Dislocating William and Rau:
The Wild Man in Virtual Worlds

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Abstract

In February 2003, the University of Auckland English department's home page was headed by a curious image: a cropped and horizontally flipped low resolution reproduction of Martin Droeshout's notorious engraving of William Shakespeare for the 1623 folio of his plays.[1] The right side of his face (the left in the original) is marked by a Māori *moko* (facial tattoo). I will return to this image later.

In June 2003, a portrait of Rau, the main character of the video game *The Mark of Kri*™ accompanied an interview with Jay Beard of Sony America's San Diego Studios at ign.com.[2] Like Shakespeare's, half of his face is covered with what would in New Zealand be seen a Māori *moko*. Beard describes Rau's world as "one of barbaric disorder" and the portrait has the inscription "Rau is this bad-ass. He really is."

The images point to different contexts of appropriation (and counter-appropriation) within "virtual worlds" where the internet brings into close proximity instances taking place at great distances and following different trajectories. Alongside a meanwhile widely acceptable fashion of tattooing in many western countries, the wild man (and sometimes woman) is increasingly making a reappearance in the most advanced media systems.

Introduction

When the noble savage appeared in the writings of Rousseau and others in the 18th century, it seems as though he suddenly came onto the scene as a reaction to new experiences of colonisation and early

industrialisation. Modern society conceivably needed the contrast of its savage others to affirm the Western ego's identity. However, the European wild man, the "great absentee at the banquet of civilization" was, in Mexican scholar Roger Bartra's words (1991: 104), still vivid *within* the European imagination when Shakespeare wrote *The Tempest* in 1611, and Albrecht Dürer's earlier *Satyr's Family* (1505) depicts "an original and basic ingredient of European culture" (1994: 5).[3] Symbol of the opposition between nature and culture, between desire and reason, he was both brutal and noble, like the later savage. His expulsion from the banquet of civilisation left a gap around which a new cultural subjectivity slowly took shape (104).[4] Its contours mark out so many expulsions, but whatever was considered civilised was always "flanked by the image of the Other" (3). At times shunned, at others coveted, this image flickers throughout Western cultural production.

Thus, in Bartra's account of a 1538 celebration "in the very heart of the great city of Tenochtitlan", Mexico, there was "the marvelous spectacle of Western wild men" (1994: 1), "bearded and naked, their bodies covered with a profuse hair; and […] armed with clubs similar to those on old playing cards" (2). Clearly not a reflection of native Mexicans, these wild men represented a "stereotype rooted in twelfth-century European literature and art" (2). Civilised man, as we may understand him today, has never taken a "single step without the shadow of the wild man at his heel" (3). This wild and barbaric image has often been taken as a distorted reflection of non-Western peoples, a Eurocentric, exotic and racist rendering of those who were subjected to the colonisers' rules. However, as Bartra shows, the common image of the wild man as barbaric Other is not so much a product of colonisation but, rather, a significantly earlier European fantasy, mythically elaborating internal contradictions caused by Christian dogmas (85ff). It preceded by far the first waves of colonisation and was a potent figure – long before any significant contacts with strangers outside of European cultures.[5] The wild man and the European man are one and the same (4). Thus, the application of notions of barbarism to peoples outside of Europe presents a projection of an internal conflict onto others.[6]

The figure of the wild man "uncultured, unloved, disgraced" (Bartra, 1991: 120), in contrast to civilized man, has for centuries prepared Western man for modernity. A fringe figure until the Renaissance, he was re-discovered as a mirror image that could reflect Renaissance ideals (of solitude, a-sociality, closeness to nature) in opposition to man stuck in the bounds of feudal relationships. His image provided "impulses that might preserve them from the barbarity of the bowels of civilization" (174).

Rau isn't Māori

Seen in this light, a statement by Jeff Merghart, Lead Designer of *The Mark of Kri*, takes on a different meaning: "Rau's isn't Māori and he's not from or in New Zealand" (*Interview with Jeff Merghart. The Mark of Kri's art designer talks about inspiration, hand-animation and more*, 2002).[7]

Rau's presentation is that of an Other too strange to be on the inside of "normal" western life. His body is hairless, quite unlike the hairy European wild man with his hide like that of wolves or bears (Bartra, 1994, pp. 88ff), but his boots and 'kilt' are made from hairy hides. Like the wild man, who lived in "a relationship of coexistence or dominance" over the animals around him (96), Rau is accompanied by the

bird Kuzo, his real or imagined spirit guide. His head, the seat of thought and symbol of human difference from animals in many cultures, is only two-thirds the width of his upper arms and less than a sixth of his overall height. That he does not speak much is perhaps not only a technical aspect of the game, but also a reflection of the European wild man's condition, who "did not have language, but took words by storm in order to express the murmurings of another world, the signals that nature gave to society" (Bartra, 1994, p. 124). His words do not mean, they express. He is physical and violent.[8]

Probably not aware of the history of the European wild man's otherness, and unaware that "all our reasoning about the wildness of others is anchored by custom" (Bartra, 1994, p.173), the creators of the *Sony Playstation 2* game drew on others' traditions and resources to render wildness. Clearly, icons of Māori and Pacific cultures are specifically used to create "worlds and characters" and to achieve a visual design as unique as the "fighting mechanics" (*Interview with Jeff Merghart. The Mark of Kri's art designer talks about inspiration, hand-animation and more.*, 2002). The design is "largely Polynesian influenced with generous doses of Asian, Native American and old world Europe thrown in". Rau, the main character, is covered in "Māori-esque tattoos", and runs around "like a Polynesian Conan smacking people with sharpened bits of metal" (*The Mark of Kri. PlayStation 2*, s.a.). The game appeals to the savage lurking within Western consciousness, still ready to appear at any moment and feast on "brutal combat, taking off limbs, cutting people in half with an axe, bashing heads into walls" (*The Mark of Kri. PlayStation 2*). As an example of technical brutality, so associate producer Dan Mueller, "Rau would do a back thrust to nail the enemy in the gut while still facing his current aggressor". The designers call this the 'Bruce Lee' effect. "It helps make the user look extremely good at the game before they have even scratched the surface" (*Interview: Mark of Kri Sharpens Axe. Sony's early 2003 schedule takes shape, led by extreme cartoon violence from the States: full details inside*, 2002, 28 Nov.).

In the global commodification of indigenous cultures in the media, the projection of Western savage impulses onto an externalised Other tends to eclipse the voices of others (Bartra, 1994, p. 207). This not only reduces the potential richness that different and contrasting perspectives can offer … it may pervasively limit the choices of identification available to Māori men, as Brendan Hokowhitu argues convincingly. For "[s]uch is the power of the dominant discourse – to create the reality it represents" (2004, p. 262). The alleged violence and physicality of Māori men, and their equally alleged lack of "mental fortitude" (p. 265) has "assumed an imagined reality" through the stereotypes presented in mainstream media (p. 262).

While Rau is tattooed like Shakespeare, his tattoo is overtly representative of those features of the wild man that were expelled from European civilised life. As a reviewer reported, "anyone with tribal markings on their face is more than just a little bit bad ass, which we're sure can't help but make Rau, the game's hero, just a bit cooler than if he was lacking them" (Bishop, 2003, April 23).

The producers and designers see Rau, its main character, and his world as a "plausible fantasy", but "grounded in some form of reality" (*Interview. Jay Beard--The Mark of Kri. March 18th*, 2003).[9] From a Māori perspective, Rau's name, moko and taiaha (spear) are Māori, and real enough to be concerned about their appropriation and use. Parallel to the debate about *The Mark of Kri*, there is an ongoing debate about the tattooing (often incorrectly called "taking moko") of non-Maori. Mark at Aotearoa Café comments that the difference between "Ben Harper and even to an extent Robbie Williams" is that, at least, "they wanted to engage with Māori. At least they want to talk ... in order to participate". Unlike "Sony or Leggo who

have no response of any forward moving or engaging nature ... they do not honestly choose to honour our art..., but rather EXPLOIT and MAKE MONEY from it".[10]

The separation of culture from its material core – from the people who produce it, its conditions of production and use, the meanings associated with objects, etc. – distorts dreams of a better life into ideologies. What could otherwise be a confrontation leading to transformation turns into consumption. "Westerners with rarefied tastes" then seek unrestricted access to indigenous art forms and "amusingly costumed people" (Root, 1996, p. 33). A "nostalgia for the old ways" leads to attempts to recover lost aesthetic *styles* – not, however, the "social, political, economic, and ceremonial institutions on which the aesthetic traditions were dependent and through which meaning was achieved" (p. 33).

To do otherwise would get in the way of commodification, which Friedrich Engels called in 1884 "huckstering". When land was made "an object of huckstering – the land which is our one and all, the first condition of our existence – [it] was the last step towards making oneself an object of huckstering" (Engels, 1844). Engels foresaw an effect which Heidegger later observed in the *Gestell* (enframing).[11] The appropriation of culture, as another condition of existence, can put at risk the sense of self or identity of individuals and groups.[12] If rugby may provide scraps of positive images for Māori men, promising prestige and success in the Pākehā world,[13] would this be also true for *The Mark of Kri*? Are the effects of the huge billboards in London to announce the All Blacks' performance at the 1999 Rugby World Cup – showing a Māori man with full moko – related to those of Rau's presentation? Does the Adidas advertisement of the same time (showing a montage of the All Blacks performing a haka and a "ferocious traditional Māori warrior with full facial *moko*, dressed only in a *piupiu* (grass skirt), holding a *taiaha* (close quarter combat weapon), against a backdrop of bubbling mudpools" (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 275) trigger a similar effect to the (mis)presentation of Māori ceremonial and actual combat practices in the *Mark of Kri*? Certainly, both create myths – how much do they share and where do they part?

Identity relies on difference as much as it does on sameness. Difference is, however, what marketing and commodification both relies on and extinguishes. The wild man, the "being who sends messages", whose "interaction with the environment is pregnant with signs and meanings" and who "lives … fully integrated into the natural world of the forest" (Bartra, 1994, p. 99) cannot be allowed his difference if it disrupts the system of circulation and thus threatens to diminish profit margins.

Sameness and Difference

For the culture industries, cultural commodities are determined "by the principle of their realization as value, and not by their own specific content". As a consequence, the "entire practice of the culture industry transfers the profit motive naked onto cultural forms" (Adorno, 1967). What counts is the maximisation of profits and the relative position to competitors. Profits and competition are enormous in the area of video games: in 2001, the games industry had economically surpassed the movie industry; in 1999, "more than 215 million computer and video games were sold" which represented a "19 percent increase over 1998" and the "fourth consecutive year of double-digit growth". The "entertainment software industry accounted for $6.1 billion in 1999" (Nelson, 2001).

Heidegger's *Gestell* is an enframing system in which, "the real reveals itself as *Bestand* exclusively: the world becomes nothing but a standing reserve or source for raw materials" (Heidegger, 1977, p. 24). The original structure of things is destroyed and they are homogenised and standardised to fit into systems of calculation and exchange. Things (and people) lose their autonomy. While humans may believe that it is they who autonomously issue this challenge, they have also turned into *Bestand*, a second order resource (p. 27).

The medieval European wild man underwent successive phases of reductive domestication, ultimately to become "a heraldic device, a mere bearer of arms of hundreds of noble European families; the wild man, from representing a terrible sexual threat, became a domesticated guardian and protector of nobility" (Bartra, 1994, p. 104). Rau, as the wild man who has returned to the game console, is reduced to absolute cliché, and the "authentic and sacred Taiaha (spear) from New Zealand" is lumped together with clichés of "broadsword, bow and arrow, battle axe" (*The Mark Of Kri™ Propels Epic Action, Adventure and an Innovative Combat System onto Playstation®2 this Summer. Highly Acclaimed Title Offers a New Adventure of Discovery and Conflict*, 2002, July 30) to "lock into" and annihilate opponents. In Kingi Gilbert's words, the way the Taiaha is employed in the game is "grievous insult" to Māori who have learnt to use it "for many years under strict protocols and tradition". To use the Taiaha, and other elements of Māori culture, requires from this perspective at least "literacy and sophistication of learning in the Māori world" (The Mark of Kri on Playstation 2 - Long read, 2003).

Yet, the objects that are put to use (the present-at-hand) are what, according to Heidegger, "provides the original sense of being" (quoted in Eldred, 2001).[14] The present-at-hand of the booty of global ethnological plunder may reinforce in Western subjects the sense of entitlement Root observes to play an important role in appropriation.[15] Appropriation produces privilege, privilege legitimises appropriation. The "social, political, economic, and ceremonial institutions" that produce the difference coveted by the culture industries are often perceived as embarrassing obstacles that are best ignored.[16]

Trading the Other is, as Linda Smith (1999, p. 89) writes, the "first truly global commercial enterprise … a vast industry which is based on the positional superiority and advantages gained under imperialism. It is concerned more with ideas, language, knowledge, images, beliefs and fantasies than any other industry." With no concern for the people and horizons by which those ideas and images were brought forth, it will not, nor can it, "return the raw materials from which its products have been made".[17]

The world thus turns into a cultural supermarket providing artists or designers with material to "create" art (or artwork). Steve Dykes of Sony Computer Entertainment NZ holds that "[a]t the end of the day, video games – like movies or books – are pieces of art and the developers have licence to be creative" (Bishop, 2003, April 23). Heidegger, in contrast, argues that art has to stand in relation to the "realm that it opens up"; it has to be received by a culture as a whole (1975, p. 41).[18] Once art works are "torn out of their own native sphere", they become a matter for the "art industry" (p. 40). Trivialized art and developed technologies then follow the same imperatives; distinctions between art and technology virtually collapse. Whether or not video games count as "art" is from this perspective irrelevant. What matters is what happens in a "decisive confrontation" with the world-concealing ways of the enframing system.

Ironically, the 1966 *Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Vol. 1)* seems to illustrate Heidegger's thesis: conceding that there was once a distinctive Māori architecture and art, the author asserts that:

> … their meaning and purpose is of the past and they linger on in practice only as traditional crafts. Their motifs have been used effectively in decorative schemes but their original purpose and significance have vanished and, with them, the creative impulse. No Maori artist of stature has yet arrived. The process of integration has isolated the Maori of today from the living meaning of the arts of his forefathers, and his culture must, from now on, be one with that of his European neighbours. (Maclennan in McLintock, 1966b, p. 87)

To twist the likely intended meaning: integrationist politics have prevented a decisive confrontation with the enframing system. As a consequence, some elements of Māori art no longer stand in relation to the "realm that it opens up" (Heidegger, 1975, p. 41); are no longer received by a culture as a whole. Therefore, "torn out of their own native sphere", they become a matter for the "art industry" (p. 40).

Between the poles of liberal freedom and structuring tradition, people strive to find their own position – Westerners and non-Westerners, artists and non-artists alike.[19] In the media, the yearning for both freedom and tradition is often displaced into a mythical past. A time that precedes Western civilization.

Beyond Good and Evil – Displacement

The plot of another video game, *FABLE*, is set in a European past, complete with inns, poppy flowers and straw-covered roofs. Not an environment where most would expect tattoos to abound in many forms and shapes, but a good many characters in the screenshots wear "tribal" tattoos, some of which look vaguely Polynesian or Māori, while others may be allusions to Pict tattoos. There is an unspecific and all-covering marking of skins even on spirits, monsters, or trees … the boundaries between nature and culture seem to blur. *FABLE – What lies on the other side of good and evil?* is a game with Nietzschean overtones. In a Dionysian world of the elementary "power of Will", the limits between humans and nature are tenuous. The Fable's "gameplay" gives choice and power to the player:

> As you embark upon a route of good or evil to gain what you want, you can turn the world upside down with every act. As you learn to harness the power of Will, you can choose to perform remote acts of great savagery, or use it to help others. … You can save those in peril and aid those in need. But you are also free to be as wicked, violent and dark as you wish.

The promise of choice, and the assertion of freedom from ethical accountability, are reminiscent of the Nietzschean revaluation of all values, reformulated in "postmodern" populist strategies.

One reason why appropriation has been called theft is the lack, or manner, of consultation with the custodians of the culture concerned. Another is the financial gain obtained from it and a lack of return to the owners or creators of the material. Being given no or little compensation, and having their own protocols ignored, their representatives "by definition are treated as objectified, passive sources of inspiration rather than participants in an exchange of ideas" (Root, 1996, p. 72). No credits given.

In a climate in which everything seems equally possible, it may be challenging, more than in a morally regulated environment, to find a basis for one's own ethics as a designer or artist. If art is given the task to challenge the established and to push boundaries, then taboos are there to be broken. But whose taboos? Is there even an awareness of taboos outside of one's own horizon? Burdon registered in 1966 that Pākeha

preferred "to feel that relations between [their] own race and the Maori are on a thoroughly satisfactory basis" (Burdon in McLintock, 1966a, p. 676).

From a Māori perspective, trying to explain the issues in an online forum to a non-New Zealander, Murare says:

> For me this is not just about Bionicles, Lego, BZPower and the misuse of the reo. The large issue is the Pakeha mindset that can't seem to understand why we feel as we do, and won't just accept that it hurts us and stop doing it. For some reason Pakeha won't or can't just say "Alright, it irritates you, I don't know why, but I am sorry and I will stop". It seems that the concepts must be explained to them in ways they can understand before they will accept our views and if it can't be explained to their satisfaction then it is the dumb natives being over sensitive.[20]

Inside-Out, Outside-In: Global Wild Men and Digital Media

The unsolicited use of Māori culture in *The Mark of Kri* (and perhaps the *FABLE*) occurred from outside. Sony would not have thought about the reception of *The Mark of Kri* by Māori in New Zealand. The image of Shakespeare with a *moko* mentioned at the beginning of this paper represents an almost opposite situation: this re-working of two disparate images was designed by Kushla Parekowhai for the 2000 "Dislocating Shakespeare" conference in Auckland. It reflects not only a possible internal bi-cultural adaptation, an indigenization of English literature studies in Aotearoa/New Zealand. It was also intended to "go out into the world".

Michael Neill (2001), in his introduction to the *Shakespeare Quarterly* 2001 issue about the conference, begins with speculating that most readers would have "found themselves doing a double take when confronted by the cover illustration" (p. iii). He provides an extensive background account of the image. Shakespeare's face, which had long been commodified to be "shamelessly exploited" as a motif on T-shirts as much as "an internationally recognizable symbol of "quality" " in other contexts, underwent in Parekowhai's treatment a (another?) "systematic defacement". This "defacement" is, *pace* Neill, at the same time an "adornment" by the addition of a tattoo.[21] While Neill's account of the cover does unravel to an extent the complex layers of Parekowhai's design, it is perhaps time to turn to an article where Māori scholar Merimeri Penfold discusses her first-time translation of Shakespearean poems into Māori. The "radical adjustments produced by translation" (Neill, 2001) are almost certainly not effected only by Penfold's passion for literature, but also by an exercise to disprove a "line of thinking that Māori is a primitive language, incapable of abstract thought".[22]

Interestingly, Hokowhitu refers, like Neill and MacDonald P. Jackson, to the dramatisation of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* by Don Selwyn. In this event, Māori male actors "demonstrate the poetic, intelligent, and highly refined nature of Māori language and culture" in Shakespearian garb in Māori language (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 276). Penfold's translation and Selwyn's dramatisation provide images that can be inspirational in their very cross-cultural endeavours. They admit visibility to aspects of Māori culture that are rare. The "Dislocating Shakespeare" conference has provided, if nothing else, a stage from which other sights may be gained. There can be no easy answer to any of the many questions about appropriateness or cross-cultural interaction. At least, not as long as culture is separated from its

social, economic, and political core. But to simply withdraw, as Sony did after having been criticised for *The Mark of Kri*, won't do either, for "respect is both to show interest and to confront".[23]

Today, as the Treaty of Waitangi, as a founding tradition of New Zealand, is in jeopardy once again,[24] the respect for Māori culture as a whole has decreased – while the appetite for marketable icons, images, songs and stories is growing … in tandem with global media appetites. It is a plausible contention that an impoverishment within Western culture – only felt or actual – leads individuals to yearn for cultures painted as "exotic" or "authentic". More importantly, often, it enables capitalist enterprises to cash-crop on such yearning.[25]

In this situation, the new digital media come with a whole new set of problems and opportunities. A distinction has been made between globalisation from above and from below and, similarly, new media can pander to opposing agendas. New forms of connection via internet can be a chance to learn, the availability of images and information can lead to new forms of co-operation … but the virtual may never become actual, as long as the culture industries prefer to avoid the producers of the cultures they covet.

What seems so different and exotic may be something close. The obsession with the Other may actually veil "the presence of other voices" (Bartra, 1994, p. 207). The gulf over which me must reach may be running through our own souls. The Mexican Bartra again:

> The wild man was created to answer the questions of civilized man; to reveal to him the meaninglessness of life in the name of the cosmic unity, thereby sensitizing him to the tragic and terrible compromise brought on by his individuality and loneliness. (Bartra, 1994, p. 204)
> My hope is that, within the scope of Western man's understanding of the mythical nature of the European wild man, he shall be able to confront … history … by finally coming to terms with the fact that he might have existed otherwise with less suffering than man suffers today for having abandoned so many alternative paths ... The European wild man reminds us that we might have been something else … (p. 208).

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Notes

[1]   http://www.arts.auckland.ac.nz/eng/English Department [9.2.04].

[2]   The image has since been replaced by other, and less controversial ones.
http://ps2.ign.com/articles/365/365133p1.html?fromint=1 [03/06/2003]. ign.com is a site devoted to "games. gear. movies. music".

[3]   So that, while Caliban appears in the tempest as a deformed monster, the dangerous son of a demon and an African witch, his character seems in many ways be based on Montaigne's essay 'On the Cannibals'. However, he also refers to European myths of the "wild man". Montaigne, in his essay, adopts "a mythological tradition that discovers the latent

wildness in terms of a threat or a temptation, seized from the very core of the civilized world" (1994, p. 172). Caliban's lustful advances to Prospero's daughter threaten central civilised virtues such as temperance. This can be interpreted as a threat from without, but the European elaboration of the "wild man" in opposition to "civilized man" predated the discovery of savages elsewhere.

4   " … it is evident that it is from the gap which is left by his expulsion that models of civilized man are formed." (Bartra, 1991, p. 104).

5   The *homines agrestes* "foreshadow with astonishing clarity many of the features of primitive ethnic groups defined by modern anthropology" (Bartra, 1994, p. 85). See also (Bartra, 1997, p. 88)

6   See (Bartra, 1994, p. 85).

7   Merghart goes on to say: "so we kind of keep our ass covered that way. We apologize for any coincidences".

8   See also (Bartra, 1997, p. 282) about the wild man as "the incarnation of physical power, represented by a strong and muscular man or even, at times, by a monstrous creature" as the repressed and unconscious shadow of civilized man.

9   Compare (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 266f).

10 Mark, 03 Nov, 2003 http://www.aotearoa.maori.nz/viewtopic.php?p=6034#6034 [01 Jan, 2004].

11 He considered this huckstering "an immorality surpassed only by the immorality of selfalienation": the appropriation of land by a few equates to "the exclusion of the rest from that which is the condition of their life".

12 Hokiwhitu (2004, p. 268) holds that the "skewed success" of Māori men in sport, and particularly rugby, "has become a form of positive racism", since other avenues of achievement were systematically blocked during the process of colonisation. The colonial narrative recounted by MacLean (in Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 269) that "Māori, by their savage nature, were supposed to fight – in war or its peacetime substitute, rugby football. Neither required intellect" prevails in present day New Zealand. Rugby was the context in which *The Daily Telegraph* (London) reported in ?1888/9? that "Maoris have certainly progressed since Captain James Cook … found the finely painted and neatly tattooed ancestors of our visitors eating each other in the bush" (in Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 270).

13 (Hokowhitu, 2004, p. 274).

14 (MS: 26) "Das Gegenstandsfeld, das den ursprünglichen Seinssinn hergibt, ist das der hergestellten, umgänglich in Gebrauch genommenen Gegenstände." (The field of objects which provides the original sense of being is that of the manufactured objects that are put to use in practice.) From the 1922 manuscript of *Sein und Zeit* rediscovered Thomas Sheehan and Theodore Kisiel; published as *Phenomenological Interpretations of Aristotle (Indication of the Hermeneutic Situation)* in the Dilthey-Jahrbuch Volume 6 1989.

15 "At base, appropriation seems to involve a profound sense of entitlement on the part of the person or institution doing the appropriating, which behaves as if the desired objects or images *already* belong to it. … Appropriation reduces the living people and culture to the status of objects." (Root, 1996, p. 72).

16 Timoti Kāretu observes how every time "this country wants to make its presence noted and admired on the world platform it looks to the Maori dimension … for without that dimension this country has no distinguishing or unique identity". And yet, this is "the very sector which cries out for cultural and linguistic recognition and the right to practise both freely" (2000: 86-7). In a globalised world, the imagination of a nationally shared culture becomes a material concern: a Maori flavour can give otherwise similar products a competitive advantage. Too often, however, the "reality of the daily struggles for survival" is glossed over in representations to the outside, and a saccharine version of happy traditionalism is created that resembles "wild life and national parks … As real beings the people who produced the art are often regarded as embarrassing to the fantasy". (Mead, 1997, p. 13).

17 "European exploration and colonization of other regions … led to the rapid appropriation … of indigenous peoples' lands and natural resources. … European empires also acquired knowledge of new food plants and medicines … which made it possible to feed the growing urban concentrations of laborers needed to launch Europe's industrial revolution. As industrialization continued, European states turned to the acquisition of tribal art and the study of exotic cultures. Indigenous peoples were, in succession, despoiled of their lands, sciences, ideas, arts and cultures." (Daes, 1993, p. s16).

18 It would be too optimistic to think that this comment was made with any consideration of Indigenous cultures. However, in a similar vein, the Māori artist Sandy Adsett holds that a "Maori has an obligation to the art of his/her people." "It's the people's art. It doesn't belong to you." (*Profiles: Sandy Adsett*).

19 "By the twelfth century, medieval iconography had clearly established the stereotype of the long-haired wild man as a figure in desperate search of a link between man on the one hand and instinct, passion, and sex on the other". (Bartra, 1991, p. 89)

[20] Originally posted in BZPower forums 26/11/2002, re-posted at http://www.aotearoa.maori.nz/viewtopic.php?t=129 Wed Jan 29, 2003 12:34 pm [30.3.03]

[21] This double take evokes memories of Kant's ambivalence about the tattoos of "the New Zealanders" (1790, p. S16): "A figure could be embellished with all sorts of curlicues and light but regular lines, as the New Zealanders do with their tattoos, if only it were not the figure of a human being. And this human being might have had much more delicate features and a facial structure with a softer and more likable outline, if only he were not [meant] to represent a man, let alone a warlike one".

[22] (Jackson, 2001, p. 492). See also (Neill, 2001, p. 3-4).

[23] Marit Strømmen (Bergen) (2001) "Aesthetics and Ethics in the work of Socìetas Raffaello Sanzio - The need for a debate" Trans Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften, 9. Nr. Mai 2001, http://www.inst.at/trans/9Nr/strommen9.htm

[24] When Wi Parata brought a claim to the Supreme Court referring to the Treaty of Waitangi in 1876, Chief Justice Prendergast dismissed the Treaty as a "simple nullity". Advocates of abolishing the Treaty seem to become more, and more vocal, over the last years.

[25] "Star Wars was a smash hit, and it almost took Lego out of the red for 1999. However, although the sales for the sets were outstanding, a large number of royalties had to be paid to Lucasfilm in order to retain the licensing agreement for Star Wars. Lego now knew that bricks with a story and focus worked, but the licensing agreement with Lucasfilm kept Lego out of the black. Therefore, sometime in 1999 Lego got the idea of creating their own story. ... This saga creation would be a challenge for Lego, as they have never actually created their own story before. As 2000 approached, it began to come together. 6 heroes. An Island. Magic masks. A dangerous villain. A fight for control. Everything the typical boy likes in his toys.
The story came together and the sets were made. In January 2001, the creation known as Bionicle became a reality in Europe. ... Lego finally found another hit that would not rival any other theme in the area of actual profits."
http://bzpower.com/ref.php?ID=489 [06/11/2005]