi/tribe affiliation), the photographic apparatus recast her as a generic specimen of beautiful 'native nobility' for colonial consumption. This is exemplified not only through a visual analysis and contextualisation of the photograph of Pare, but also through a critical analysis of other photographs of Māori taken by the Foy Brothers, best exemplified through a 'specimen sheet' held as part of the Te Papa Tongarewa Collection (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Foy Brothers, Specimen Sheet, c.1878. Te Papa Tongarewa Collection.

The Foy Brothers specimen sheet is dated to 1878, and presents an accumulation of photographs of Māori taken at their Thames studio. Historians are, on the whole, uncertain as to the exact dates of each of these photographs, resulting in their general dating between 1872-1878.⁶⁴ Significantly, this is the same time frame as the photographic portrait of Pare Watana. While her portrait does not appear in this specific specimen sheet, the contemporaneous dating situates her representation within the same ethnographic paradigm as the Foy Brothers' broader collection of Māori types. This is further supported when considering the visual nature of Pare's photograph against those presented in this collection.⁶⁵

When looking at the range of photographs produced by the Foy brothers, multiple striking similarities emerge. Māori are depicted primarily in traditional korowai, adorned with hei-tiki and feathers, photographed against a plain back-drop in either half- or full-length portraits. At a glance, these could be considered representational of a diverse group of Māori sitters who have had their

individual portraits taken. However, upon close inspection, a similarity in dress and adornment becomes unavoidably clear. In particular, sitters from at least thirteen photographs are dressed in the same korowai, whilst at least four appear to be wearing the same hei-tiki. Additionally, many sitters hold a similar mere pounamu, and many are adorned with a pair of huia feathers. These similarities have been noted by other historians, who have claimed that the Foy Brothers most likely held such garments in their studio as ‘costumes’ for Māori to ‘dress up’ in.⁶⁶

The perceived staging of Māori in traditional korowai—despite their widespread adoption of Victorian dress by this period—reveals the colonial gaze structuring these photographic encounters.⁶⁷ Pivotaly, this cultural milieu also gave rise to the photographic ‘Māori Belle’ trope, and, as art historian Thode-Arora has noted, its own subgenre: photographs of young wāhine performing a hongī.⁶⁸ In performing in front of the colonial shutter, this intimate cultural practice was transformed into what Thode-Arora critiques as a “voyeuristic spectacle,” where “women [touch] closely and fondly, sanctioned by their culture”.⁶⁹ This motif in particular can be identified in photograph 22 from the specimen sheet, further highlighting the colonial gaze of ethnographic staging that structured these photos’ creation.⁷⁰

These curated performances become additionally revealing when contrasted with the rarity of Victorian-garbed Māori in the collection (appearing only in photographs 11 and 17). Such selective framing—alongside the isolated display of a carved weapon in photograph 5—exemplifies a kind of imperial archive: a system that reduces living cultures to collectible types of anonymised Indigeneity.⁷¹ Here, diverse individuals from distinct iwi and hapū are transformed into generic ‘specimens’ of colonial fantasy. Their whakapapa erased, their agency is supplanted by the power of the European “seeing-man” (to adapt Mary Louise Pratt’s concept)—that possessive colonial observer for whom these images served as both documentation and trophy.⁷²

The striking visual parallels between Pare Watana’s Foy Brothers portrait and other images in their specimen sheet reveal her inescapable entanglement with the colonial gaze. Pare’s pose, expression, and adornments mirror those of numerous other wāhine Māori (photos 2, 10, 18, 28), while her korowai and hei-tiki appear identical to recurring studio ‘props’ (seen in images 2-54 and 2-61 respectively).⁷³ This systematic repetition suggests Pare’s *photographic* portrait was produced under the same (coercive) conditions—wearing what was likely a studio-owned korowai rather than one from her own iwi, and posed to conform to the commercially lucrative ‘Māori Belle’ trope, thereby commodifying Indigeneity for the European gaze. The global circulation of her image as cartes-de-visite and cabinet cards, now housed in controversial colonial collections worldwide, confirms how thoroughly her representation was reduced to an ethnographic commodity.⁷⁴ Like the huia feathers adorning her hair, Pare’s photo became another ‘specimen’ collected by European bourgeois, its widespread reproduction enacting what Māori scholars such as Ngahua Te Awekotuku have described as a denial of the modernity Māori actively navigated in service of colonial typologies.⁷⁵ In this way, the photograph of Pare, amongst her peers, is inherently ahistorical, as well as contributive to the colonial powers that negatively impacted her own lived experience.

This clarified colonial context demands a reconsideration of Lindauer’s portrait of *Pare Watene*—particularly given his near-exact reproduction of such a photographic source. We must fundamentally ask, therefore, *how* we are to interpret and understand the painted portrait of *Pare*

Watene as it contains both realities: the colonial violence of the photographic reference, and the transcultural nature of the “contact zone” embodied within the painting. This essay will attempt to do so in this last section through considering the photographic reference through a decolonial lens, from which a multiplicity of readings can be uncovered, all of which speak to a rekindling of Indigenous agency.

Autoethnography as Resistance: Reclaiming the Indigenous Gaze

While we cannot disregard the colonial context of *Pare Watene*’s photographic source, framing the photograph through Mary Louise Pratt’s concept of the “contact zone” (as we have done for the painting) reveals its potential as a visual expression of an autoethnographic text. Autoethnographic texts, as formulated by Pratt, describe colonised subjects’ self-representational practices that strategically engage with—and respond to—the discursive frameworks imposed by colonial power, producing cultural texts that exist in critical dialogue with metropolitan modes of depiction.⁷⁶ This interpretive lens, which was originally developed for analysing Indigenous textual responses to colonialism, invites us to reconsider how Māori like Pare Watana strategically engaged with European representational systems to assert transcultural agency. Given Māori history of selectively adopting and adapting European cultural forms for communal benefit—from literacy to Land Court proceedings—we can utilise the concept of autoethnography to ‘read’ Pare’s photographic portrayal as a deliberate negotiation rather than passive submission.

While Deborah Poole’s work on the Andes emphasises Indigenous subjects’ lack of agency in their depictions, the socio-political context of Aotearoa suggests greater autonomy for Māori sitters. Given that, as previously established, Māori adopted European portraiture as transcultural practice, alongside the fact that it is known that Māori purposefully patronized Thames photographic studios during Land Court visits, we can argue that the Māori sitters seen in these Foy Brothers’ photographs likely actively engaged with said photographic portraiture.⁷⁷ These photographs should therefore not be read as *only* colonial records, but also as active assertions of Indigenous representation that blend Māori and European visual codes. In this way, the photograph becomes open to being considered an autoethnographic text.

In reading the photograph as an autoethnographic text, we can also consider its dual reception: like Pratt’s formulation, it addresses both metropolitan audiences and the sitter’s own community.⁷⁸ For Māori—whose literacy traditions were rooted in visibility—the photograph (and later painting) functioned as a composite ‘text,’ one that could transcend the studio’s colonial framing. Therefore, even if the korowai or hei-tiki were studio props, Māori sitters may have consciously engaged with their symbolic resonance, negotiating the objects’ material ‘untruth’ against the deeper cultural meaning their portrait conveyed to Māori viewers. This approach rejects binary notions of “authentic” versus “assimilated” representation, instead positioning these images as dynamic sites of transcultural dialogue.⁷⁹ By doing so, we enact a decolonial reading that restores, as John Berger observed, a “living context” to the photograph, transforming it from a static ‘arrested’ artifact into a nexus of layered histories.⁸⁰ To “watch” the living photograph this way is to perceive its multiplicities: the agency embedded in its creation, the subtexts legible to Māori communities, and the unresolved tensions of its colonial afterlife.

Such an autoethnographic reading of Pare Watana's photograph furthermore invites us to engage with Ariella Azoulay's radical methodology of “watching”—a critical practice that emancipates the image from its conventional status as a historical artifact frozen in time.⁸¹ Azoulay's framework demands we consider photography not as a static record but as a dynamic continuum of relationships and negotiations: taking into account the political tensions surrounding its commission, the social interactions during its creation, and the technological limitations that mediated its production.⁸² This approach reorients our perspective, restoring agency to the photographed subject while recognising the photograph's persistent materiality as an object that continues to generate meaning long after its initial exposure.⁸³

When we apply this method to “watch” Pare's autoethnographic photographic portrait, multiple dimensions emerge: a colonial theater in which the studio's constructed authenticity—the borrowed korowai, prescribed poses, and ethnographic framing—reveals the photograph's participation in imperial visual economies; the sitter's agency in their active negotiation of their representation, identified within contextualised codes of autoethnography; and lastly, the transnational afterlives of the cartes-de-visite reproductions of her photograph, in which the image's circulation as collectible image-object, and its eventual preservation in European museums, speak to its complex biography as both colonial commodity and enduring Māori presence.

It is because of our reading of the photograph as an autoethnographic device, which allows us to “watch” it through a critical decolonial lens, that we can reconfigure our understanding of Lindauer's painted portrait *Pare Watene*. Through taking into account these complex readings of transculturation that exist within the reference material, the “contact zone” of the painted portrait can be further critically considered as a site of Indigenous agency. This reading is further supported through a final, pivotal point of analysis: the necessary consideration of *differences* between the photograph and painting of Pare Watana. It is through this analysis that I argue for the potentiality that *Pare Watene* was created with the support of Pare or her whānau, prior to the work's ownership by Henry Partridge, and is therefore a potential, living site of Indigenous agency that goes beyond its current historical standing.

Mahi Tahi: Multiplicity of Indigenous Agency in the Contact Zone

Pare Watene ultimately transcends its photographic source through deliberate alterations that reveal complex negotiations of encounter. Lindauer's aesthetic choices—smoothing Pare's hair, symmetrically positioning the huia feathers, and idealising her features in accordance with both the 'Māori Belle' trope and European portrait conventions—demonstrate his artistic intervention and role as bicultural mediator within colonial New Zealand.⁸⁴ However, two significant deviations suggest deeper Māori participation in this painted transcultural translation, exemplified in Lindauer's specific depiction of Pare's hei-tiki and korowai.

There are important differences between the photograph and the painting. The first of which is the structure and positionality of the hei-tiki; where the photographed taonga rests horizontally (the traditional position), the painted version stands vertically with its chin reversed. This identified change holds space for a different reading, one that can imply iwi input.⁸⁵ When considering Lindauer's other portraits painted from photographic references (some from the very same studio), we primarily see a dedication to depicting the same structural nature of hei-tiki, represented in

paint the exact same way as they are depicted in their photograph. This therefore leaves the question: *why* change it in this painting? Additionally, and perhaps most significantly, there are also key differences between the korowai, occurring in Lindauer's additional detail of a feathered, outer hem. It is also from the *painted portrait* that Pare's descendants have identified a korowai and hei-tiki of their whānau taonga, connecting their real garment and pounamu to the portrait of their ancestor by Lindauer.⁸⁶ The changes identified here are therefore incredibly important, as they imply access to the *actual garments*, or at the very least precise descriptions from those who cared for them. In this way, *Pare Watene* allows for the consideration of further iwi influence than previously considered, suggesting that Lindauer had to have worked with *more* than just the Foy Brothers' photograph.

These implications carry transformative weight: should Pare's whānau have supplied reference materials—be it the original photograph, physical taonga, and/or oral accounts—the portrait additionally emerges as a complex, deliberate, and collaborative assertion of Māori self-representation. As the original photograph's provenance remains debated, its potential circulation among Pare's descendants before reaching Lindauer further underscores her whānau's potential curatorial role in controlling her legacy across mediums, which is itself also supported by the uncertainties that rest behind the working behaviour of Lindauer.⁸⁷ The painting therefore becomes a palimpsest of transcultural negotiation, where the selective incorporation of European techniques and Māori visual codes coalesce into a complex autoethnographic 'text' containing a multiplicity of readings, all of which speak to its role as a transcultural site of the "contact zone" between Māori and Pākehā.

The Portrait's Afterlives: A Research Imperative...

Lindauer's portrait of *Pare Watene* exists in tension, both a colonial artifact and a vessel of Māori agency. By "watching" its layers—the staged photograph, the painter's hand, the whānau's potential guidance—we see not a fixed image, but an ongoing encounter towards a uniquely complex transcultural living taonga. This reading challenges us to consider how Indigenous presence persists within, and despite, colonial frames, and how we might see *through* these Eurocentric confines of history. Though much remains unresolved surrounding the history of Pare, and her photographic and painted portraits, this essay has attempted to unpack the multiplicity of readings available through the application of Mary Louise Pratt's "Contact Zone" and Ariella Azoulay's "Watching" of photography. With further research, such readings will only develop our understanding of Pare Watana, the lived experiences of her iwi, and their ability to assert agency within their transcultural representations.

As a final note, this essay calls for a more comprehensive entry in the written information surrounding this painting by the Auckland Art Gallery (*Pare Watene*'s current caretaker). As it stands, the short 'object information' available speaks primarily to Lindauer's relationship with his patron Henry Partridge, and describes Pare as "... famous for her beauty. Her chiefly status is confirmed by the rare huia feathers in her hair and her mere pounamu."⁸⁸ The rest of the paragraph speaks to Partridge's championing of Lindauer, and the subsequent collection of Māori portraits Partridge was able to donate to the Auckland Art Gallery. This information undermines not only the experiences of Pare Watana, but places European men at the centre of her representation. Additionally, research for this essay uncovered a hole in research undertaken in New Zealand archives concerning the Foy Brothers, and their representation of Māori. Further archival, and

historical research is starkly needed, not only in updating entries, but providing a space in which iwi and their descendants can read such photographs as the living documents they are, identifying in them their own historic agency.



Figure 6A: Puahaere, Rangatira of Ngāti Pāoa, c. 1872-c. 1878, carte-de-visite albumen photograph, Purchased 2014 for Christchurch Art Gallery. 103 x 62mm. 2014/004.



Figure 6B: Gottfried Lindauer, *The Maori Princess' Puahaere Te Wherowhero*. (unknown date, private collection).

¹ An important note on grammar: Within te reo Māori (the language of Māori) there are no changes to words to connote plurality. Because of this, through this essay where, in English, we may use a 's to mean multiple, the syntax of Māori will be upheld, and none will be present.

² Leonardo Bell, "A Perspective from New Zealand: Lindauer's Painting in the Settler Colonial World," in *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand: The Māori Portraits*, by Gottfried Lindauer and Auckland Art Gallery, edited by Ngahiraka Mason and Zara Stanhope (Auckland University Press, 2016), 43.

³ Gottfried Lindauer and Auckland Art Gallery, *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand*, 12.

⁴ *Pare Watene* 1878 was donated to the Auckland Art Gallery as part of this collection. She was visited in 1910 by her descendant Hēmi Watana Hogg, who noted her beauty and likeness.

⁵ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (Routledge, 1992).

⁶ Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*, (Zone Books, 2022).

⁷ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 102.

⁸ Zara Stanhope and Ngahiraka Mason, "Introduction: Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand," in Gottfried Lindauer and Auckland Art Gallery, *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand*, 30.

⁹ Chanel Clarke, "Cultural Crossings: Victorian and Māori Dress in Lindauer's Portraits," in Gottfried Lindauer and Auckland Art Gallery, *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand*, 237.

¹⁰ Clarke, "Cultural Crossings", 237.

¹¹ 'The Late Mr. Lindauer,' unpublished manuscript, 12 pp, Archive of the Roman Catholic parish of Valašské Klobouky: The Czech version is also held in the same archive. This biography of Lindauer was written by his wife Rebecca and son Victor. From Stanhope and Mason, "Introduction: Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand," 15.

¹² Bell, "A Perspective from New Zealand", 39.

¹³ Ibid, 50.

¹⁴ Stanhope and Mason, "Introduction: Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand," 35.

¹⁵ As claimed by Leonardo Bell, in "A Perspective from New Zealand," 43.

¹⁶ Ngahiraka Mason, "Life and Image: The Partridge Collection," in Gottfried Lindauer and Auckland Art Gallery, *Gottfried Lindauer's New Zealand*, 55.

¹⁷ Bell, "A Perspective from New Zealand," 49 and 55.

¹⁸ Bell, "A Perspective from New Zealand," 49 and 55.

¹⁹ Mason, "Life and Image," 57.

²⁰ Bell, "A Perspective from New Zealand," 39.

²¹ See: Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, trans. Harriet de Onís (Duke University Press, 1995); Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (Routledge, 2008); Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking* (Princeton University Press, 2000); James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1997); Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, 1994).

²² Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

²³ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6.

²⁴ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

²⁵ This is however further complicated as a third name is given: Pare Whakarorangi, believed by some historians to be her married name. However, her descendants agree that she never married. These inconsistencies are part of the biography of the painting, but are beyond the scope of research for this particular essay.

²⁶ For Māori, depictions of ancestors take on personhood, much like other natural phenomena that become ancestors. In the case of this portrait, I will refer to the painted work as she/her, referencing the personhood of the work itself, and therefore respecting the cultural ties and importance she holds for her descendants.

²⁷ This composition was utilised in ethnographic photography at the time, which had a significant impact on Lindauer's painterly approach. This aspect will be discussed later in this essay.

²⁸ The korowai she is seen painted in has been cared for by her family for over 100 years, and was taken to Te Papa to be analysed some time in the 21st century. At the national museum, experts revealed that the cloak itself is evidence of such a transcultural encounter, as it was woven in a traditional way, containing these traditional meanings, but was made primarily from wool, a British import. John McEnteer, Pare's Great-grand-nephew, speaks to this in the NZonScreen documentary series 'Behind the Brush', Episode 1 (2011): <https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/behind-the-brush-episode-one-2011>.

²⁹ To learn more about moko kauae as a personal, cultural practice visit: Shepherdess.co.nz, Arpège Taratoa (Ngāi te Rangi, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngā Puhi, Ngāti Rārua) "Wearing their kauae" 13 April 2024. <https://shepherdess.co.nz/wearing-their-kauae/>. (Accessed 23 March 2025).

³⁰ Matt Rayner, *The Huia*. Tāmaki Paenga Hira. Te whakaputanga tuatahi: 13 Hōngongoi 2015. I whakahoungia: 12 Whiringa ā-rangi 2019. URL:

www.aucklandmuseum.com/discover/collections/topics/the-huia

³¹ Red (Whero) represents vitality, life force, and the blood of Ranginui (Sky Father) and Papatuanuku (Earth Mother), symbolizing the birth of a new season. During Matariki feasts and gatherings, red is often seen in ceremonial items and decorations, celebrating life, family, and the continuity of generations.

³² See: Paul Tapsell, "Service after Death: The Art of Māori Leadership in Marae Contexts", in: Erin Griffey et al., *The Power of Portraiture: Representing Leadership in New Zealand from 1840 to the Present*, exh. cat., Auckland 2008, 18-31.

³³ Roger Blackley, "Māori and Portraiture", *RIHA Journal*, 0190, 20 July 2018 and Roger Blackley, "Gottfried Lindauer: A Career in New Zealand", in: *Gottfried Lindauer: Die Māori-Portraits*, eds. Udo Kittelmann and Britta Schmitz, exh. cat., Cologne 2014, 213-217.

³⁴ Rawinia Higgins and Arini Loader, 'Traditional Māori songs – waiata tawhito', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/traditional-maori-songs-waiata-tawhito/print>. (Accessed 1 March 2025).

³⁵ This is not to undermine the coercive nature of said colonial systems, but that Māori utilised their agency and autonomy whenever possible, making conscious decisions when and when not to engage, in ways that they hoped would aid their own cultural, political, social and community survival. In this way, their actions go against historic trends where it is believed that colonised Indigenous peoples passively allowed colonial powers to 'take charge'.

³⁶ Stuart Banner, "Two Properties, One Land: Law and Space in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand," *Law & Social Inquiry* 24, no. 4 (1999): 807–52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/829147>.

³⁷ Michael King, *Māori. A Photographic and Social History*, Rev. ed. (Penguin, 1996), 73; From Hilke Thode-Arora, "The Romanticized Māori – Māori Portraits on Late 19th- and Early 20th-Century Postcards and Photographs," *RIHA Journal* 0196 (20 July 2018).

³⁸ Bell, "A Perspective from New Zealand," 43.

³⁹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 6.

⁴⁰ The fact the portrait remains part of the Auckland Art Gallery collection further speaks to this complicated history, as the painting was donated as part of Henry Partridge's collection in 1915. The (object-)biography of *Pare Watene* speaks to a history of colonial ownership, trade, and nation-building. This remains an important part of the discussion that surrounds the portrait, however, it lies beyond the scope of this essay.

⁴¹ John Sinclair, "Metro — Gallery of Ancestors: John McEnteer on the Maori Portraits." *Metromag.co.nz*, October 14, 2016. <https://www.metromag.co.nz/arts/art/gallery-of-ancestors-john-mcenteer-on-the-maori-portraits>. (Accessed 15 February 2025).

⁴² Max Quanchi, "Visual Histories: Contrasting Postcard Views of Early 20th Century French, British and Australian Colonies", in: *Photographies. New Histories, New Practices*, conference papers, Australian National University, July 2008,

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/27478261_Visual_histories_contrasting_postcard_views_of_early_20th_century_French_British_and_Australian_colonies.

⁴³ Louis de Bougainville, *A voyage round the world : performed by order of His Most Christian Majesty, in the years 1766, 1767, 1768, and 1769*, trans. John Reinhold Forster (Nourse and Davies, 1772).

⁴⁴ By the late 19th century, this fiction was reinforced by pseudoscientific theories of tropical women's 'biological' docility, contrasting the metropolitan 'New Woman.' Such exoticism saturated European visual culture, evident in the orientalist works of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780-1867) and Paul Gauguin (1848-1903), who perpetuated the trope of Polynesian women as classically beautiful yet inherently submissive. de Bougainville, *A voyage round the world*.

⁴⁵ Here, both 'Te Tiriti o Waitangi' and 'The Treaty of Waitangi' are used as there are contentious differences between both documents, resulting in their being viewed as two separate entities. Additionally, under United Nations 'Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People,' (2018), the Indigenous language version of any treaty must be the one recognised.

⁴⁶ Thode-Arora, "The Romanticized Māori".

⁴⁷ Manatū Wāhine Ministry for Women. "Wāhine Māori," 2019. <https://www.women.govt.nz/wahine-maori>. (Accessed 28 March 2025).

⁴⁸ Frustratingly, the written text that surrounds Pare and her portrait continues this narrative. Her write-up at AAG (and others) speaks only to her known beauty, and ignores any other aspects of her life.

⁴⁹ This is also questioned given Lindauer's known working with Māori to paint their own, or ancestors portraits, as well as Lindauer being known to make copies of his own works, selling these alternative versions for collections worldwide. He has been situated at the Thames Land Court proceedings, and has strong ties to the Foy Brothers, bringing him in further opportunity for connection with Pare. From: Mason, "Life and Image," 57.

⁵⁰ Such borrowing was not, however, surprising to historians. By the early 20th century, critics of Lindauer included the merchant and book collector Alexander Turnbull, who dismissed his works as mere "coloured photographs... of little artistic value." Quoted according to Blackley, "Gottfried Lindauer. A Career in New Zealand", 216.

⁵¹ Auckland Art Gallery. "Foy Brothers," 2025. <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artist/9427/foy-brothers>. (Accessed 21 February 2025).

⁵² The fact that Pare's moko kauae is very evident in this carte-de-visite is likely due to the photographer drawing the defining lines onto the print or negative after the photograph was taken. This process speaks to the ethnographic nature of these types of photographs, and we must therefore question the accuracy of this depiction.

⁵³ The time between the establishment of their studio in Thames and the date of Lindauer's portrait.

⁵⁴ Auckland Art Gallery. "Foy Brothers," 2025. <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artist/9427/foy-brothers>. (Accessed 18 February 2025).

⁵⁵ Cartes-de-visite were small, mass-produced photographic portraits mounted on cardstock (roughly 2.5 x 4 inches), popularized in the 1860s.

⁵⁶ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity : A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton University Press, 1997), 109.

⁵⁷ Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 112.

⁵⁸ It is important to note that the process of exposing such photographs often failed to capture the marks of ta moko tattooing. Details of her moko kauae can however be seen when closely considering the original photograph.

⁵⁹ Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 119.

⁶⁰ Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 130.

⁶¹ Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 132.

⁶² Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 133.

⁶³ Michael King, *Māori. A Photographic and Social History*, 73. From Thode-Arora, "The Romanticized Māori".

⁶⁴ Multiple printed versions of many of these photographs appear as individual prints as part of collections situated both in Aotearoa and beyond. These printed ‘copies’ are often given circa dates of the 1870s, with only the National Library determining a select few photographs to be from 1874.

⁶⁵ Though the term is applicable in a technical sense to a type of photographic collection, the terminology still presents with an uncomfortable, ethnographic nature.

⁶⁶ Firm, Foy Brothers. “Foy Brothers (Thames): Puahaere Te Wherowhero with Huia Feathers in Her Hair, Thames District.” *DigitalNZ*, 1872. ndha:IE10252. (Accessed 13 March 2025).

⁶⁷ Photographs 22, 24, 55, and 63 (as catalogued) compound this ethnographic theater further: images 22/24 show wāhine performing a hongī (the ceremonial pressing of noses and sharing of breath), while 55/63 depict tāne reenacting combat with traditional weapons. For more information on Māori adoption of Victorian dress see: Clarke, “Cultural Crossing.”

⁶⁸ A hongī is the ceremonial pressing together of noses and sharing of breath. It is performed by both men and women, and is a spiritual act of connection. Thode-Arora, “The Romanticized Māori.”

⁶⁹ Jacqui Sutton Beets, who worked through the picture postcards kept in the Alexander Turnbull Library, divides postcard motifs of Māori women into the four compositional categories of the lone female (old or young) or maiden, pairs of women, mother-and-child-images and group photographs including formal portraits and representations of village life; see: Jacqui Sutton Beets, “Images of Māori Women in New Zealand Postcards”, in: *Bitter Sweet. Indigenous Women in the Pacific*, eds. Alison Jones, Phyllis Herda and Tamasailau M. Suaalii (Otago University Press, 2000), 18-24. From, Thode-Arora, “The Romanticized Māori.”

⁷⁰ The fears of the ‘new woman’ of the 19th century further compounded the desirability for exotic, ‘Māori belle’ type photography, in which European men could ‘own’ image-objects representing this idealised form of femininity.

⁷¹ See: Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (Zone Books, 2008); and Ariella Azoulay, *Potential History: Unlearning Imperialism* (Verso, 2019).

⁷² Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

⁷³ Korowai in particular: 2, 4, 10, 18, 21, 24, 44, 45, 47, 50, 51, 53, and 54. Hei-tiki in particular: 2, 10, 16, 21, 28, 37, 44 and 61. To access a higher quality photograph of this object, visit: <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/733862>.

⁷⁴ Victoria & Albert Museum. “Portrait of Pare Watene | V&A Explore the Collections.” Victoria and Albert Museum: Explore the Collections, 2025. <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1098027/portrait-of-pare-watene-photograph-foy-brothers/>.

⁷⁵ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Zed Books and University of Otago Press, 1999), 74.

⁷⁶ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

⁷⁷ Auckland Art Gallery. “Foy Brothers,” 2025. <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artist/9427/foy-brothers>. (Accessed 21 February 2025).

⁷⁸ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

⁷⁹ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 102.

⁸⁰ John Berger, *About Looking*, Writers and Readers, 1980, 57.

⁸¹ Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*, 14.

⁸² Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*.

⁸³ Reading Pare's portrait through this lens also transforms it from colonial specimen into what Azoulay would call a “civil contract”—an embodiment of Pare's legal, cultural, and socio-political stance as Māori under the civil legislature of te Tiriti, and its confounding effects towards a transcultural identity.

⁸⁴ Pare Watana is also shown in the photograph as wearing a ring on her exposed hand. This ring has been removed from the portrait by Lindauer. Questions remain as to whether this ring is on her right hand, or her left, which of course result in varied meanings. Either way, the choice to remove the ring speaks to Lindauer's aestheticising colonial gaze, in which evidence of Victorian dress has been scrubbed from her representation.

⁸⁵ See Figures 6a & 6b. There are numerous other examples available.

⁸⁶ “John McEnteer and Peter Calvert speak about Pare Watana”, published by TEACHERSNZ, recording of a public programme held as part of the Gottfried Lindauer Exhibition at AAG, 2016. Youtube.com, 2025. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mfCH0gViMXI&ab_channel=TEACHERSNZ.

⁸⁷ In particular, he was known to paint portraits of Māori commissioned by Māori, of which Pākehā such as Partridge would see, and ask for their own version. There remain multiple copies of famous Lindauer portraits of Māori, versions of which live in Marae, and many of which remain undocumented within the context of academic Art History. In this way, there remains the potentiality of a gap in the provenance of the portrait of *Pare Watene*, in that multiples may have (once) existed, or perhaps continue to exist, yet are unknown to contemporary historians.

⁸⁸ Auckland Art Gallery. “Pare Watene,” 2025. <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/294/pare-watene>. (Accessed 21 March 2025).