AKUA HULU MANU THROUGH MATERIALS

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Introduction

In the Center Canoe were the busts of what we supposed were their Gods made of basket work, variously cover’d with red, black, white and yellow feathers, the Eyes represente’d by a bit of Pearl Oyster Shell with a black button, and the teeth were those of dogs, the mouth of all were strangely distorted, as well as other features. ¹

In 1779 James King, a Second Lieutenant aboard the Resolution, made this observation of Hawaiian feather gods, *akua hulu manu*. Lieutenant King’s account, like most others referring to *akua hulu manu*, provides a listing of the materials that constitute the image. After a brief introduction, the materials are abandoned in favor of discussions focusing on historic context, technique, social roles, and religious ceremony. Although these discussions are invaluable as they allow for an improved comprehension of *akua hulu manu*, they disregard a fundamental aspect of the images, the materials themselves.

In contrast to previous studies in which *akua hulu manu* facilitates a discussion of diverse topics, the following exploration will concentrate specifically on *akua hulu manu*, most especially in terms of their materials. This focus specifically on *akua hulu manu* does not remove them from their cultural framework, as the complexity and importance of the materials situates the *akua hulu manu* firmly within their relevant context. By focusing on *akua hulu manu* through their materials, one gains a deeper understanding of their many spiritual roles, since the materials of the *akua hulu manu* reinforce and amplify their numerous functions.

Each of the nineteen extant *akua hulu manu*, although physically unique, is created of the same materials. In brief, they are comprised of woven aerial roots of the ‘ie’ie (*Freycinetic arborea*) covered in a netting of *olonā* (*Touchardia latifolia*). Attached to the *olonā* are red, yellow, and black feathers. The eyes of the images are *pā* or pearl shells secured to the *olonā* with round wooden pegs that visually create pupils.

The mouths of the images are most often that of ‘disrespect’, displaying ‘*ole’ole*, an open mouth in a figure-eight formation as well as *hō‘auwae*, characterized by a jutting chin.

Within the mouths are attached the incisors of dogs. One *akua hulu manu* [fig 1] with sharks teeth is the single exception. Human hair or *lauoho* is often included in the creation of an *akua hulu manu*.

To better understand the function of *akua hulu manu* through materials, one must first situate the *akua hulu manu* within a historic succession. Genealogy becomes of primary importance, as *akua hulu manu* are genealogically oriented. They are often bequeathed based on lineage as demonstrated by an *akua hulu manu* [fig 2] passed down from Liloa to Kekuaokalani on the island of Hawai‘i. Prior to the time of Liloa, this *akua hulu manu* was identified as the *akua* Ka‘ili. By virtue of lineage, the *akua hulu manu* passed through ‘Umi, Keawenuia‘umi, Lonoikamakahiki and eventually Kalaniopu‘u as

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2 See [fig 1-19].
3 Chapter 2 is a more detailed account of materials and construction techniques.
7 It is not known whether this particular *akua hulu manu* is the one passed through the generations as it could be a replacement for an earlier *akua hulu manu*. However, *akua hulu manu* are genealogically connected, as they require lineage cooperation and associations to obtain the necessary materials for their creation and upkeep (i.e. feathers). (Kaeppler (GD) 105). Many *akua hulu manu* are not passed on through generations as they are buried with their *kahu* or caregiver (Cox, J. Halley and William H. Davenport. *Hawaiian Sculpture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1974. 89).
kahu or caregiver. During this genealogical descent, the akua hulu manu Kāʻīlī became the war god Kūkāʻilimoku, the snatcher of land. By the time Kamehameha inherited the akua hulu manu from Kalaniopuʻu who was nine generations removed from Liloa, Kūkāʻilimoku, the god of war on Hawaiʻi, was firmly established.

The descent of the akua hulu manu Kūkāʻilimoku, to Kamehameha and his nephew Kekuaokalani’s role as kahu, indicate that the path of inheritance is not necessarily direct. Kalaniopuʻu designated two heirs, as he bequeathed Kūkāʻilimoku to Kamehameha while his son, Kiwalao, became the high chief of the island. This occurrence was repeated when Kamehameha designated his son, Liholiho, as the political leader while his nephew, Kekuaokalani, became kahu of Kūkāʻilimoku.

The succession of Kūkāʻilimoku to Kamehameha marked a change in the socio-political structure. Although Kiwalao inherited the role of high chief, Kamehameha, with the assistance of Kūkāʻilimoku, elevated his own status through warfare. Kamehameha eventually overcame Kiwalao with the backing of Kūkāʻilimoku and became the supreme ruler of all the islands. His defiance of genealogical precedent marked the decline in importance of the akua hulu manu Kūkāʻilimoku, as warfare was less frequent and sorcery gained prominence. These socio-political and religious events, along with the numerical evidence of akua hulu manu collected during Captain Cook’s third voyage,

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8 The feather god Kāʻīlī was first introduced by the priest Paʻao in an early migration to Hawaiʻi. Paao is also attributed the introduction of human sacrifice and perhaps image worship (Beckwith, Martha. Hawaiian Mythology. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1976. 370).

9 Kaeppler 1982, 98.

10 Beckwith 396-7. Kūkāʻilimoku was, prior to this point, a sorcery god for Hawaiʻi Island (Kaeppler 1982, 99-100).


12 It is important to note the Kūkāʻilimoku could be ritually called into other kiʻi or images besides akua hulu manu. Other akua could also be ritually called into akua hulu manu (Kaeppler 1982, 103).

between 1778-9 (at the time of Kalaniopu'u's reign), imply that *akua hulu manu* were most prevalent prior to the rule of Kamehameha I.\textsuperscript{16}

After establishing an approximate time frame, a detailed examination of *akua hulu manu* must begin with their individual introduction. “Chapter One: The Biography of Nineteen *Akua Hulu Manu*, is an exploration of each *akua hulu manu* through both physical descriptions and historic accounts of their journey to their respective present locations. This compilation of past and present locations, although introductory in nature, is a significant account as previous published records are contradictory in terms of quantity and location, and do not examine all extant *akua hulu manu*. A primary cause of this confusion is the unfortunate lack of detailed information regarding the chronological journey of each *akua hulu manu* as well as their locale of origin within the Hawaiian Islands. Despite the unalterable voids in their genesis and chronological history, “Chapter One” as a “biography”, attempts to treat the *akua* as living entities rather than sculptural forms so as to better respect their cultural and historic roles. This avenue of exploration assists in situating the examination within a Hawaiian cultural framework. Specifically, it allows for the *akua hulu manu* to be associated with certain people/institutions who function as *kahu* or caregiver, rather than proprietor.\textsuperscript{17}

“Chapter Two: Materials and Technique”, offers a detailed account of the raw materials and construction methods utilized in the physical conception of the *akua hulu*

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\textsuperscript{14} Kaeppler 1982, 99.

\textsuperscript{15} Valeri 1985, 149.

\textsuperscript{16} Kaeppler 1982, 103. Although the expedition is commonly referred to as “Captain Cook’s third voyage”, the actual expedition was officially under the direction of Cooke, Charles Clerke (1743-79) (replaced by Captain James King 1750-84)), and John Gore (ca. 1730-90) (Kaeppler, Adrienne. “Artificial Curiosities”. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978, 11).

\textsuperscript{17} The term “*kahu*” used in contemporary reference, excludes aspects of spirituality. Museums functioning as *kahu* of *akua hulu manu* are not capable of providing adequate spiritual care for the *akua*. Instead they function only as physical *kahu* or caregivers.
The materials are discussed in both their raw and processed forms. The techniques utilized are presented descriptively and are based on the writings of Sir Peter Buck and personal observations. The terminology used in describing material techniques are presented in 'Olelo Hawai'i to heighten the indigenous understanding of the physical process through cultural designations based on the description of textile construction methods, rather than Western terminology.

“Chapter Three: Function” examines various roles and methods through which the *akua hulu manu* operate in the Hawaiian culture. These roles, beginning with the process of *ho‘omanamana* or calling the *akua* into the image, are numerous and encompass a broad range of ceremonial functions. These ceremonies include death, the physical and spiritual afterlife, seasonal rituals, religious rites, and warfare.

“Chapter Four: Function as Manifested in Materials”, explores the ways in which each material, in its raw or processed form, amplifies the ability of the *akua hulu manu* to function effectively. These materials reference inherent religious, cultural, and observational associations. Each of these references serve to enhance, through sheer presence and ideological reinforcement, the multifaceted significance and varied roles of the *akua hulu manu*.

The final chapter, “Chapter Five: Re-imaging the Image Through Kino”, deals with the historic changes in perception of the *akua hulu manu*. From pre-contact Hawai‘i to the present day, the *akua hulu manu* has undergone drastic re-imaging. These *akua*, through their physical displacement and current representation, are modified entities represented in numerous forms including photographs, postcards, and digital images on the internet. The *akua hulu manu*, after re-imaging, have altered significance as they lose
their material reference. Their material reference now becomes simply the paper and ink of copies and the pixels of a digital image. However, these re-imaged images continue to enhance the biography of their respective *akua hulu manu* that begins in the following chapter.
Chapter I
The Biography of Nineteen Akua Hulu Manu

According to written records there are nineteen extant akua hulu manu. Each has traveled a distinctive path to its present location. The following discussion includes individual physical descriptions and biographical particulars.\textsuperscript{18}

Each akua hulu manu, though comprised of the same materials, has physiognomic differences. Of these nineteen, eight have a hoaka or helmet curve made of the 'ie'ie framework. Among these eight is a single akua hulu manu that possess a double curve. Eight akua hulu manu have human hair attached to the olona (often in a manner resembling an 'oki mahiole, or a haircut leaving a central crescent, as opposed to the feather mahiole). In the case of these images 'oki mahiole occurs either through bleaching, braiding, or hair length. Of the remaining three akua hulu manu, one has a round head and two have heads whose top flattens just above the brow line.\textsuperscript{19}

The smallest of all the akua hulu manu, measuring 26.5 centimeters, is in the Fuller Collection at the Field Museum in Chicago [fig 1].\textsuperscript{20} This akua hulu manu, was among those leaving Hawai‘i on Captain Cook’s third voyage. It was housed at the Leverian Museum until A. Bates purchased it. A. Bates was a crewmember on Cook’s third voyage. The Bates family, living in Portsmouth, England, sold the akua hulu manu to A.W.F. Fuller of Chicago.\textsuperscript{21} The akua hulu manu is of the mahiole type with its head much larger in length than the neck. Red huluhulu of the ‘i‘iwi (Vestiaria coccinea) are

\textsuperscript{18} Greater detail is provided for the two akua huku manu in the care of the Bishop Museum [fig 2 & 3] as they were examined personally.
\textsuperscript{19} Mitchell 51.
\textsuperscript{21} Kaeppler 1979, 53.
the primary materials covering the olona netting. Yellow huluhulu of the ‘ō‘ō (Moho nobilis) form a band at the base of the neck and the top of the mahiole. Black huluhulu, perhaps of the mamo (Drepanis pacifica), cover the side of the crest and line the elliptical pearl shell eyes. Wooden pegs secure the shell to the olona. The mouth of the akua hulu manu is in an open ‘olē‘olē without olona to hide the support stick within the framework. The niho of this akua hulu manu are exceptional, as they are small niho manō or sharks’ teeth, as opposed to the standard dog incisors."

The akua hulu manu having the greatest body of documentation is presently in the care of Bishop Museum [fig 2]. This akua hulu manu, discussed in the introduction, passed from ‘Umī to Kekuaokalani. This akua hulu manu is Kūkā‘ilimoku or land-grabbing Kū. This akua hulu manu is best known as the akua passed from Kalani‘ōpu‘u to Kamehameha I. Upon his death, Kamehameha I bequeathed the care of Kūkā‘ilimoku to his nephew, Kekuaokalani. Sometime after Kekuaokalani’s death in 1819, the kahu of this akua hulu manu hid it in a Kona cave. The akua remained in this cave until its kahu, possibly of a succeeding generation, gave it into the care of a Protestant missionary in Hawai‘i. In 1850, the akua hulu manu was conveyed to Boston and housed in the Museum of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In 1895 Bishop Museum purchased the akua hulu manu from its former keeper. The akua hulu manu remains at present, in the care of Bishop Museum."

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The *akua hulu manu* associated with Kamehameha physically aligns with the grouping of eight containing the framework-based *mahiole*. This curved extension begins at what would have been the hairline, and continues to the back of the neck. The *mahiole* itself is four and a half inches long. Overall, the *akua hulu manu* is 68.58 centimeters tall and weighs three pounds and one ounce. The neck is 19.05 centimeters long with a base diameter measuring 22.86 centimeters. Red *huluhulu* covers the majority of the surface area. Attached to the top of the *mahiole* and the base of the neck are yellow *huluhulu*. Tufts of black *huluhulu*, perhaps of the *mamo*, indicate eyebrows and ears.

The mouth of the *akua hulu manu* measures 27.94 centimeters wide and contains ninety-four individually secured *niho ‘ilio* or dog teeth. The upper jaw holds forty-nine teeth while the lower contains forty-five. These *niho* are purposefully flawed at their base to facilitate their attachment, through a cord, to the twined workings of the lips. The *niho* are each about three-fourths of an inch long and parted to reveal a red tongue of *huluhulu* [fig 2.1]. The *pā* or pearl shell eyes are elliptical and horizontally set. The nose is a separate entity attached with cordage. The nose measures 5.334 centimeters at its widest and 7.112 centimeters in length. The overall form of the *akua hulu manu* is maintained through the inclusion of four hoops within the frame. These hoops, also made of *‘ie‘ie*, are located above and below the eye sockets, below the chin, and the near the base of the neck.

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27 Brigham 1974, 37.
29 Brigham 1974, 37.
30 Buck Vol. 11, 508.
31 Buck Vol. 11, 505.
Another *akua hulu manu* remaining in Hawai‘i is again cared for by the Bishop Museum [fig 3]. The Reverend Alonza Chapin donated this *akua hulu manu* to the museum at O‘ahu College, now Punahou School, in 1860. The *akua hulu manu* then passed into the care of Bishop Museum circa 1900 as a donation by the trustees of O‘ahu College. This *akua* is one of the eight with attached *lauoho* or human hair. Specifically of a reddish-tone, the *lauoho* of the *akua hulu manu* is short on the sides and long and wavy down the center, forming a *mahiole* through the distinction between hair length and wave [fig 3.1]. The *akua hulu manu* has a height of 55.88 centimeters.

Attached to the *akua hulu manu* are remnants of *huluhulu*, just enough to enable the viewer to determine their color in a given area. The majority of the *olonā* was covered with red *huluhulu*. The eyebrows, sitting high above the eyes, are indicated through black *huluhulu* while yellow *huluhulu* encircle the base of the neck. The mouth of the *akua hulu manu* is 15.875 centimeters long. It is formed through a built-in breach in the netting in a rainbow crescent formation, having a strait bottom lip with a convexed upper [fig 3.2]. The *niho ‘ilio* of this *akua hulu manu*, unlike its counterpart at Bishop Museum [fig 2], are strung on two cords in a necklace-like formation. The strands are then attached by twines to the outer portion of the lips in frequent intervals. This *akua hulu manu* has a total of seventy-four *niho* with forty on the upper jaw and the remaining thirty-four on the lower [fig 3.2].

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33 Brigham 1974, 37.
34 Ibid 38.
35 Buck Vol. 11, 509.
37 Buck Vol. 11, 509.
38 Brigham 1974, 37.
The eyes of the *akua hulu manu*, made of *pā*, are circular and attached with relatively large round wooden pegs. These pegs penetrate the *pā* near the nose as opposed to a central position [fig 3.3]. The nose of the *akua hulu manu*, unlike that of Kūkā‘ilimoku [fig 2], is built into the ‘ie‘ie frame. The framework support is also quite different from the previous *akua*. Rather than four hoops of ‘ie‘ie [fig 2.2], this *akua hulu manu* is instead pierced by a long vertical stick. The stick is centrally oriented and connects to the interior of the forehead and the front of the neck. The stick is visible through the mouth [fig 3.4]. Although the use of the central stick provides some stability for the frame, the lack of hoops in combination with the wear of age, has at one point separated a portion of the *olona* from the ‘ie‘ie on the left side of the face [fig 3.5]. It has since been reattached.

The British Museum has five of the remaining *akua hulu manu* in its care. The first of these *akua hulu manu* currently cared for by the British Museum [fig 4], left Hawai‘i during the 1780 Cook’s voyage. By 1781 it was housed in the Leverian Museum. In 1806 G. Goodman Hewitt, a surgeon first mate during Vancouver’s travels into the Pacific, purchased the *akua hulu manu*. In 1890 the *akua* was purchased by Sir. A. Wollaston Franks who presented it to the British Museum in that same year. This *akua hulu manu* has a frame *mahiole*. However, it remains unique in its separation between the crest of the *mahiole* and the head of the *akua hulu manu* forming a double *mahiole*. The crest, from the top of the neck, projects up and over the top of the head.

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39 Buck Vol. 11, 505.
41 Brigham 1974, 38.
42 As opposed to a *mahiole* formed by hair.
while extending forward far enough to cover the nose of the akua hulu manu. The height of the akua hulu manu, including the separated mahiole, is 102 centimeters. The huluhulu of the akua hulu manu are, like those of previous figures, largely red with yellow accents on the top crest as well as the base of the neck. The akua hulu manu also has a prominent ‘Adam’s apple’ directly under the ho‘auwae. The mouth opens in an exaggerated ‘ōlē‘olē with a downward slope to the lips, ending in a slightly upward tilt in the corners. Niho ‘ilio line the entire length of the mouth. Within the mouth is a stick for supporting the frame of the akua. The akua hulu manu has breaks within the frame of the ‘ie‘ie of a largely elliptic form. The single remaining pearl shell eye of a crescent band form, on the right side, is attached directly over the frame. An elliptical cavity exists directly below the crescent band.

The second akua hulu manu housed at the British Museum also left Hawai‘i during Captain Cook’s third Voyage [fig 5]. This image is a one of the eight with attached lauoho. Lauoho is attached in a crescent form down the center of the head and is roughly three times as long as the surrounding attachments. A central braid running from the forehead to the beginning of the neck further emphasizes the hair mahiole. This akua hulu manu is 60.96 centimeters in height with a relatively short neck. The broad band of yellow huluhulu at its base emphasizes the compact rendering of the neck. Red huluhulu are attached to the rest of the akua.

The mouth of the akua hulu manu is in a standard ‘ōlē‘olē that seems to extend beyond the confines of the cheeks. The wide mouth of this akua hulu manu has attached

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43 Buck Vol 11, 503
44 Kaeppler 1978, 53.
approximately one hundred and eight niho ʻilio lining the entire mouth of the akua. The nose of the figure is extremely broad and flattened when juxtaposed with the pronounced projection of the mouth. The pearl shell eyes of the figure are elliptic in shape with a slight elevation in horizontal level to the sides of the face. Large wooden pegs placed close to the center of the pā pierce the eyes.

The third akua hulu manu located at the British Museum again lacks any biographical information [fig 6]. It is of the type without a frame mahiole or lauoho. Instead, the top of the head flattens just above the prominent brow line. The height of this akua hulu manu is 81.28 centimeters tall. The height of neck is a little less than half the total size of the akua. Red huluhulu cover most of the surface area with a band of yellow huluhulu at the base of the neck. Black huluhulu cover the highly prominent and protruding eyebrows that meet in the center and jut down to the ridge of an extremely broad nose. The opened mouth of the akua slants sharply down to the edges of the chin. The mouth also holds one hundred and fifty-five niho ʻilio. The akua contains enormous elliptically-shaped eyes that are punctured slightly under the center of the pā. The thick eyebrows and extremely low forehead of the akua hulu manu accentuate the enormity of the eyes in size. The right pā is damaged with a crack through its center.

The fourth akua hulu manu in the care of the British Museum [fig 7] is one of the akua hulu manu collected during Captain Cook’s third voyage. It was previously in the Leverian Museum. This is an akua of the helmet frame mahiole type in which the entire length of the crest emerges directly from the head of the akua hulu manu. It

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45 Buck Vol. II, 511.
46 Ibid 509.
47 Brigham 1974, 39.
48 Kaeppler 1978, 53.
measures 104.14 centimeters with an extremely long and thin neck. The majority of the 
akua hulu manu is covered with red huluhulu. Both the top and sides of the mahiole of
the akua hulu manu, extending down to the neck, are covered in yellow huluhulu. Strips
of yellow huluhulu in vertical parallel lines are also visible within the mouth of the
image. These strips are bordered on all sides by niho ‘ilio. The shape of the mouth is an
‘olēʻolē with an extreme incline of the edges to a point almost parallel to the eyes. The
pegged and pearl shell eyes also mimic this extreme incline as they are slightly off
vertical. The round pegs puncture the pā in its lower half.

The fifth and final akua hulu manu housed at the British Museum came to the
Museum via the London Missionary Society [fig 8].\textsuperscript{49} Very similar to the previous
figure, this akua hulu manu is also of the frame mahiole type. This akua hulu manu is
over 86.36 centimeters. The crest, emerging from the entire length of the head, is a broad
rendering of the mahiole. The neck is extremely long and thin. This akua hulu manu
again recalls previous ones in its huluhulu color and pattern: largely red with bands of
yellow covering the crest and base of the neck. The mouth of the akua hulu manu is in
‘olēʻolē extending into points on either cheek. The opened mouth reveals red huluhulu
enclosed by niho ‘ilio. The pā eyes, of an elliptic nature, are again highly angled to
appear almost vertical. The wooden pegs are placed in a slightly up-from-center position.
The right pā eye is damaged and is in two separate portions.\textsuperscript{50} Rather than the large and
broad noses of most akua hulu manu, this figure has an upturned nose that, in its upward
angle, mimics the bulbous curve of the forehead and mahiole.

\textsuperscript{49} Brigham 1974, 39.
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid.
There are two *akua hulu manu* located in England outside of the British Museum. One [fig 9] has its home in the Hancock Museum founded upon the collections of the Natural History Society in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This *akua hulu manu* was formerly in the care of the museum of Marmaduke Tunstall, F.R.S., at Wycliff in Yorkshire. This collection provides the basis for the establishment of the Hancock Museum.\(^5\) In 1791, upon the death of Tunstall, the collection passed into the care of George Allan. With the Tunstall collection Allan, of Blackwell Grange near Darlington, created the Allan Museum. In 1822 the Newcastle Literary and Philisophical Society acquired the Allan Museum collection. Shortly thereafter, the collection was presented to the Natural History Society.\(^5\)

The *akua hulu manu* is of the frame *mahiole* type and is visually similar to the previously mentioned British Museum *akua* [fig 8]. This *akua hulu manu* is 80 centimeters long with a maximum width of 18 centimeters. The depth of the *akua hulu manu* is 37 centimeters.\(^5\) Its crest rises up from and is attached to the head. The neck is long and slim, encompassing about one-half of the total height. The *akua hulu manu* no longer has *huluhulu* due to moth activity that occurred perhaps between 1827 and 1870. A condition report in 1827 states that the *akua hulu manu* “has been covered with the red feathers of the Hook-billed Red Creeper”. However in A.W. Frank’s notebook circa 1870, the *huluhulu* were entirely missing.\(^5\) This *akua hulu manu* possesses the

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\(^5\) Ibid.
exaggerated 'ōlēʻōlē shaped mouth with a broad opening visible between the rows of characteristic niho 'ilio. The 'ieʻie frame also appears to be in relatively good condition.

The second akua hulu manu in England not in the care of the British Museum [fig 10]. Matthew Bloxom attributes this akua hulu manu to the heiau Hale 'o Keawe. This akua hulu manu was taken from Hawai‘i in 1825 by Captain Lord Byron of the H.M.S. Blonde. He “collected” the akua on July 15 of that same year. In 1827 Lord Byron gave the akua hulu manu to the Ashmolean Museum. On September 28, 1885 it was transferred to the Anthropological Museum in the Parks, Oxford for an interim period. In 1886 the akua hulu manu became a part of the Pitt Rivers collection. It is 53.34 centimeters high and has a maximum diameter base of one hundred and ninety millimeters. The akua hulu manu is of the lauoho variety, with long strands of black lauoho traveling down to the neck. Its huluhulu are of the standard red with black on the top of the head and constituting the eyebrows. Its large mouth is lined with niho 'ilio that have been ground down at the interior base. The eyes of the image are ovoid pā disks without the standard wooden pupil.55

Scotland’s Aberdeen Anthropological Museum has in its care an akua hulu manu without biographical information [fig 11]. This akua hulu manu has attached tufts and braids of lauoho. There are a total of three braided segments and two basic tufts attached to the olonā of this figure. Most of the huluhulu of the akua hulu manu have become detached. However, the vestiges that remain indicate that this akua hulu manu has the standard variation and placement of red, yellow, and black huluhulu. The akua hulu

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manu has an 'olé'olé mouth boarded by a complete set of niho 'ilio. Despite the loss of huluhulu, the olonā netting over the 'ie'ie of this akua hulu manu remains largely intact.56

The Kaiserlich-Königlich Naturhistorische Hofmuseum in Vienna, Austria houses an akua hulu manu that left Hawai‘i during Cook’s third voyage [fig 12]. Other than its stay at the Leverian Museum, as determined through the paintings of Sarah Stone and museum documentation, no other information is known of its biography.57 This akua hulu manu is one of the three without framework mahiole or attached mahiole. The akua hulu manu is 56 centimeters in height with a wide and short neck. The huluhulu of this akua hulu manu are almost entirely red. A light yellow band encircled the base of the neck while black huluhulu define the eyebrows.58 Its mouth is unique in its horizontally straight nature. The niho 'ilio almost appear as horizontally parallel lines. The pā eyes of the akua hulu manu are extremely large and round. The wooden pegs puncture the center of the pā. The nose is flat and broad with emphasis on the pronounced hō‘auwae.

Two akua hulu manu are located in Germany. One is in Berlin’s Museum für Völkerkunde [fig 16] while the other is in the Universität Göttingen [fig 17]. The akua hulu manu in the care of the Museum für Völkerkunde [fig 16], arrived in Berlin by way of Captain Cook’s third voyage to Hawai‘i and the Leverian Museum. This akua hulu manu has lauoho of roughly equal length, attached to all areas of the skull. It is 62 centimeters in height and has a relatively short neck.59 Red huluhulu are again prominent

56 Ibid 63-4.
57 Kaeppler 1978, 53. Sarah Stone (ca. 1760-1844) was an artist commissioned by the Leverian Museum to create a visual record of their collection. Her watercolor works detail the collection between 1777 and 1806. There are four paintings [fig 13, 14, 15] of akua hulu manu among the thousands of watercolor works created by Stone (Jackson, Christine E. Sarah Stone: Natural Curiosities from the New Worlds. London: Merrell Holberton, 1998, 9-10).
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
with a broad band of yellow encircling the base of the neck. The eyebrows are also demarcated with black *huluhulu*. These thick black lines fall on a protruding brow-line, emphasizing the small forehead of the *akua*. The mouth curves downward into a convex curve delineating the upper lip and a horizontal line on the bottom. The *niho ‘ilio* are positioned vertically far enough apart to see a vast area of red *huluhulu* between the lips. The *akua hulu manu* has small *pā* for eyes, in comparison with the large size of the wooden pegs. Its nose is triangular and broad.

The second *akua hulu manu* currently located in Germany is in the Universität Göttingen [fig 17]. This *akua hulu manu* traveled to Europe as a result of Cook’s third voyage to Hawai‘i. The University purchased the *akua hulu manu* from George Humphrey, a London art dealer, in 1782. The *akua hulu manu* is a framework *mahiole* type with an openwork mouth. It has a slim, long neck and a standard distribution of *huluhulu* colors. Red encompasses most of the surface area while the top of the *mahiole* and a band around the base are embellished with yellow *huluhulu*. Black *huluhulu* distinguish the eyebrows. The mouth, in its ‘*ōlē*’olē cavity form, creates and exaggerated figure-eight shape. The uncut *niho* are corded together, in a necklace-like formation, then attached to the *inner figure*. This *akua hulu manu* has oval *pā* eyes set diagonally onto the *olona* in an angle whose ends align with the nose and temple. In the center of the *pā* disk are pegged wooden pupils. The nose of the *akua hulu manu* projects strait out, beyond the covering of the *mahiole*.

One *akua hulu manu* has its home in the Musée de l’Homme in France [fig 18]. It was collected prior to 1796, perhaps during Cook’s third voyage to Hawai‘i. In 1797, the

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60 Ibid.
akua hulu manu was in the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle at the Musée des Antiques. In 1878 it was given to the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadero by the Bibliothèque Nationale. Currently on permanent loan from the Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle – Musée de l'Homme, this akua hulu manu is without both lauoho and a frame mahiole. The top of the akua hulu manu's head flattens directly above the brow-line. The akua hulu manu stands 67 centimeters high with an extremely long neck. The akua hulu manu lost all of its huluhulu prior to a July 21, 1796 inventory of the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle. The niho 'ilio-lined mouth of the akua hulu manu has an interior covered in olonā. The crescent-shaped mouth of the akua hulu manu forms an inverted arch. The pā eyes of the akua hulu manu are round and pegged with wood in the very center. The eyes, due to the prominent protrusion on the brow-line, are in a positive inclined angle. This gives an impression of the akua hulu manu gazing downward. The nose of the akua is relatively thin and short, in a slope mimicking the angle of hō'auwae. The olonā netting of the akua is in reasonably good condition with only a few ruptures at the base.

Wellington, New Zealand houses another akua hulu manu with a framework mahiole [fig 19]. It is located in the Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Togarewa, formerly the Dominion Museum. The akua hulu manu was in the collection of Lord St. Oswald. Although undocumented, it is believed to be part of the Captain Cook voyage collection stemming from the January 27, 1779 encounter with Kalaniopu‘u in Kealakekua Bay, Kona, Hawaii. The akua hulu manu is 82.5 centimeters high with a

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neck almost equal in height to its head (not including the mahiole).\textsuperscript{63} It again maintains the standard huluhulu color distribution. Red huluhulu are the primary coverings with yellow huluhulu covering the mahiole and at a tuft representing ears. The elliptic pā eyes are lined in an arch with black huluhulu. A wooden peg secures the pā in its center. The mouth of the akua hulu manu, lined with niho ‘ilio, opens in an ‘ōlē‘ōlē revealing red huluhulu-covered olonā. The end of the nose is round with a non-demarcated bridge, angled slightly inwards at its base.

The Peabody Museum, affiliated with Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has the care of two akua hulu manu. The first, an akua hulu manu of the type with lauoho, was given to the museum in 1937 by the Andover Theological Seminary in New England [fig 20]. It was previously in the care of the Reverend William Richards who collected the akua hulu manu prior to 1833.\textsuperscript{64} The hand-written label accompanying the image in the Andover Theological Seminary states “God of Kekauoakalani. To this idol two human sacrifices were offered at the commencement of the battle (1819) which decided the fate of idolatry in the Sandwich Islands. Presented by Mr. Richards.”\textsuperscript{65} The label suggest that this akua hulu manu could possibly have a genealogical parallel with Kūkā‘ilimoku [fig 2].

The akua hulu manu measures 61 centimeters and is without huluhulu. The lauoho attached is of a dark natural brown hue and a bleached shade. The bleached lauoho is attached in a central crescent, visually forming an ‘oki mahiole of bleached

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{65} Buck Vol. 11, 511.
The battle of 1819 was primarily between Liholiho’s (Kamehameha II) forces and Kekuaokalani, Kamehameha I’s nephew and son of Keli‘imaika‘i (Kamehameha I’s younger brother) in a struggle over
Tufts of bleached *lauoho* are missing, thus revealing the *olonā* netting. The *pā* eyes are also missing to reveal the *olonā* underneath. The mouth, in a wide ‘olē’olē, is partially lined with *niho ‘ilio*. Whether the *niho* were purposefully removed or were lost through age and use is undetermined. The nose is narrow, yet prominent due to the demarcated cheekbones. The damaged *olonā* at the base of the neck has detached to reveal the ‘iʻe‘iʻe underneath.

The second image at the Peabody Museum in Cambridge was also previously in the care of the Andover Theological Seminary [fig 21]. The *akua hulu manu* was in the Seminary’s collection prior to 1833, given to the Seminary by American missionaries. It is no longer covered with *huluhulu*.66 Over half the height of the *akua hulu manu* consists of the neck. The *akua hulu manu* has tufts of long dark *lauoho* forming a *mahiole* crest down from the top of the forehead to the base of the neck. The length of the *lauoho* is longer than on all other *akua hulu manu* as the *lauoho* progresses down almost the entire length of the elongated neck. The eyes are of an abnormal shape, pointed in the interior and rounded towards the temples. A wooden peg placed close to the nose again secures the *pā*. The *akua hulu manu* has a wide ‘olē’olē encompassing the entire width of the face. *Niho ‘ilio* line the mouth in a relatively spatial arrangement. The nose of the *akua hulu manu* is bulbous and without definition in the bridge.

The American Museum of Natural History in New York, is the caretaker of an *akua hulu manu* of the *lauoho* type [fig 22]. This *akua* measures 91.44 centimeters high and was taken from the Hale ‘o Keawe at Honaunau on the island of Hawaiʻi in 1825.

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66 Buck Vol. 11, 512.
The *akua hulu manu* left Hawai‘i aboard the HMS Blonde.\textsuperscript{67} By October 7\textsuperscript{th} of the following year, the *akua hulu manu* was probably in the care of the American Museum of Natural History.\textsuperscript{68} A note on November 27, 1957 by Margaret Mead states that “the feather mask is noted on . . . our catalogue. Found in storage, source unknown”.\textsuperscript{69} The *akua hulu manu*, barren of huluhulu, has tufts of lauoho forming a mahiolo. Its elliptical eyes are in a steep downward diagonal. The broad ‘olé’olé reveals a near complete set of niho ‘ilio. The nose is a pronounced projection that is a separate segment attached to the framework. The *akua hulu manu* has undergone conservation work connected with the lauoho.\textsuperscript{70}

In addition to the nineteen above-mentioned figures, Kaeppler cites one other *akua hulu manu*, collected during Captain Cook’s third voyage, whose current location remains unknown.\textsuperscript{71} Kaeppler also references the biographies of two other *akua* whose location is currently unknown. The first was Kcolo‘ewa, an *akua hulu manu* linked to the chiefs of Maui. A missionary gave the second to Captain Lord Byron. In 1825, he transported the *akua hulu manu* to England aboard the HMS Blonde. Accompanying the *akua hulu manu* was a note stating that it was formerly in the care of Kekuaokalani, taken in 1819 after his death in battle.\textsuperscript{72}

Although at times lacking in chronological reference, each *akua hulu manu* is distinct in biography and physiognomy, The sheer diversity of their current locations attest to the widespread fascination with *akua hulu manu* shared by European voyagers.

\textsuperscript{67} Bishop Museum Ethno-Photo Files.
\textsuperscript{68} “Idol of the Sandwich Islands”. The Mirror. 1826. In Bishop Museum Ethno-Photo Files.
\textsuperscript{69} Bishop Museum Ethno-Photo Files.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{71} Kaeppler 1978, 53.
\textsuperscript{72} Kaeppler 1982, 105.
Part of this fascination can be attributed to the assortment of materials used and the intricacy of the technique.
Each *akua hulu manu*, though having a distinct biography and visual appearance, shares common physical elements. This congruity includes both materials and technique. Essentially, a total of six materials combine to form each *akua hulu manu* with slight variations of a fundamental technique.

The six materials that comprise each *akua hulu manu* are ‘ie’ie, *olonā, huluhulu, pā, lā’au* and *niho*. Of the nineteen *ki‘i*, eight also have an additional material of *lauaha* or human hair. The frame of the *akua hulu manu* consists of woven split aerial roots of the ‘ie’ie (*Freycinetic arbarea*) covered in a netting of *olonā* (*Tauchardia latifolia*). Attached to the *olonā* are *huluhulu* or feathers in red, yellow, and black. The eyes of the images are *pā* or pearl shells secured to the *olonā* with round *lā’au* or wood in peg form.\(^73\) Within the mouths of the *ki‘i* are attached *niho ‘ilio* or the incisors of dogs. A single exception is the *niho manō* or shark teeth attached to one *akua hulu manu*.\(^74\)

In regard to technology, Buck’s study of *akua hulu manu* in *Arts and Crafts of Hawai‘i* is the primary written source of scholarship. Although published in 1957, Buck’s detailed study of the two *akua hulu manu* in the care of the Bishop Museum continues to be an invaluable resource [fig 2 & 3]. Due to their fragility, a current in-depth technical study of the *akua hulu manu* remains an impossibility. As a result, the following technical discussion relies heavily on Buck’s work as applied to the two *akua hulu manu* at Bishop Museum.\(^75\)

\(^73\) Luquiens 30.
\(^74\) Mitchell 51.
Of preliminary importance in a technological study of the *akua hulu manu* is the focused separation of individual materials and methods. As such, each *akua hulu manu* has an interior *kuaina* or twined frame of split ‘*ie*’ie (*Freycinetic arborea*) aerial rootlets [fig 23]. ‘*ie*’ie, like its *hala* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) relative, is a robust yet supple plant whose rootlets are twined into various forms other than *akua hulu manu*, including basketry, fish traps and clothing. It is an indigenous vine flourishing in forests between the altitudes of 1,000 to 4,500 feet. Although growing in forested regions, ‘*ie*’ie patches or *kihāpai* were of extreme value as they were referred to as *kuleana* *‘aina* or land owned and thereby land rights.

The ‘*ie*’ie vine grows upward to the tops of trees with stems of about an inch in diameter. The extremity of each branch includes a cluster of thin and pointed leaves that can measure up to two and a half feet long with a base width of two inches. At the center of the leaf cluster are rotund and elongated flowers that resemble spikes. Surrounding the spiked center of the leaf cluster is edible foliage that has an underside rose hue. The fruits of the vine also resemble spikes and are orange with seeded berries. Long and thin aerial roots extend from the stem of the vine downward. These roots can be up to twenty feet in length and often settle into the soil.

The ‘*ie*’ie aerial roots of the ‘*ie*’ie plant take about six months to a year to mature enough for harvesting. At this phase, the ‘*ie*’ie are cut while the ‘*ie*’ie remains to grow new aerial roots.

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75 For technical diagrams see Buck Vol. 3 & 11.
79 Summers 100.
roots. The harvested ‘ie are then placed in an imu, or an underground oven to increase pliability. After removal from the imu the ‘ie soak in fresh water until it is easy to peel off their outer bark. To further the suppleness of the ‘ie, the wet roots are beaten until they achieve the desired resiliency. The ‘ie again becomes firm and strong through the drying process. These primed ‘ie hold their usefulness for a virtually undeterminable length of time.

When comparing the above ‘ie preparation techniques with that of contemporary practitioner Pat Horimoto, pronounced differences elucidate the large probability of technological variance in the ‘ie preparation for the akua hulu manu. In Horimoto’s process, cut ‘ie are horizontally affixed with a cord. The ‘ie bundles are then dried for a month and in this secured form, remain straight. After the month of drying, the bundles are placed on a paved surface. This process serves to loosen the outer bark. With his left hand, Horimoto then separates each individual root from the bunch. The removal of the ‘ie from the bunch detaches the outer bark from the desired inner portion. Outer bark residue dislodges from the ‘ie by soaking it in salt water for ten minutes before rubbing off persistent remnants with the hands underwater. The ‘ie are then ready to be dried for storage to await a second ten minute soaking for pliability prior to their final usage.

The technical creation of the akua hulu manu begins with the splitting of the ‘ie which are then arranged into ma‘awe loloa or warps and koana or wefts. ‘oai or twining begins at the piko or crown of the head. The ki‘i consist initially of an alokahi or single-

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80 Krauss 172.
81 Summers 100.
83 Summers 101.
84 Abbott 76.
85 Summers 101.
pair twine. The *alokahi* involves a single *koana* bent in half to create two elements. These two elements alternate around a *ma'awe loloa* with a single *milo* or twist between each successive *ma'awe loloa*. The *koana* continues in round turns. This *alokahi* remains consistent throughout the length of the *akua hulu manu* formerly in the care of O'ahu College [fig 3].

The second *ki'i* in the care of the Bishop Museum [fig 2] begins with an *alokahi* that becomes, after a brief distance, an *alolua 'umi'i pa'a* or double interlocking twining. This technique utilizes two pairs of *koana* or *alolua*. *Alolua 'umi'i pa'a* originates in two modes. The first being an *alokahi* wrapped around an initial *ma'awe loloa* then directly to a second *ma'awe loloa*. The following *alokahi* wraps over the initial *alokahi* in the interior of the two elements then proceeding under the second *ma'awe loloa*. This combination creates *alolua 'umi'i pa'a*. The second method of physically conceiving *alolua 'umi'i pa'a* begins with *alolua* around the initial *ma'awe loloa*. Two-paired *alokahi* are placed between the remaining paired *alokahi* and alternate front to back throughout the successive *ma'awe loloa* in an 'umi'i pa'a or interlocking fashion.

In both the consistent *alokahi* and the combination *alokahi / alolua 'umi'i pa'a* of the *ki'i* in the care of Bishop Museum, there are similarities with *mahiole* or 'ie'ie helmets. Accordingly, Buck references his study of *mahiole* when discussing the technical methods utilized in the *akua hulu manu*. In each *mahiole* studied, as with the *ki'i*, numerous *ma'awe loloa* extend the entire length of the *ki'i* from front to back. The arrangement of the *ma'awe loloa* spanning the sides of *mahiole* and *ki'i* fall into two

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86 Ibid 101.
87 Buck Vol. 11, 505-6.
88 Ibid.
89 Buck Vol. 5, 232.
categories which Buck terms “longitudinal” and “longitudinal-radial warp” arrangements.⁹⁰

Within the “longitudinal” arrangement class, there are two sub-divisions. The first utilizes a single short ma‘awe loloa that, by using a closer koana, tightens the back of the structure. Successive ma‘awe loloa become serially smaller creating the necessary narrow sides of both the mahiole and the ki‘i. The resulting ma‘awe loloa arrangement visually resembles the colors of an arched rainbow becoming successively smaller towards the center (or in the case of the mahiole and ki‘i, towards the ear). The second sub-division within the “longitudinal” arrangements class consists of shorter segments of ma‘awe loloa attached to one another so that few ma‘awe loloa actually span the entire distance of the side. This manipulation of angles through adding ma‘awe loloa creates the oblique ends of the mahiole and ki‘i.⁹¹

The second category of lateral ma‘awe loloa arrangement is the “longitudinal-radial warp”. In this method, along with the standard ma‘awe loloa are those added radially from the piko. Shorter ma‘awe loloa in the same general diagonal direction, are added in to fill portions left bare between radial ma‘awe loloa. This “longitudinal radial warp” arrangement utilizes alakahi to complete the spherical form.⁹²

Of the nineteen akua hulu manu, eight have a hoaka or helmet curve made of the ‘ie‘ie framework. In creating the hoaka of the akua hulu manu, Buck states that “the median crest was formed by pushing the two limbs of hair-pin warps through the twining from the inside to form the sides and ends of the crest. It was completed with a single-pair twine around the protruding warps on the outside in exactly the same way as the low

⁹⁰ Ibid.
⁹¹ Ibid.
⁹² Ibid.
crests of the helmets were completed". \cite{93} However, this *hoaka* technique results in a pointed tip at the front of the crest, not the broad crested form of most *akua hulu manu hoaka*. Instead, Buck's technical discussion of the "wide-crested helmets" seems more applicable to the form of the *akua hulu manu hoaka*. \cite{94} The *hoaka* is a separate piece created in a "longitudinal warp" arrangement with tension to either side, creating straight edges. *Olonā* secures the *hoaka* to the median of the *akua hulu manu*. \cite{95}

The identical technique of the *mahiole* and the *akua hulu manu* end at the face of the *ki'i*. The 'ie'ie framework of the eyes for each *ki'i* consist of a concave form in the structure resulting in a superficial depression that mimics the eye shape. This depression is a result of 'oai manipulation through the tension of the *koana* and the bending of the *ma'awe loloa*. \cite{96}

The creation of the nose is a more complicated process with two differing techniques. The first technique, exemplified by the crested *akua hulu manu* in the care of Bishop Museum [fig 2], consists of an additional piece. The nose, created through the manipulation of unattached *ma'awe loloa* and *koana*, connects to the twined surface of the *ki'i* with *olonā* cordage. The second and slightly more complex technique of creating a nose, has its example in the other *akua hulu manu* in the care of Bishop Museum [fig 3]. In this case, *ma'awe loloa* in the form of a triangle, is attached to the twined surface at the point that should become the top of the bridge of the nose. Short *koana* attach to the lower end of nose in bias formation creates nostrils. This provides the basic shape of

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotenumber{92} Ibid.
\footnotenumber{93} Buck Vol. 11, 506.
\footnotenumber{95} The double crested image is perhaps created in the same manner with two additional appendages as opposed to one.
\footnotenumber{96} Krauss 114.
\end{footnotes}
the nose that the original *koana* continues by progressing from cheek to cheek over the nose projection.  

Two different techniques are also utilized in the creation of the *akua hulu manu* mouth. The first, exemplified by the crested *akua hulu manu* in the care of Bishop Museum [fig 2], has a closed form. In this instance the *alolua ʻʻimiʻi paʻa* continues down to the chin and jaw line without variation. To form the mouth, lips are created separately, then attached with *olonā*. The second technique exemplified by the other *akua hulu manu* in the care of Bishop Museum [fig 3], has an opening in the framework. To create this hollow, both the *maʻawe loloa* and the *koana* are manipulated in a manner similar to an openwork structure. In completing the structure of the face, the jaw line and chin of both mouth types are formed through the arching of the *maʻawe loloa* in the direction and inclusion of the neck. Additional *koana* added to the neck increases the circumference of the base in order to stabilize the image.

The overall form of the *akua hulu manu* is maintained through two forms of structural bracing. The first, as demonstrated by the crested *akua hulu manu* in the care of Bishop Museum [fig 2], includes four hoops within the frame. These hoops, also made of *ʻieʻie*, are located above and below the eye sockets, below the chin, and near the base of the neck [fig 2.2]. The second form of structural bracing occurs in the other *akua hulu manu* in the care of Bishop Museum [fig 3]. Rather than four hoops of *ʻieʻie*, this *akua hulu manu* is instead pierced by a long vertical stick. The stick is centrally oriented and connects to the interior of the forehead and the front of the neck [fig 3.4].

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97 Buck XI 506.
98 Krauss 115-116.
99 Buck Vol. 11, 505.
100 Ibid.
Olonā

After the completion of the 'i'e'i'e frame, a naepuni or netting of olonā is closely fitted over the structure. *Olonā* (*Touchardia latfolia*) is an indigenous plant belonging to the family Urticaceae [fig 24]. There are a total of eleven extant species of *olonā* in Hawai‘i. Two can be found on the island of Hawai‘i. Three species grow on both Maui and Kaua‘i. O‘ahu, Moloka‘i and Lana‘i are each home to a single distinct species.

In general, the *olonā* shrub extends to a height of between one and three meters. This slender shrub has large leaves in various gradations of green that grow at approximately ninety degree angles to their corpulent stems. However, when the stems of the *olonā* are cut, the leaves drop significantly in angle. These leaves range in size from nine to sixteen inches long while having a width between five and nine inches. A portion of the eleven distinct species has leaves with a red medial rib that extends to the veins. Green flowers of both the male and female gender grow on different plants. The male flower is larger while the female flower produces firm tiny seeds.

*Olonā* is the only indigenous non-edible species to be cultivated in pre-contact Hawai‘i. This valuable shrub grows primarily in moist areas including *kuahiwi olonā* or *olonā* of the wet uplands, *uka lā‘au he olonā* or *olonā* of the inland forested areas, and *wai olonā* or *olonā* of various other wet areas. *Olonā* grows in three types of small patches: *olonā kihāpai* or cultivated patch, *olonā māla* or garden patch and *ōpū olonā* or

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1. Abbott 60.
2. Summers 22.
3. Ibid.
4. Abbott 60.
5. Krauss 274.
6. Abbott 60.
7. Ibid.
clumps. These patches are all individually named and passed from father to son as they are *kuleana olonā* or patches that fall under individual responsibility.\(^{108}\)

*Olona* is cultivated in patches in the forms of seeds, rooted branches and root shoots.\(^ {109}\) To create these patches one must clear the vegetation of an area under the shade of trees. In this section of land, shrubs could be added or thinned as necessary for optimal growth.\(^ {110}\) However, *olonā* patches tended to remain densely planted in large areas.\(^ {111}\) During the growing process up until the *olonā* reaches about forty-six centimeters tall, all underbrush is cleared.\(^ {112}\)

After about a year of growth, *olonā* can be harvested. Waiting the full year for harvesting is important as it affects the quality of the *olonā* fiber. A young plant would not reap enough fibers while a plant that is too old would resist scraping. During the optimal period of harvesting, the leaves of the shrub turn yellow and the bark becomes a chocolate brown.\(^ {113}\) To harvest *olonā* the leafy crown is cut along with the stems just above the root. Shoots are then able to grow again for the next year. An optimal stem for harvesting is straight and of one to two inches in diameter with a height up to ten feet.\(^ {114}\)

After harvesting the *olonā*, the bark is prepared through stripping and soaking. Gatherers, using their fingers, strip the bark from the stem. All other parts of the plant are gathered and disposed of away from the *kuleana olonā* to prevent unintentionally destroying the remaining plants. The bark is then rolled with the outer bark on the inside;

\(^{108}\) Summers 24-5.
\(^{109}\) Abbott 60.
\(^{110}\) Summers 25.
\(^{111}\) Abbott 60.
\(^{112}\) Summers 25.
\(^{113}\) Ibid.
\(^{114}\) Abbott 60.
this is in the opposite direction of its natural curve in order to flatten the bark. The rolls are then transported to fresh water and laid flat to soak for about two days.\textsuperscript{115}

After soaking, the outer bark has to be removed from the inner fibrous portion of the stem. This is the portion of the stem that consists of the cordage tissues called lacticifers.\textsuperscript{116} In order to remove the outer bark, the stem needs to be scraped. The scraping process occurs often in a hālau kahi olonā or a designated shed located near fresh water. Even if a hālau kahi olonā is not available, the scraping process remains in a location near fresh water.\textsuperscript{117}

Olona is scraped with a shell against a hard surface [fig 25]. The hard surface could be stone, slate or papa olonā, an olonā scraping board. The papa olonā is a long and slim board made of hardwood with a horizontally convex smooth surface. The po‘o or head [fig 26] is broader than the wēlau or tip end [fig 27] of the papa olonā.\textsuperscript{118} The shells used for scraping have a greater width than height. Among the types of shells used as kahi or scrapers, two are most prominent: ‘opihi (Cellana) and black lipped pearl oyster (Pinctada margaritifera).\textsuperscript{119}

When beginning the task, the men, women and children who scrape olonā first anchor their papa olonā so that movement becomes an impossibility. Rocks are placed on top of the board to secure it to the ground while the wēlau is tied to a woodblock. The po‘o of the papa olonā rests on a support of wood. It is also believed that a loop of cord secured to a stationary element encircles the wēlau.\textsuperscript{120}

\textsuperscript{115} Summers 26.
\textsuperscript{116} Abbott 60.
\textsuperscript{117} Summers 26.
\textsuperscript{118} Summers 35.
\textsuperscript{119} Summers 33-4.
\textsuperscript{120} Summers 43.
Before the actual scraping with the papa olonā, two tasks need to be accomplished. Initially the olonā bark is held taut with the right foot and left hand. The scraper, held in the right hand, scour{s} the interior plane of the bark while flattening out the curves. Second, the bark must be stretched on a wet surface with its larger section near the po’o of the papa olonā. The actual scraping process also consists of two steps: removing the outer bark and removing all residue. To remove the outer bark of the olonā, one pushes the kahi forward along the strip with one hand while holding the olonā flat with the other. Residue is removed by using the kahi in a squeezing and flicking motion on both sides of the strip. After scraping, the remaining fiber is white with a diameter of about 3.5 to 6.5 centimeters wide. The fibers could then be separated thinly and made into aho or cordage through the process of hilo or twisting.

In continuing the physical compilation of the akua hulu manu, naepuni or fine olonā netting is created from a kaʻā lua or two-ply aho olonā [fig 3.6]. In creating the naepuni, one first runs aho olonā through a fine form of hiʻa kāʻ upena or shuttle [fig 28]. A separate segment of aho olonā in a hoop formation is then attached to two adjacent points, most often the two big toes. To create the necessary knotting, one moves the aho olonā through the toe loop then manipulates the aho in alternation from the back to the front of the haha kāʻ upena or mesh gauge. This creates the first maka or mesh. The pattern continues hema or left to ʻākau or right until the aho is cut to begin the next row.

121 Summers 44-5.
122 Summers 45-46.
123 Abbott 60.
124 Krauss 35.
Huluhulu

After the creation of the naepuni, attaching huluhulu or feathers became the next task in the conception of the akua hulu manu. Due to the current prolific loss of feathers on akua hulu manu, one cannot always determine specific sources of huluhulu per ki'i. However, huluhulu used in featherwork generally came from four specific birds: ‘i‘iwi (Vestiaria coccinea), ‘apapane (Himatione sanguinea), ‘ō‘ō (Moho nobilis) and mamo (Drepanis pacifica). The ‘i‘iwi produced bright red huluhulu while the ‘apapane provided a deeper red. The ‘ō‘ō was generally a black bodied bird that provided black and yellow huluhulu from small tufts under the wings and tail. The mamo also provided black and yellow huluhulu as it was a black-bodied bird with a few tufts of deeper yellow.\footnote{Buck Vol. 5, 217.}

Gathering huluhulu is the job of the kia manu or po'e hahai.\footnote{Gathering huluhulu also occurred as a form of currency through the taxation of the Makahiki (Kaeppler 1985, 110.)} Each of these terms refers to male feather gatherers/hunters. Huluhulu are gathered largely during the molting season so as not to waste valuable huluhulu through the molting process. The kia manu place a sticky substance on a branch to trap birds. This substance could originate in pāpala kēpau (Pisonis) where the sticky substance is found in the exudate around the seeds. Another option is kēpau of ‘ulu which is the latex found in ‘ulu (Artocarpus altilis) or breadfruit trees. When placing the pāpala kēpau or kēpau of ‘ulu on branches out of reach, the kia manu uses lā‘au ‘ōlapa (Cheirodendron) or ‘ōlapa to provide
additional height.\(^{127}\) The fruit of the ‘ie‘ie also attracts birds and was thus used as a lure.\(^{128}\)

Once a bird was caught in the pāpala kēpau or kēpau of ‘ulu, a kia manu would pluck feathers from the body of the bird before releasing it.\(^{129}\) However, the ‘i‘iwi and ‘apapane, having many red feathers, would often be killed and eaten as they would not have survived the plucking.\(^{130}\) Aside from using pāpala kēpau or kēpau of ‘ulu, kia manu also utilized lā‘au kia manu or bird traps made with a short stick and looped aho and nets of olonā.\(^{131}\)

After gathering huluhulu, women separated them by both color and size. Each of these sizes has different names that correspond to their location on the body of the bird. Huluhulu from the tail are called puapua, those directly above the tail are pue, the axially huluhulu of the ‘ō‘ō are ‘e‘e, the short huluhulu on the thigh of the mamo are ‘ae mamo while the longer huluhulu from the tail are ko‘o mamo.\(^{132}\) Huluhulu, after being separated into bundles of fifteen to twenty huluhulu, are bound by olonā ka‘ā kahi or single-ply olonā [fig 29].\(^{133}\)

Attaching huluhulu to the naepuni is an intricate job for the haku hulu or skilled male feather worker. The processes are identical for attaching huluhulu to both the naepuni of a cloak and that of the akua hulu manu. Therefore, Buck’s study of cloak naepuni is applicable in this study. To attach huluhulu to naepuni the haku hulu works from hema to ‘akau along the kumu or base of the fiber. ‘Uo or small bunches of

\(\text{\(^{127}\) Abbott 106.}\)
\(\text{\(^{128}\) Valeri 272.}\)
\(\text{\(^{130}\) Buck V 217.}\)
\(\text{\(^{131}\) Abbott 106.}\)
\(\text{\(^{132}\) Buck Vol. 12, 538.}\)
\(\text{\(^{133}\) Abbott 106.}\)
huluhulu are secured with aho olonā to the maka in varying numbers of overhand knots. The haku hulu continued attaching ‘uo to each maka of the row. After completing the initial row, the haku hulu attached ‘uo to the next row, working up from the kumu. In this manner, huluhulu overlapped and hid the hulu or quills of the previous row. The number of knots attaching the ‘uo to the maka determined the direction and curve of the next row of feathers [fig 2.3].

After attaching all ‘uo to the naepuni, the completed ‘ili or skin is secured to the ‘ie’ie frame. The ‘ili is fitted tautly to all hollows and protrusions of the ‘ie’ie. Aho olonā secures the ‘ili to the ‘ie’ie, especially along the extremities and angles of the structure. The naepuni is also cut when necessary to fit over open areas, such as the mouth form.

Pā and Lā‘au

To the attached naepuni, from the po‘o down, the pā (Pinctada margaritifera) or mother-of-pearl shell and lā‘au of the eye are the next materials to be affixed in creating the akua hulu manu. Each pā, regardless of size and shape, had a small hole drilled into the center. A rounded lā‘au with a stem braced the pā and was affixed to the naepuni and ‘ie’ie through the hole in the pā. In the crested akua hulu manu in the care of the Bishop Museum [fig 2] the aho olonā holding the pā and lā‘au attaches to the interior structural support hoop above the eyes. In the second akua hulu manu in the care

135 Buck Vol. 11, 506-7.
136 Unfortunately the type of lā‘au used remains unknown as does the way in which the pā and lā‘au are gathered specifically for use in an akua hulu manu.
of the Bishop Museum [fig 3] the aho olonā holding the pā and lā'au (which pushes through the pā) attaches to the vertical sticks behind the eyes [fig 3.7 & 3.8].

Niho

The final primary material of the akua hulu manu are niho 'ilio and niho mano. The niho used in the akua hulu manu could have been specifically procured prior to its inception or may have been held from previous religious ceremonies and festivities. As evident in the two akua cared for by the Bishop Museum, there are two separate methods of affixing teeth depending upon whether the mouth is opened or closed. In a closed-mouth example based upon the crested akua [fig 2] niho are affixed individually. The roots of the niho are shaved to an even length and set closely together. The aho olonā begins in the middle of the niho and travels under the koana of the added lip appendage. This looping repeats roughly six times [fig 2.1 & 2.2]. In the remaining akua [fig 3], the niho are also shaved, but at the crown rather than the root. The niho are then strung like a necklace on two aho olonā through holes running horizontally and placed in the mouth with the curved ends up. An 'ie lays over the niho and is tied frequently with aho olonā to the koana [fig 3.2].

Lauoho

Eight of the nineteen akua hulu manu have a seventh material element of lauoho attached to the area corresponding with that of a human head. It is probable that the lauoho of the ki'i are those of ancestors within the genealogy of the ali'i associated with

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137 Buck Vol. 11, 506-7.
138 A single akua hulu manu contains niho manō while all others have niho 'ilio.
139 Luquiens 30.
140 Krauss 116.
the creation of each particular akua. Attaching lauoho to the akua was a process similar to that of attaching hair helmets. ‘ākī or tufts of hair are affixed to the ‘ie’ie by wide olonā ka’a lua with a single overhand knot. ‘ākī are added from hema to ‘ākau covering the ties in a manner comparable to that of the huluhulu [fig 3.9].

Lā’au Kaula

An eighth material element associated with but not a primary part of the akua hulu manu is the pole made of kaula (Alphitonia ponderosa) and (Colunrina oppositifolia) used to carry the akua [fig 30]. Kaula is an indigenous hardwood tree of the buckthorn family. It has gray or green leaves of varying shapes depending upon the species [fig 31].

Each of these materials is combined with great skill and technical intricacy to create an akua hulu manu. The transformation from raw materials to akua hulu manu is lengthy and complex. Nevertheless, this transformation remains incomplete until the akua hulu manu is discussed within a contextual framework.

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141 “... lauoho o ka po'e kahiko”, (Valerio 1985, 257).
142 Buck Vol. 5, 245.
143 Krauss 182.
The transition of the *akua hulu manu* from raw materials to *akua*, begins during its physical creation and proceeds through the execution of specific rites relating to its situational role. An appropriate *kahu* can call the gods into *akua hulu manu*, through the process of *ho‘omanama*. As such the feathered vessel, in a state of *manamana*, acts as a conduit for the *mana* or power of the gods and the medium of their communication. The *akua hulu manu* in *manamana* have various ceremonial functions involving death and burial, Makahiki and *luakini* rituals, and warfare.

**Death and Burial**

The funerary functions of the *akua hulu manu* include their placement in graves to convey *mahalo* or respect, *kia‘i* or guard the bones, further sanctify the deceased *ali‘i*, and/or serve as a guide for the *ali‘i* as *ʻaumakua*. By including *akua hulu manu* in burials, the living convey their *mahalo* or respect for the deceased, as the *akua hulu manu* are extremely prized and valued. Burial also perpetuates the distinct and personal relationship between the *akua hulu manu* and their *kahu* that must be *hō‘ihi* or revered.

The temporal relationship between the *akua hulu manu* and their *kahu* reciprocates in death, as the *akua hulu manu* becomes the *kahu*. The entombment of *akua hulu manu* in the Hale ʻo Keawe conveys this inverted relationship. The Hale ʻo Keawe near Honaunau called Kaikialeʻaleʻa is a structure built by the *aliʻi* of Kona including Alapaʻi, a *mamo* or descendant of Keawe. This *hale* is a *pu‘uhonua* or place of

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144 The precise point at which raw materials become *akua* is unknown.
145 Valeri 1985, 102.
146 Cox and Davenport 89.
147 Ibid.
refuge designed to house the bones of ali‘i beginning with Keawe. Originating on the
right of the hale, the bones of ali‘i are bundled and form rows. One such ali‘i is
Kalani‘ōpu‘u whose akua hulu manu rested on top of a kapa covering the bones. The
akua hulu manu serves as a kahu by māmalu or protecting by shading the bones it rests
upon.

The inclusion of the akua hulu manu in burial not only serves to māmalu the
deceased, but also furthers the ali‘i[s] sacredness or kapu/la‘a. This advance in la‘a
occurs because akua hulu manu can replace kā‘ai or coconut fiber caskets of sennit.
These kā‘ai or sennit caskets contain the iwi or bones of ali‘i whose flesh was removed
through ceremony. The iwi were then ritually arranged upright and in the proper order
(i.e. skull at the highest point) in ‘oloke’a or flexed position. The iwi were secured in this
position through a fiber casing resembling the human form. As the term “kā‘ai”
literally means to wrap, tie or bind, kā‘ai refers to the function of a sennit casket as a
wrap for bones. The process of wrapping is a form of ho‘ola‘a ‘ana or consecration in
Hawai‘i as illustrated by kaioloa and its pule or prayer.

Malo lani kaioloa
Ka malo o ke akua, o Uli!
Uluahi kai, e Hina!
Hinaluoloa ka malo o Hina.
He us ilele ka malo o Ku,
Ku I ka la badly heiau.
Aulana ka malo o Lono!
Hume! hume ka malo o Lono-kaiolohia!
E lei ana ka malo o Lono-honua.

Malo of the king, bleached in the ocean,
Malo of god Uli!
Dark blue the sea, O Hina!
Bright red the malo of Hina.
Lace-like as a mist-scud the malo of Ku,
Ku, the god of many temples.
Pass between the thighs the malo of Lono!
Gird! Gird on the malo of Lono, the variegated!
They are bearing on their shoulders the malo of
Lono-honua.

149 Ibid.
151 Kailoiloa is a process of the luakini rituals that metaphorically and ritually gives birth to the heiau (Malo,
Decorated at its end is the malo of the bird god, lo-uli. Leaf embroidered the malo of long-limbed Kane. Gird on your malo! Lo, here is a sacred malo, bleached by the ocean! The sacred malo of the king is life to the women chiefs. Bind it fast to the heiau, An ordinary heiau, a royal heiau, A heiau for the king, for Umi son of Liloa. Long live the king! May he be victor, and put down all his enenies! Array now the god image in the malo! It is accepted, the ceremony, The ceremony of the king is accepted!  

In this ritual a female and a priest hold a long kaioloa or kapa which has been bleached from the ocean. During the pule the participants wrap a wooden image in the kaioloa as a loincloth to bind and sanctify its power. It is the wrapping that completes the ceremony and allows the heiau to be noa. “Kā’ai”, as a means to ho’ola’a, implies that the akua hulu manu as a substitute for a kā’ai and as a kā’ai image (in regard to the kā’ai or ties in the ie’ie framework and the akua hulu manu being kā’ai or wrapped in huluhulu) has bountiful mana and la’a. The vast religious significance of the akua hulu manu because of the degree of its la’a in conjunction with the personal relationship between the akua hulu manu and its kahu, heightens the la’a of the entombed ali’i by association.  

The ho’ihi, māmalu, and la’a functions of akua hulu manu with regard to death and burial are generalized and could pertain to many akua hulu manu. However, the possibility of akua hulu manu serving as a guide for an entombed ali’i as ‘aumakua must begin with a specific ki’i, Keolo’ewa. It is unknown at present whether this akua hulu manu named Keolo’ewa is extant. In 1823 William Ellis describes Keolo’ewa as having “the head and neck ... formed of a kind of fine basket or wickerwork, covered over with red feathers, so curiously wrought in as to resemble the skin of a beautiful bird. A native
helmet [is] placed on the idol’s head, from the crown of which long tresses of human hair hung down over its shoulders. Its mouth, like the greater number of Hawaiian idols, [is] large and distended”. 153

Keolo’ewa is associated with Kūkeolo’ewa, a god of war allied with the island of Maui. Keolo’ewa is also an akua noho. 154 Accordingly, the akua communicates through possession of a medium such as a person or object. Malo states that “if, after death a man’s bones were set in position along with an idol, and then his spirit came and made its residence with the bones, that was an akua noho, though specifically termed an ‘unihi pili or an ‘aumakua”. 155 Similarly, Kukeolo’ewa, beyond its warfare status linked with Maui, also serves as a conveyor of souls. The spirits of deceased ali’i are guided by Kūkeolo’ewa into the spirit realm, then back to the temporal realm as ‘aumakua to care for their surviving descendants. 156

The connection between Keolo’ewa and the transportation and transformation of deceased ali’i continues with the association between war gods within the Kū assembly. Kūkeolo’ewa and Kūho’one’enu’u are two such akua that form part of a grouping associated with Kamehameha expressly for the purpose of guiding the spirits of the deceased. According to Beckwith, all gods in this assembly are sorcery gods and thus capable of functioning as a conveyer of souls. 157

A conveyer of souls, is in essence a guide or navigator. As such, the possibility of the akua hulu manu being a guide increases as it is also a substitute for a kā‘ai and a

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154 Beckwith 114.
155 Malo 115.
156 Beckwith 110.
The term kaʻai can be interchangeably used with kahai to mean both the sennit casket and the physical state of wrapping. Kahai is also the name of a cultural hero who uses the rainbows and clouds to find a loved one. Kahai is a navigator, a guide. It is thereby possible that the akua hulu manu Keoloʻewa and perhaps Kūkāʻilimoku, if entombed, are akua noho servicing the spirit of the deceased in the fashion of kahai and all the war gods under the Kū assembly.

**Makahiki**

Akua hulu manu are as essential to Makahiki rituals as they are to death and burial. Makahiki is a time, announced in Hilinehu (corresponding to the month of August) and continues through Kāʻelo (corresponding to the month of January). It is a period of rest and rejuvenation largely associated with the god Lono. The most pronounced role played by the akua hulu manu during Makahiki takes place during Welehu (corresponding to the month of November). ‘Olekūkahi, the twentieth night of Welehu, marks the distribution of offerings of prestige and wealth, such as kapa and hulumanu, to the aliʻi and gods in the form of akua hulu manu. These gods are then conveyed in procession, followed on the ensuing evening by the procession of consecrated wooden images.

‘Olepau, the twenty-third day, begins the physical conception of the Makahiki god, Lonomakua in which the akua hulu manu participates. Lonomakua resides in a long wooden pole with a carved head. ‘oloa, or white tapa, feathers, and ferns are attached to

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157 Ibid.
158 Malo 249.
159 Ti 72.
161 Malo 143.
the image. The creation of Lonomakua’s receptacle begins with the procession of *akua hulu manu* from a *luakini* temple.\(^{162}\) A *kahuna nui ‘o Palikū* or a high priest of the order of Lono carries an *akua hulu manu* affixed to a shaft of *kauila* wood.\(^{163}\) The procession follows the *kahuna nui ‘o Palikū* until he approaches the proper tree into which to invoke Lonomakua through *ho’omanama*na. The *kahuna nui ‘o Palikū* orders the procession to “*kū i ke pa‘a*”, or to stand firmly. During this time the chosen tree is felled and carved in the presence of the *akua hulu manu* that is secured into the earth by the *kauila* pole.\(^{164}\)

**Luakini**

The importance of the *luakini* temple as the source of the Makahiki procession is partially due to its custodial constitution. The *akua hulu manu* are often housed in the Hale Mana of a *luakini* temple. The Hale Mana is the largest and primary temple within the *luakini*.\(^{165}\) Frequently writings indicate that *akua hulu manu* are kept in the Hale ‘o Kā‘ili within a *luakini*. This however, is the sanctified name of the structure only when specifically considering the god Kūkā‘ilimoku, most generally associated with Kamehameha as its’ *kahu* [fig 2].\(^{166}\)

A *luakini* temple is a *heiau loulu* and a *heiau kaua*. A *heiau loulu* is a temple erected to prevent starvation, drought, ruination, and other epidemics. A *heiau kaua* is a shortened version of *waiwaikaua* referring to the spoils of war. It is thus a temple used to secure success in warfare. Both the *loulu* and *waiwaikaua* aspects of a *luakini* can only be utilized by a *Mo‘i* or king. He is the sole authoritative originator of the temple that

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\(^{162}\) P‘i 70.  
\(^{163}\) *Kauila* is a native Hawaiian form of (Alphitonia ponderosa), the buckthorn family (Pukui, Mary Kawena and Samuel H. Elbert *Hawaiian Dictionary*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986, 135).  
\(^{164}\) Malo 154.  
\(^{165}\) Pukui 53.  
\(^{166}\) Valeri 1985, 246.
begins its sanctification through the lupalupa rite of purification. Participants of this rite silently enter the temple complex and sit according to rank. A kahuna ‘o Kanalu or priest of the order of Ku, officiates over the ceremony. He holds a bundle of ‘ie’ie and offers a prayer of lupalupa. The term lupalupa recalls that which is thriving, including the ‘ie’ie utilized in the rite. The kahuna ‘o Kanalu then states “E kū ka‘ika‘i nā hikia” or “stand up and hold aloft the spears” to an answering “ola” or “hail”. The rite continues to call upon Ku to purify and sanctify through the veneration of the ‘ie’ie.\textsuperscript{167}

The Loulu rites, of which the akua hulu manu take part, commences following the purification of the lupalupa. These are a series of rituals concerning the inauguration of luakini temple including the Haku ‘ōhi‘a, Kauila nui, Kuiki, and Hono rites. The Loulu rites begin with an ‘Aha Huluhulu or Kauila Huluhulu ceremony.\textsuperscript{168} The ‘Aha Huluhulu is a procession with a recitation of prayer and ceremonial killing of pigs by a kahuna nui ‘o Kanalu and the Mō‘i. Both officials remain in the entry of the heiau within the Hale Waiaea while the congregation sits in silence before the Hale Mana.\textsuperscript{169} The kahuna nui ‘o Kanalu recites the huluhulu possibly of the following version:

\begin{verbatim}
Kai-ku ka lani, kakaa ka
Honua, alaneo ke kula,
Ua moe ka ia, ua alaneo
Ka lani.
Hooho‘ihi ka lani ia.

E Ku! e Kane! E Lono!
E Lono i ka po laila,
Kuua mai ka alaneo!

Eia la he mohai,
He puua no ka aha maka,
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
Resplendent the heavens, crystalline the
Earth, mirror-like earth’s plane,
The Milky way inclines to the west,
Refulgent are the heavens.
The heavens are guarded by the Milky way.

O Ku! O Kane! O Lono!
O Lono of the clear night,
Keep the brightness of the heavens undimmed!

Here is an offering,
A swine sacrificed for this performance in public
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{167} Malo 160-4, 180.
\textsuperscript{168} Also referenced as “Aha Hulahula” (I’I 39).
\textsuperscript{169} Malo 170.

There exists a Hale Waiaea (58 cm) created of the same materials as akua hulu manu (with the addition of turtle shell). This feathered temple left Hawai’i on Captain Cook’s third voyage and is now in The Museum für Volkerkunde in Berlin, Germany (Kaeppler, Adrienne, Christian Kaufmann, and Douglas Newton, Oceanic Art. New York: Harry Abrams, 1993).
After the recitation of the *huluhulu*, pigs are sacrificed and allocated between the *lele* or altar, the *akua hulu manu*, the *kahuna*, and the *Mō‘i*.\(^{171}\)

The ‘Aha Huluhulu also marks an initial transition between the sole use of *akua hulu manu* to the progressive elevation of the wooden Haku ‘ōhi‘a. During this ceremony, *akua hulu manu* undergo a process of revivification. Through *ho‘okupu* or offerings, new *huluhulu* are ceremonially affixed to the *akua hulu manu*. The amount of *huluhulu* affixed to the *akua hulu manu*, is in direct relation to the *mana* it projects.\(^{172}\) These feathers, gathered prior to the ritual, are first offered to the *Mō‘i* and *ali‘i*. They are then bestowed upon the *akua hulu manu* whereby they, in conjunction with ceremony and worship, reanimate and further conjure the divine with the feathered vessel.\(^{173}\)

After the acceptable completion of the ‘Aha Huluhulu ceremony, the *akua hulu manu* are then involved in the Haku ‘ōhi‘a rites. The first primary segment of the *Loulu* rites, the Haku ‘ōhi‘a, encompasses the creation and invocation of the principal wooden image of the temple. Those involved in the process are the *Mō‘i*, *ali‘i*, *maka‘āinana*, and *kahuna*. This gathering, led by the *akua hulu manu* brings with them offerings of

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\(^{170}\) Malo 183-4.
\(^{171}\) Valeri 1985, 39.
\(^{172}\) Valeri 1985, 246.
\(^{173}\) Valeri 1985, 269-70.
bananas, coconuts, pigs, and a male criminal. As the assembly progresses, the *kahuna*
voices a conventional invocation.

\[ Ka \text{ ke ala, mauele, ka, } \\
Ke i luna ke ala, mauele ka, \\
Ka i lalo ke ala, mauele ka, \\
Ka i aka ke ala, mauele ka \ldots \]

Cut a path, clear the brush,
Cut an upward path, clear the brush,
Cut a downward path, clear the brush,
Cut an inland path, clear the brush \ldots \]^{174}

The procession then halts before a pre-selected tree without decay that is to become the Haku ‘ōhi’a.\textsuperscript{175}

The process of felling the ‘ōhi’a involves the entire assembly. Initially, flanking the tree are the *kahuna haku* ‘ōhi’a and the man chosen to physically fell the tree. The *Mo’i* stands near the ‘ōhi’a and holds one of the sacrificial pigs. The remainder of the congregation stands in silence at a distance. The *kahuna haku* ‘ōhi’a, holding the axe of Kaho’ali’i, ‘*olopū* recites the ‘*aha* prayer of *mau ha’alelea*.\textsuperscript{176} This is a direct appeal for a favorable sign regarding repentance.\textsuperscript{177} Following the *mau ha’alelea* is the sacrifice of the pig and a dialogue between the *kahuna haku* ‘ōhi’a and the *Mo’i*. This dialogue focuses on the inevitable defeat, provided that there is no disruption of the ‘*aha* by anyone present.\textsuperscript{178}

The physical felling of the ‘ōhi’a can begin upon the placating completion of the ‘*aha*. To initiate this ritual phase, the *kahuna haku* ‘ōhi’a uses ‘*olopū* or a specific adze used to cut ‘ōhi’a, to remove a fragment out of the ‘ōhi’a.\textsuperscript{179} However, the *kahuna haku* ‘ōhi’a may only have to touch ‘*olopū* to the ‘ōhi’a to initiate the ritual.\textsuperscript{180} The tree is then

\textsuperscript{174}Ibid. 42.
\textsuperscript{175}Malo 165.
\textsuperscript{176}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{177}Malo 180-1.
\textsuperscript{178}Malo 166.
\textsuperscript{179}Ibid.
felled by another axe and taken to be carved while the pig is placed into the ‘imu and the other food prepared. At this stage the criminal is also sacrificed through beheading. After both carving the image and having the assembly take part in a feast of ‘aha’aina moku lehua, the pig, other foods, and kapa are buried at the base of the felled ‘ōhi‘a. The sacrificed criminal is also buried at the stump. This sacrifice is called Ke Kanaka o Mauha’alelea or “The Man Left Behind”, as he would not be rejoining the procession down the mountain. The assembly, after gathering various flora, are ready for the procession down the mountain. This is a serious and frightening procession as anyone who commits an infraction including noise or an encounter in passing, is sacrificed. Upon re-entry into the lowlands, a warning is cried to prevent infraction:

\[
\begin{align*}
E \text{ Kuamu, } & e \text{ Kuamu, } mu! & \text{O silent ones, silent ones,} \\
E \text{ Kuawa, } & e \text{ Kuawa, } wa! & \text{Hold your silence!} \\
Wawa \text{ i ke } & \text{ lanakila } \text{ uwa! } Uwa! & \text{O loud voiced ones, loud} \\
Wawa \text{ i ke } & \text{ ‘auhe'e, } he'e, \text{ he'e!} & \text{Voiced ones, shout aloud!} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Malo offers a slightly different prayer and interpretation of the procession down the mountain. He (along with ‘I‘i), states that the entire journey down the mountain is filled with noise and shouting. Malo offers this invocation: “O Kuanu. O Kuamene, O Kuawa, O Kuawawa. I go on to victory (u-o)” directed to woodland gods Kuamü and Kuawa. Kuamū, in silence, brought down the ‘ōhi‘a while Kuawa did the same through sound.
The second primary area of Loulu is the Kauila nui rite that assists in the consecration of the luakini through a ceremonial procession. Prior to the procession, a kahuna destroys hala or pandanus clusters. By destroying the hala, the kahuna symbolically rids the luakini of negativity as hala is associated with failure and death. Hala pieces are allowed to fly among the seated participants of the rite. These men are encouraged to escape the flying debris in good humor.\textsuperscript{186}

To begin the ceremony, akua hulu manu held by their kahu entered the papahola or level ground where participants sit in rows. The akua hulu manu are lead by a bearer of the kapuō stick.\textsuperscript{187} This pa‘a kapuō announces the kapu pertaining to the sacred appearance of the akua hulu manu.\textsuperscript{188} The pa‘a kapuō is also the person to whom the kahuna directs all questions.\textsuperscript{189}

Kaho‘ali‘i follows the akua hulu manu within the Kauila nui procession. Kaho‘ali‘i is a deified legendary ancestor largely associated with Kaua‘i. Kaho‘ali‘i receives two axes from the gods, haumapu and ‘olopū which he uses to divide the government represented by a felled tree. Ritually these axes must come into contact with the ‘ōhi‘a tree chosen to become the Haku ‘ōhi‘a. Both in his role during the Makahiki and in the Kauila nui ceremony, a man naked but for a white strip, represents Kaho‘ali‘i.\textsuperscript{190}

The final god in the Kauila nui procession is the akua Pānauea. This god takes the name Pānauea from his slow movement, as pānauea means feeble and slow. Akua

\textsuperscript{186} Pukui 41.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{188} Pukui 133.
\textsuperscript{189} Pukui 41.
\textsuperscript{190} Beckwith 49-50.
Pānauea roughly sets his own course as his slowness prevents him from following specific movements of the procession.  

The Kauila nui rites begins when a kahuna nui dressed in a white malo or loincloth recites the Kaiapokea prayer. This prayer is addressed to Kāne, Lono, Kū, and woodland deities. A man also accompanies the kahuna nui with seawater in a human skull. The ceremony continues in silence until the kahuna nui orders “A hopu! A hopu!”, commanding the kahu to grasp their akua hulu manu. The kahu then stands with their kiʻi in a line.

The Kauila nui rite proceeds as the kahuna continues to pray while the akua hulu manu led by Kahoʻaliʻi run their course. All but the akua Pānauea turn left at the same locations. The akua Pānauea’s course is slightly altered, as his slow nature does not allow the completion of all the turns. Kahoʻaliʻi, the akua hulu manu, and the akua Pānauea eventually returns to face the kahuna and seated participants at the declaration of the following:

Kukui kahiko i ka lani,  
A uwa i ka make o Manalu.  

Kahiko assails heaven with petitions,  
An uproar at the death of Manalu.

A dialogue then begins between the kahuna and the paʻa kapuo resulting in the declaration that Kū owns the land.

After a final prayer for the dialogue segment of the Kauila nui rite, a kuhuna kuhi alaea of the Lono order begins the Kai o Kauakahī. This portion of the ceremony is a call for purification. The kuhuna kuhi alaea holds ʻoloa, a white cloth, affixed to a staff

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191 Malo 167.  
192 Iʻi 41.  
193 Iʻi 41.  
194 Malo 168.  
195 Ibid.
in his hand. After a lengthy prayer service the kahuna kuhi alaea states: “E Ku! Kaikai na hihia!” or “Oh Ku! Remove our perplexities!” . The ceremony then finishes with the throng acclaming Ku.\textsuperscript{196}

The third primary division in the Loulu rites is Kuili dealing with the deification of the haku ‘ōhi‘a and the initiation of the mana house. Sacrifices are made and prayers continue for several days. Following prayer, the kahuna haku ‘ōhi‘a and the kahuna nui of the luakini offer a pig to every akua hulu manu located outside of the temple. Eventually, after appropriate prayer and pig sacrifice, the Mō‘i orders a kahuna to find and bring the Haku ‘ōhi‘a into the temple.\textsuperscript{197}

The final primary division of the Loulu is the Hono ritual, the shortened version of Kānehonokapa‘a, “Kāne who unites the people”. Included in the ceremony are akua hulu manu and their kahu, the Mō‘i and attendants, and kahuna[s]. Participants are seated in rows, one in back of the other. All pray in unison during this rite for fear of death. A human sacrifice is made with Manaiakalani or the ceremonial hook, attached to the mouth of the sacrifice. Following the sacrifices an ‘aha ritual commences resulting in the symbolic binding of the government, Mō‘i, and heiau.\textsuperscript{198}

**Warfare**

Akua hulu manu are also largely involved with sacrifice as a precursor to warfare. An akua hulu manu in the care of the Peabody Museum came to the museum with a label stating “God of Kekuaokalani. To this idol two human sacrifices were offered at the commencement of the battle (1819) which decided the fate of idolatry in the Sandwich

\textsuperscript{196}Malo 168-9.
\textsuperscript{197}Valeri 1985, 293-4.
\textsuperscript{198}Kamakau 1976, 130.
Islands... This ill-fated battle refers to Kekuaokalani, as the appointed kahu of the akua hulu manu formerly in the care of Kamehameha I [fig 2], rebelling against Kaʻahumanu and Liholiho’s attempts to overthrow the kapu system.  

Sacrifices are also made to the akua hulu manu on the battlefield. In ideal circumstances, the body of the lehua is sacrificed to the akua. Lehua or warrior and beloved friend is the term for the first person killed in battle. During the initial sacrifice the lehua becomes ulukoko and brings fortune to the sacrificial officiator’s forces. Makawai and helu one, the second and third victims of the battle, are also sacrificed to the akua.  

After war, sacrifices are again made to the akua hulu manu to conclude the warfare and reinstate peace. Two such sacrifices specifically made to Kūkā‘ilimoku, the god of war venerated by Kamehameha I, are Kalanikupule and Keoua. Kalanikupule, after his Oʻahu loss to Kamehameha I, escaped capture for many months leading to his sacrifice to Kūkā‘ilimoku. After a separate battle, Keoua suffers the same fate as Kalanikupule. Keoua is sacrificed to Kūkā‘ilimoku at the heiau of Puʻukohola.  

Beyond sacrifice pertaining to warfare, akua hulu manu are also physically carried into the battlefield. The akua can be transported easily to and from different locations as they are mobile and affixed to kauila poles. An akua hulu manu given to Lord Byron is one such akua used on the battlefield. Lord Byron received the akua hulu

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199 Barrow 153.
202 Valeri 1985, 40.
204 Brigham 1974, 36.
manu from an unknown missionary who included a letter stating that the *akua hulu manu* was taken from the site of Kalaniopu‘u’s final battle.\(^{205}\)

Prior to their physical journey into the battle, two forms of prayer are offered to the *akua hulu manu*. The first is the *pule hulahula* or victory prayer. The other is the *pule oenemo* which verbally blights their opponents.\(^{206}\) In the actual battle, the *akua hulu manu* on a pole of *kauila* wood, is held above the masses by a *kahuna*. The *Mō‘i* would inevitably be near. All other *akua hulu manu* associated with various lower ranking ali‘i, would similarly be held near their proprietor.\(^{207}\) A second method of utilizing the *akua hulu manu* in battle is, instead of carrying it for the duration of the fighting, to secure the *akua* in the ground and defend it from the opposition.\(^{208}\)

The sacred role that the *kahu* plays in battle by bearing the *akua* affords him immunity from the opposing force regardless of the battle’s outcome.\(^{209}\) The *kahu* also must convey the presence of the *akua hulu manu* to the warriors through verbal commotion.\(^{210}\) This continuous onslaught of obscene and intense yelling in combination with the purposeful distortion of the *kahu*’s features, constantly remind the warriors of the *akua hulu manu*’s attendance and power.\(^{211}\)

The presence of the *akua hulu manu* in warfare along with ritual sacrifice and prayer, generates courage in their respective warriors. In being accompanied by the *akua hulu manu*, they are spiritually and psychologically prepared for battle.\(^{212}\) Conversely, opponents visually experiencing the *akua hulu manu* would be alarmed and frightened at

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\(^{205}\) Kaeppler 1982, 105.
\(^{206}\) Kaeppler 1982, 105.
\(^{207}\) Ellis 117.
\(^{208}\) Emery 233.
\(^{209}\) Cox and Davenport 89.
\(^{210}\) Emery 233.
\(^{211}\) Ellis 118.
their sight across the battlefield as they, being sorcery gods, brought destruction to the opposition.\textsuperscript{213}

Roles that the \textit{akua hulu manu} enacts, whether funerary, religious, or aggressive, all rely on materials to further their authority. Like the \textit{hala} of the Kauila Nui rite, the materials of the \textit{akua hulu manu} have a deeper purpose than simply being the means of construction. Each has powerful associations, that when combined, clarifies their funerary, religious and aggressive roles.

\textsuperscript{212} Ellis 117.
\textsuperscript{213} Cox and Davenport 99.
Chapter 4
Function as Manifested in Materials

Akua hulu manu have an abundance of significant religious and cultural roles. These roles, discussed in the previous chapter, are directly linked to the akua hulu manu material inception. The technique of creating akua hulu manu draws upon specific raw materials for the purpose of enhancing the akua hulu manu’s multitude of functions. Each material, in either its raw or processed form, enables the potency of the akua hulu manu to flourish in its numerous roles through kino lau and/or observational and cultural associations.

Kino lau are “many forms taken by a supernatural body”. Deities have the ability to manifest into a variety of receptacles or kino that reflect their attributes. These kino can include kanaka or human form, ʻaʻau or flora, and holoholona or fauna. These manifestations are culturally associated with each other through basic and common connections to the natural world. A Pule Kuahu no Laka or an altar prayer for Laka the goddess and patron of the hula, although not specifically related to akua hulu manu, clarifies through reference the associations that link the three specific manifestations of kino kanaka, kino ʻaʻau, and kino holoholona.

Pule Kuahu (no Laka)

O Laka oe,
O ke akua i ke aʻa-lii nui.
E Laka mai uka!
E Laka mai kai!
O hooʻulu o Lono,
O ka ilio nana e haehae ke aha,

O ka ie-ie kā i ko wao,
O ka maile hiki i ka nahele,
O ka lau kiʻele ula o ke akua,

Pule Kuahu (no Laka)

Thou art Laka,
God of the deep-rooted aʻa-lii.
O Laka from the mountains!
O Laka from the ocean!
Let Lono bless the service,
Shutting the mouth of the dog,
That breaks the charm with his barking.
Bring the i-e that grows in the wild,
The maile that twines in the thicket,
Red-beaked Kiaʻele, leaf of the goddess,

214 Pukui 153.
In this pule, one calls the goddess Laka via her kino lau and observational and cultural associations. The same entity becomes concurrently a hardwood tree, two vines, a plant, a bird, an eel, a mother, and a daughter and is associated with the color red. Laka in kino lā'a'u manifests as 'a'ali'i, 'ie'ie, maile, and kiele. "Akua i ke a'a-lii nui" references Laka as a manifestation in the form of 'a'ali'i or Hawaiian hopseed bush (Dodonaea viscosa). This hardwood tree often has the 'ie'ie (Freycinetia arborea) of "O ka ie-ie kā i ka wao" and the maile (Alyxia oliviformis) of "O ka maile hihi i ka nahele" twining around it. Therefore, by observational association, the 'ie'ie and maile are also of the kino lā'a'u variety of kino lau. "O ka lau ki-ele ula o ke akua" mentions the kiele plant as a kino lā'a'u of Laka being the "leaf of the goddess".

The same phrase "ka lau ki-ele ula o ke akua" also references the 'i'iwi as a kino holoholona of Laka. The flowers of the kiele (Gardenia augusta) plant are visually comparable to the yellow-red feathers of the 'i'iwi. The contour of the kiele leaves also recall the form of the 'i'iwi's beak. The red flowers of the 'ie'ie contain a nectar that entices the 'i'iwi.
'Ula or red, mentioned twice in the pule, “O ka lau ki-ele ula o ke akua” and “Kapo ula o Kina’u” is culturally associated with Laka. As part of the Pele family, Laka is allied with the ‘ula of ahi or fire, ‘ā or lava, and ‘ōhi’a. ‘Ula is also allied with a second kino holoholona of Laka as “Kapo ula o Kina’u” refers to a “Red eel-woman”. Thus Laka is associated with the puhi or eel. To further reinforce the suitability of the puhi as a kino lau, is an alternate definition of puhi being “to set on fire”.

Within the same phrase “Kapo ula o Kina’u”, one can also discuss Laka as kino kanaka-specifically, Laka as Kapo. Laka is in kino and inoa or name, the child of Kapo within the Pele family. However, mother and daughter are formed from the passive and active sides of the same spirit, and are thus two kino kanaka of a single entity. Each of these aspects of Laka, whether kino lau or associated observationally or culturally, combines simultaneously and harmoniously to profoundly affect the capacity of the pule to ho’omana the kuahu through Laka.

Like the Pule Kuahu (no Laka), akua hulu manu are comprised of references that indicate specific kino lau and both observational and cultural associations. These references, like those of the pule, serve to amplify the ability of the akua hulu manu to function in and for diverse intentions. However, instead of focusing on specific phrases, akua hulu manu requires one to understand visual references by analyzing raw and processed materials.

‘Ie ‘ie

Each of the eight materials utilized in creating akua hulu manu serves to enhance one’s understanding of specific ceremonial functions. ‘Ie ‘ie, comprising the frame of the

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219 Pukui 349.
220 Beckwith 185.
akua hulu manu, though associated with Laka and the Pele family, has an overarching relationship as a *kino lau* of the primary god Kū. Kū is most recognized for his association with war, fishing, sorcery, and canoes. In this particular *kino lä‘au*, Kū becomes Kūka‘ie‘ie, a manifestation important to the *luakini* rites. The initial manifestation of Kūka‘ie‘ie occurs in the *lupalupa*, part of a purification rite to consecrate a *luakini*. In this ritual, presided over by a *kahuna ‘o Kanalu*, a bundle of ‘ie‘ie becomes *la‘a* or consecrated, by being wrapped in *ninikea* or white tapa while reciting the *pule lupalupa*. Initially, one begins with the raw material only having associations with Kū. However, the process of *ho‘ola‘u*, being in this instance the prayer in combination with wrapping, allows for the manifestation of Kūka‘ie‘ie in the raw material.

The framework of ‘ie‘ie holds the latent *mana* of Kū that can be invoked and made active within the *akua hulu manu* for specific rites. The ‘Aha Huluhulu or Kauila Huluhulu is one such rite that draws upon Kū to reanimate the *akua hulu manu* by covering the *ki‘i* with new *hulumanu*. In essence, the *akua hulu manu*, having already the latent *mana* of Kū as Kūka‘ie‘ie, become *la‘a* through the process of affixing (wrapping) with *hulumanu*.

The *la‘a* of *akua hulu manu* through the ‘Aha Huluhulu or Kauila Huluhulu precedes the Haku‘ōhi‘a rites, as the first portion of Loulu. During the course of the Loulu rites the *akua hulu manu* gradually relinquish their prominence to the principal wooden image sanctified for the *heiau*. Through each stage of the rites, the *mana* of the

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221 Malo 82.
222 Valeri 1985, 267.
‘ie’ie gradually shifts to another kino lā‘au of Kū, the ‘ōhi‘a. This shift accompanies the gradual displacement of Kūkaʻieʻie for Kūkaʻohiʻalaka. On the level of the raw materials, this shift is the foundation that unifies the Luakini rites and provides the potential for manamana within each stage.

Olonā

The second material of an akua hulu manu is olonā made into naepuni that covers the ‘ie’ie framework. This plant is also largely associated with Kū. The primary uses of olonā centers around fishing and feather work, activities that are attributes of Kū in the forms of Kūʻula and Kūhulumanu. In fishing, olonā is used for aho or lines and ‘upena or nets because of its durability and resistance to water. To create these fishing implements, one utilizes the same technique as one would for the naepuni of feather work, including cloaks, capes and akua hulu manu. The knotting of the olonā to create nae for feather work is a ritual process that results in the naepuni having a protective quality. This protection is extended to the akua hulu manu when wrapping around the ‘ie’ie framework. The olonā, in its relation to the blood and brutality of fishing and the protective nature of the feather work nae, serve to amplify the desirability of the akua hulu manu in both the offensive and defensive aspects of warfare.

Olonā, though related to Kū through fishing and feather work, is also a kino lā‘au of the god Lono. The cultivation of olonā is an example of non-irrigated agriculture, as its cultivation relies on the rain provided by Lono. The momona or fertility of the land due to rain is an attribute of Lono that extends into hānau or human fertility and birth.

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224 Ibid. 269.
225 Summers 51.
226 Kaeppler 1985, 119.
227 Valeri 1985, 15.
the context of birth, ‘aha olonā is used to hiki’i or tie the piko or umbilical cord of newborns.228

The connection between the ‘aha and birth supports the role of the akua hulu manu in aspects of the luakini rites. In the ‘Aha Huluhulu, the akua hulu manu are made la‘a, a process of consecration through revivification (i.e. the attachment of new hulumanu). They are, in essence, reborn. The “birth” of the akua hulu manu coincides with the function of the loulu rites, being the creation or “birth” of a luakini heiau in which both Kū and Lono are called.229 Although the physical ‘aha used in luakini rites is most often niu, or coconut (a kino lau of Kū), the ‘aha also refers to uninterrupted prayer.230 This direct link to the akua related to Lono by associations of olonā enhances all ceremonial aspects of the akua hulu manu.231

Huluhulu

The huluhulu of all akua hulu manu promote the ki‘i’s association with Kū by specifically involving aspects of warfare and death. Birds “with precious plumage” like those whose feathers were used in feather work, are all the kino lau of Kū.232 The majority of those kino lau of Kū have hulumanu ‘ula, a color most specifically affiliated with Kū because the color red evokes the blood associated with fishing and war.233 Hulumanu, in their natural state, are associated with Kūhulumanu, Kū of the bird feathers as invoked as Kūhuluhulumanu in the following pule manu.

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228 Summers 61.
229 Beckwith 40.
230 Malo 177.
231 Cox and Davenport 83.
232 Valeri 1985, 12.
233 Ibid.
Bird Catching Prayer

Na aumakua i ka po
Na aumakua, i ke ao
Ia Kane i ka po
Ia Kanaloa i ka po
Ia Hoomeha i ka po
I ko’u mai kapuna a pau i ka po
Ia Ku-huluhulu-manu i ka po,
O pale i ka po o puka i ke ao
Homai he ike
Homai he loa a nui
Pit oukou ke kua lihiwi
Ake kualono
Ho’o mai oukou i ka manu a pau
Heihe oukou iluna o ke kepeakahe e pili ai,
Amama ua noa.

O aumakua of the night,
O aumakua of the day,
To Kane in the night,
To Kanaloa in the night,
To Hoomeha in the night,
To all of my ancestors in the night,
To Ku-huluhulu-manu in the night,
This is I - - the one who has mana
Grant me wisdom
Grant me good catch.
Go ye up to the mountains.
To the mountain tops,
Drive down all the birds,
Put them on the gums where they will stick fast,
Amama, it is freed.234

The significance of hulumanu to the akua hulu manu and warfare is most noticeable when discussing Kūkā‘ilimoku, an aspect of Kū currently identified with akua hulu manu housed in the Bishop Museum [fig 2]. In mo’olelo, Pa‘ao is a kahu of Kūkā‘ilimoku. This particular akua is created out of the hulumanu from the forehead of the slain Kiwa’a. These hulumanu became manamana and gave life to Kūkā‘ilimoku.235 He is thus a god of war emerging from a violent act, the slain Kiwa’a. The akua hulu manu Kūkā‘ilimoku is then both created from and by hulumanu. It is the material central to the ki’i’s being, enhancing aggressive energy.

The manu, as a kino lau of Kū, affords this deity in his various manifestations the ability to fly. Specific manifestations, such as Kūkā‘ilimoku, Keolo’ewa, and other sorcery gods, have the ability to fly for the purposes relating to death. Whether this involves flying to the head of an individual for sacrificial purposes or conveying a soul

into the state of an ‘aumakua, the association of hulumanu with Kū is the attribute that allows for these possibilities.\textsuperscript{236}

\textit{Pa}\textsuperscript{237}

The use of pā, or mother of pearl shell, as maka or eyes, energizes the akua hulu manu’s connection to functions involving the general communication between kanaka and akua. Maka are of supreme importance as the term can be defined as a beginning or source. It also implies comprehension or awareness as the word “‘ike”, or seeing, references the ability to understand.\textsuperscript{238} It is this ability to understand that is the source or beginning of the kanaka relationship to the akua. In establishing this relationship, the divine can enter into the temporal realm.

The maka of the akua hulu manu, in their radiance as pā, become a central focus as they reflect light. This brilliance enhances the existing cultural connection between maka and hōkū or stars, a connection which is referenced by “ka‘onohi o ka lā” or “the pupil of the sun”.\textsuperscript{239} When this brilliance becomes hidden, as in an eclipse, protocol demands that a sacrifice of human maka be made.\textsuperscript{240} Hōkū (like maka themselves), are also culturally associated with divinity as they are themselves, objects of veneration.\textsuperscript{241} In their capacity as divine entities, hōkū imparts protection.\textsuperscript{242}

The protective nature of hōkū is most often connected with wayfinding, as hōkū are fundamental components of navigation. The pā, as shells found on the ocean floor,
are related to Kanaloa and thus to the ocean tides that are essential to wayfinding. This reference to protection and navigation enhances the ability of the *akua hulu manu* to act as a *kahu* for the bones of the deceased as well as a guide for the *ali‘i* in death, a state also affiliated with Kanaloa.

Although *pā* has connections to Kanaloa, its common use is for *hiohio* or minute hooks for fishing, an activity affiliated with Kū. The *hiohio* is highly valued by fishermen because fish are drawn to the opalescence of the *pā*, most especially the *aku* or bonito. The eyes of the *aku* reinforce the *akua hulu manu*’s relationship with Kū. In the month of Kā‘elo, corresponding with the Western month of January, religious rites occur in which the eyes of the *aku* are eaten. This corresponds to the ending of the Makahiki and thus the unrestricted access of Kū.

*Niho*

The *niho* of *‘ilio* or dogs are most often used in physically creating an *akua hulu manu*. Although dogs were a source of food and sacrifice, they were also highly valued animals. Often women would breastfeed *‘ilio* as they would their own children. One reason for the esteem placed upon *‘ilio* including their treatment as a suckling child, is their parturition from man. *‘ilio* are animals emerging from the transformed body of the demi-god Maui’s brother-in-law. Maui, through deceit, crushed the body of his brother-in-law under a *wa‘a* or canoe. The crushed body of Maui’s brother-in-law lengthened as his backbone formed a tail, thus “birthing” the first *‘ilio.*

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243 Valeri 1985, 15.
244 Malo 79.
245 Malo 209.
246 Breastfed dogs are separate from dogs fed with poi, the latter being used for food (Titcomb, Margaret. *Dog and Man in the Ancient Pacific with Special Attention to Hawaii*. Honolulu: Hawai‘i, 1969, 3-4). 247 *Ibid. 20.*
The relationship between *kanaka* and *‘ilio* has distinctive significance at death. *‘ilio* and *kanaka* are childhood companions with the *‘ilio* serving in a protective capacity. If the *kanaka* passed away, the dog would be sacrificed and have its head buried with the *kanaka* companion. In this manner, the *‘ilio* would continue its protective responsibilities. If the *‘ilio* died prior to its companion, the *kanaka* would wear the *niho ‘ilio* to maintain the connection. This personal relationship and protective qualities of the *‘ilio* are reproduced by the *akua hulu manu* in regard to burial responsibilities.

The physical treatment of the *niho* of a *akua hulu manu* reinforces the personal relationship between the *ali‘i* and that particular *akua hulu manu*. Upon the death of an *ali‘i*, those *kanaka* close to the deceased would knock out their front teeth. At the same time, the *niho* of the *akua hulu manu* associated with the deceased *ali‘i* would also be knocked out. This display of devotion is a physical means of demonstrating the connection between *‘ilio* and *kanaka*, and by virtue of the *ki‘i* itself, to the *akua*. The triad of *‘ilio*, *kanaka*, and *akua* gathers strength in the ability of the *‘ilio* to act as an intermediary between the *kanaka* and *akua*. This interaction is only possible as the *‘ilio* are a species that the *kanaka* commands authority over. Communicative functions of the *akua hulu manu* within the spiritual and temporal realms are enhanced by this interaction.

Beyond communication and death, the *niho ‘ilio* assist the *akua hulu manu* in all aspects of warfare. The *‘ilio*, by virtue of its aggressive nature, is a *kino lau* of *Kū* as

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248 Ibid. 10.  
249 Ellis 133.  
250 Valeri 1985, 119.
Kū'ilioloa is a warrior of supernatural power. Though he is an 'ilio, Kū'ilioloa has the body of a kanaka. This warrior dog battles both Kamapua'a, and Ka'ulu. In the Kamapua'a battle, Kū'ilioloa, known as a man-eater, devours Kamapua'a, allowing Kamapua'a to emerge victorious by bursting from the inside of Kū'ilioloa's body. In the mo'olelo of Ka'ulu, Kū'ilioloa terrorizes travelers in Mokoli'i. However, when battling Ka'ulu, Kū'ilioloa becomes ripped to small pieces by the power of Ka'ulu, bringing about a new, smaller standard in size for present day 'ilio. Both mo'olelo, the actions of Kū'ilioloa revolve around aggression, first with cannibalism and then the terrorization of travelers. Both mo'olelo reinforce the affiliation between Kū and 'ilio.

The mo'olelo of Kaupe also reinforces the connection of Kū and 'ilio. Kaupe has the ability to manifest in either kanaka or 'ilio form. He is a cannibal who stole a male child for sacrifice on the island of O'ahu. When Kaupe fell asleep, the father of the stolen child seized his son and hid under a pōhaku or stone and recited pule. Kaupe, unable to find the two, flew to the island of Hawai'i. The cannibalistic and aggressive nature of Kaupe recall the violence of warfare and Kū as the akua of that activity. The ability of Kaupe to fly, applicable to the akua hulu manu specifically through the combination of niho 'ilio and hulumanu, reference specific war / sorcery gods like Kūkā'ilimoku and Kūkeolo'ewa.

The use of niho manō or shark's teeth, though not as common as niho 'ilio, functioned similarly in Kū-related issues. The manō is also an extremely aggressive and

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251 The niho 'ilio and bones of the 'ilio are used as hooks in fishing, a second connection to Kū (Titcomb 17, 21-2).
252 Beckwith 347-8.
253 Ibid 21.
violent creature in its ability to devour both man and animals of the ocean. In its quest for sustenance, the *mano* is a rival of man in acquiring fish, a Kū-related activity.\(^{254}\)

*Mano*, like the *ilio* is an animal held in high esteem. Often the *ali‘i* himself is referred to as a *mano*, thus fostering a closer relationship between the *ki‘i* and its *kahu*.\(^{255}\)

*Mano* also functioned as ‘*aumakua* or a family god.\(^{256}\) Often a deceased family member, with the help of his *mamo*, would transfigure into a ‘*aumakua mano*’.\(^{257}\) An ancestral presence may therefore exist in the *akua hulu manu* with *niho mano*.

Genealogical power would thereby inform and contribute to the potency and energy of the *akua hulu manu*’s functions.

**Lauoho**

*Lauoho* or human hair is a material used only in association with the most revered events and people as it comes from the *po‘o* or head, a sacred part of the body. Exemplifying this notion are the *lei niho palaoa* which are appropriate only for *akua* and *ali‘i*.\(^{258}\) These *lei*, made of *lauoho*, harness genealogical *mana* as each strand of *lauoho* provides a physical presence for an ancestor.

Huikala rites also utilize *lauoho* as a physical indication of an ancestral presence. During part of the Huikala rites to purify the land, a man plays an ominous role by threatening to stab the audience in the eye with a spear, thus rendering the audience blind and unable to ‘*ike*, both visually and comprehensively, the ceremony. This man carrying a spear, wears “’*ka pāpale o ka lauoho o ka po‘e kahiko*, ‘the wig [made] of the hair of

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\(^{254}\) Valeri 1985, 21.

\(^{255}\) Ibid. 151.

\(^{256}\) Pukui 32.

\(^{257}\) Kamakau 1991. 77.

\(^{258}\) Kaeppler 1982, 92.
people of old.” The threatening physical action of the participant implies the necessity of an ancestral presence in rituals, in this instance made tangible by the pāpale lauoho. In this same manner, the lauoho of the akua hulu manu enhances its mana by having the ability to draw upon an additional source of strength, the ancestral presence.

La‘au Kauila

The final material associated with the akua hulu manu is lā‘au kauila, the kauila pole used to carry the akua hulu manu. Kauila, as a forest tree, is a kino lau of Kū. It is a hardwood and is therefore strong, a primary attribute of Kū. The form that the kauila takes is also directly related to Kū, in that, like the penetrating ‘o‘o or digging stick, it is vertical and thus masculine.  

La‘au kauila has a further relationship to Kū by its presence in the Kauila huluhulu or ‘Aha Huluhulu rites. The reference to kauila in the ceremony’s title refers to the kauila pole used to support the akua hulu manu. Kauila, in an alternative definition, alludes to “the lightening”; perhaps relating to the abrupt and violent mana that is inherent in lightening and by association Kū. This same kauila pole, with all its implications of masculinity, strength, and the violence of lightening, supports the akua hulu manu in warfare both physically and spiritually.

Each material used in constructing akua hulu manu, amplifies the potency of the akua function effectively. However, due to colonial collecting and subsequent re-imaging, the power of the material reference has waned. However, new forms, such as

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259 Valeri 1985, 257.
260 Ibid. 14, 27, 270.
261 Pukui 365.
photography and digital imaging, have been added to the biographical record of the *akua hulu manu*, necessitating further examination.
The supreme importance of materials in explicating the functional efficacy of *akua hulu manu* becomes increasingly ambiguous with regard to contemporary culture. In this technological era of rapid exchange based largely in cyberspace, global culture has re-imaged the image. The technologically and culturally intricate compilation of materials that provide the basis for understanding the *akua hulu manu* within the precepts of Hawaiian thought, are rendered impotent. The *akua hulu manu*, without their essential material reference become *ki‘i* of *ki‘i hulu manu*, they become images of feathered images as opposed to feathered gods.

An analysis of these *ki‘i* of *akua*, though incapable of conveying sensory understanding based in Hawaiian thought, should continue to stress *kino* or materials. However, instead of focusing on raw materials, emphasis shifts to *kino* as form. This *kino*, along with its visual context, provides a means to interpret the *ki‘i hulu manu* re-presented in different manifestations of *ki‘i*.\(^{262}\) Although no longer an *akua*, the re-imaged *ki‘i* remains a culturally significant manifestation often emblematizing Hawai‘i in global culture.

Re-presentations of *ki‘i hulu manu* began in the *kino* of sketches. Artists, like John Webber, were among the crew of Cook’s third voyage. These artists sketched Hawai‘i, its people, and culture and often re-imaged these representations through the

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Among the first known re-presentations of *ki'i hulu manu* were those created by Webber, the official artist of Cook’s third voyage [fig 32 & 33]. The originals of both images are in the Webber Album of the Dixon Library in Sydney, Australia. The first [fig 32] entitled “Tereoboo, King of Owhyhee, bringing presents to Capt Cook”, originally sketched on the 27th of January, 1779, depicts three *ki‘i hulu manu* in the *muli* or stern of a *wa‘a kaulua* or double canoe. The second Webber image [fig 33] portrays a *ki‘i hulu manu* held by a male aboard a *wa‘a kaulua*.264 Most often the *ki‘i hulu manu* finds contemporary re-presentation in the *kino* of photography or *ki‘i*, whether in material or digitized form. These *ki‘i* magnify the exposure of the *ki‘i hulu manu* by reason of their physical *kino*. They are, as a material, easily reproduced and circulated.265 The reproduction of *ki‘i* en mass allows for their subject matter, in this case, *ki‘i hulu manu* to become highly visible, thus strengthening their authority as an image of cultural importance.266 Cultural value placed on a *ki‘i hulu manu* also gains global momentum through the circulation of its *ki‘i* made possible by its *kino*.267

The visual presentation of the subject matter within the *ki‘i* also assists in understanding the re-imaged form. The visual presentation of the subject is made or

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263 Engravings were often made by engravers rather than the original artist and are thus different from the original works. Often artists altered their own reproductions, creating a re-presented form distinct from the original sketch.
constructed through established visual codes. Therefore, by acknowledging the similarities and differences of one *kino* or form to another, one can better understand the *ki‘i*. One such constructed *kino* is the “trophy-style” commonly used in both photography and museum display. In this *kino*, exemplified by [fig 34], images are displayed without a clear cultural theme or connection. Images are grouped for the pleasure of the overall aesthetic. In [fig 34] a *ki‘i hulu manu* is centrally situated among cultural objects from various locales throughout Polynesia. Other than a general geographic grouping, the *ki‘i* does not convey any particular motif. Instead it participates in an aesthetically harmonious though excessive display of collected cultural items.

An 1896 study *The History of Man*, contains a second example of a *ki‘i* in “trophy style” [fig 35]. This *ki‘i* is of the painted *kino*, vividly detailed and entitled “Polynesian Weapons and Costume”. In this *kino*, the artist G. Mutzel brightly depicts an array of Polynesian “clothing and ornament” in ethnographic detail. Included in this arrangement are three *ki‘i hulu manu* in the care of the British Museum [fig 4,6,8]. The aesthetics of the *ki‘i* and its vast array of accumulated artifacts, situates [fig 35] within the “trophy” milieu. The focus on the cultural “artifacts” on display within the *ki‘i*, transfers to the subject matter of the book, the display of the “races”.

A *ki‘i* of the *akua hulu manu* in the care of the Pitt-Rivers Museum [fig 10] exemplifies a *kino* in contrast to the “trophy style”. The subject is a single *ki‘i hulu manu* rendered twice, once in frontal view and the other in profile. This makes the form of the

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kiʻi hulu manu the single most important aspect of the kiʻi. By comparing the kino of [fig 34 & 35] in connection with that of [fig 10], one can better understand their re-imaged forms. In [fig 34] the kino projects notions of accumulation, possession and display by virtue of the amassed visibility of the forms in a cohesive presentation. A possible function of this kino would be a curio or even an ethnographic museum display. Similar to the function of [fig 35] as an ethnographic display in print form. By contrast, the kino of [fig 10] encourages one to study a single image in detail. The re-imaged form of the kiʻi hulu manu can then be understood to perhaps be a museum record or visual scientific evidence.

To better comprehend the re-imaged kiʻi, one combines kino with context. A photograph [fig 36] taken at Punahou School, then Oʻahu College, has a kino of the “trophy-style”. It is a display of the Hawaiian culture without regard to function or cultural context. However, when one becomes aware that the kino is an array of objects specifically associated with Punahou School, a new layer of understanding opens. It becomes a display of objects of cultural significance owned by the institution. These possessed items on display elevate the esteem of Punahou School through their kino and visibility due to the relative ease of reproduction. In this situation, the kiʻi hulu manu is not necessarily an object of immediate interest. Its individual cultural function and understanding is secondary to the overall presentation of kiʻi.

Photography as a kino has the ability to accumulate meanings. It can be recodified depending upon elements such as time or personal understanding. Therefore, a concrete context assists in one’s understanding of re-imaged kiʻi hulu manu. One such example is [fig 37], which is a re-imaged kiʻi hulu manu present in the kino of
drawings.\textsuperscript{271} This \textit{ki‘i}, found in a 1901 scientific publication elucidates the
“Physiognomy in Savage Art”.\textsuperscript{272} Physiognomy is a visual study of features that are
believed to be physical manifestations of internal character.\textsuperscript{273} In this \textit{ki‘i} there are four
\textit{ki‘i hulu manu} in the \textit{kino} of drawing, depicting four \textit{ki‘i hulu manu} used to demonstrate
four different emotions. These \textit{ki‘i} in this \textit{kino} are detached from the context and
function of \textit{akua hulu manu}. They are instead circulated as “savage art” perpetuating the
then understanding of the Hawaiian culture as “savage”.

The realm of the souvenir is another \textit{kino} that affects the understanding of \textit{akua hulu manu}. The souvenir is a physical reminder of a particular memory that historically
began in relation to tourism. These items are usually inexpensive and convey a
commonplace view of a certain location or event.\textsuperscript{274} One such souvenir associated with
\textit{akua hulu manu} is the menu cover of the Matson Navigation Company’s SS Lurline.\textsuperscript{275}
These menu covers [\textbf{fig 38 & 39}] are reproductions of murals by Eugene Francis Savage
who centered his work around what he felt was the “pageantry of the native culture”.\textsuperscript{276}
In these images, the \textit{akua hulu manu} is re-presented as a \textit{ki‘i hulu manu} in an ideal and
friendly setting composed by the artist. The \textit{ki‘i} is depicted amidst women doing \textit{hula},
passive and smiling warriors, and articles of food and clothing. The sacred and often
violent function of the \textit{akua hulu manu} in no way infringes upon the light-hearted
illustrations. This detached re-imaging of the \textit{akua hulu manu} contributes to the
representation of paradise being sold by the Matson Navigation Company.

\textsuperscript{271} Although the contemporary \textit{kino} is probably a copy of a print of a copy of a drawing-many times
removed. This layering further distances the \textit{akua} from the \textit{ki‘i}.
\textsuperscript{272} “Physiognomy in Savage Art.” \textit{Scientific American}. No. 1332. 13 July 1901.
\textsuperscript{273} Poole 161-4.
\textsuperscript{275} These images are currently being sold as posters, greeting cards, and on collectible dinnerware.
To further convolute the re-imaging of the *ki‘i*, [fig 38 & 39] are actually photocopies of greeting cards based on Matson Navigation menu covers taken directly from murals. They are re-imaged *ki‘i* of re-imaged *ki‘i* of re-imaged *ki‘i*. In continuing the biography of these images, Eugene Savage probably also drew inspiration from re-imaged *ki‘i* in creating his murals. As demonstrated by these two figures, potential for “re-imaging” is endless.

The postcard is another standard *kino* of the re-imaged *akua hulu manu*. These particular cards [40 & 41] are souvenirs that recall one’s personal memory of the *akua* within the museum setting. The first postcard [fig 40], is a *ki‘i hulu manu* representing an *akua* in the care of the British Museum. This postcard, copywritten in 1976, states that it is an “image of feathers on a basketry frame probably representing the war-god Ku”. The second postcard [fig 41] is a photograph taken by Seth Joel of an *akua hulu manu* included in the 1980-1983 exhibition at the Bishop Museum of “Hawai‘i: the Royal Isles”. Both postcards feature a single *ki‘i hulu manu* set against a colored backdrop.

These postcards, [fig 40 & 41], as they are created for and are products of a museum experience, are associated with intellectual pursuits and cultured taste.\(^\text{277}\) This refined aspect, in combination with the physical *kino* of a mass-produced and inexpensive souvenir, presents an interesting outcome. The *kino* specific to a postcard, is a cheap document that is used once, and then, most often thrown away. It is a personal memory that one wishes to share with another person via the postal service. It is a commodity. This same image, if produced as a frameable print, can move beyond commodity status.

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at least temporarily. As the framed print is often used in middle-class décor, the *ki'i hulu manu* becomes a semi-cultivated work of art. In this instance, the *ki'i* re-engages with the original *akua hulu manu* through the intellectual framework of a museum, as they both represent cultured life.

The digital images of the internet constitute other *kino* that re-images the *akua hulu manu*. These are intercultural exchanges at the push of a button.\(^{278}\) Be it an actual central image or a clickable ‘link’, techno-culture makes the *ki'i hulu manu* readily accessible.\(^{279}\) In a hasty bout of Internet ‘surfing’ one need only type “akua hulu manu”, “Hawai‘i and feather and gods” or “Kūkā‘ilimoku” to secure an endless list of results. Included in these results are class guides to oceanic art such as the art 596 slide study list [42] [http://art.sdsu.edu/art/homepages/courses/art596/hawaii.html](http://art.sdsu.edu/art/homepages/courses/art596/hawaii.html). Also securing numerous hits are museum web sites such as [43] [http://www.british-museum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixml.exe](http://www.british-museum.ac.uk/compass/ixbin/hixml.exe) the British Museum and [fig 44] [http://www.ethno-museum.ac.at/ge/sammlungen/pazifik/cook-l.html](http://www.ethno-museum.ac.at/ge/sammlungen/pazifik/cook-l.html) the Museum für Völkerkunde. One even finds websites dedicated entirely to a partially informed yet resoundingly inadequate juxtaposition of text and *ki'i hulu manu* such as [fig45.1&45.2] [http://www.enctype.delDaemonen/inhalkuka.htm](http://www.enctype.delDaemonen/inhalkuka.htm). This specific web site, although part of contemporary culture by virtue of its *kino*, eerily recalls the 1901 scientific presentation of “Physiognomy in Savage Art” [fig 37]. One can even find the


\(^{280}\) Translation: Kukailimoku: Hawaiianian, demonical god of war, the demon of aggression and rage. In his mouth there are razor-sharp teeth.
occasional *ki‘i hulu manu* on ebay [fig 46]  


The digital images of the Internet demonstrate a greater divide between the *ki‘i hulu manu* and the *akua hulu manu*. By being digitally encoded, the *ki‘i* can be ‘made’ and manipulated on command without observable evidence to its tampering, thus altering the form of the *ki‘i*. Although quickly accessible to an even larger constituency than photography, digitally encoded images allow for a screen-only experience, a virtual understanding of the *ki‘i hulu manu* without ample reference to the necessary materials of the *akua hulu manu*.

Each of these *kino*, whether photography, drawings, souvenirs or digital images, all contribute to the contemporary global understanding of both the *akua hulu manu*, and by extension, the Hawaiian culture. In these re-imaged forms, the *akua* becomes a *ki‘i* associated with an ideological hodgepodge of aesthetics, science, pleasure, refinement, violence, and commodity. These distinct and expansive ideas combine with the already complex layers of meaning associated with the *akua hulu manu* to create much more than an understanding of a cultural image. One becomes aware of the endless and mutable cultural creation begun in the *akua* and the *ki‘i*. 
Conclusion

Through this focused concentration on materials in order to better comprehend *akua hulu manu*, one is able to observe their multifaceted nature. *Akua hulu manu* should not be approached as an image with a fixed purpose and function, as their complexity extends far beyond a one-dimensional transparent portrayal. Instead, by concentrating on materials, one detects associations with the Kū gods, Kāne, Lono, and Kanaloa. Yet, *akua hulu manu* are also sorcery gods and ‘aumakua. They are genealogically associated yet often politically and socially motivated. They can be called upon for communication as well as sacrifice. This exploration also demonstrates the extent to which *akua hulu manu* have experienced a drastic reformation in agency. Through the processes of socio-political change, colonial collecting, and various methods of re-imaging, the *akua hulu manu* constantly execute new roles in an endless array of situations.

Despite layers of understanding, *akua hulu manu* continue to present unanswered questions. Of major import are the differences in visual characteristics of each *akua hulu manu*. These variations, such as the inclusion of *lauoho* or a *mahiole*, or differences in technology, remain enigmatic. Perhaps these differences deal with function or a visual alliance with a specific island or genealogy. It is possible that the answers to many of these questions lie in the materials themselves.

Possibilities for further research based on materials include, for example, an analysis of the *olonā* used for each *akua hulu manu*. There are a total of eleven

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281 Scientific testing would further the understanding of *akua hulu manu*. However, testing necessitates the removal of small fragments of material from the akua. Whether this is a piece of *olonā* to determine its species or a segment of *lauoho* to ascertain the DNA structure, the removal of any portion, regardless of size, possibly introduces a cultural problem.
species of this plant, associated with specific islands. Determining which species of  
olona utilized on a specific akua hulu manu may help to determine an island of origin.  
This furthers the possibility of a stylistic analysis between the akua hulu manu and other  
categories of images from each specific island.

Regardless of all remaining questions related to akua hulu manu, the primary  
realization of this endeavor is the importance of focusing on materials. This approach  
should extend to other categories of images. Of primary import would be the analysis of  
wooden images to determine their specific species. This examination would profoundly  
affect the understanding of various image types. It is important to recognize the  
Hawaiian perspective that forces one to see images as their material, as those materials  
give the kiʻi life.

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282 Summers 22.
283 Kaeppler, Adrienne. “Wood Analysis and Historical Contexts of Collecting Hawaiian  
Figure 2
Figure 2.3
Figure 3.3
Figure 8
Figure 10
Figure 12
Figure 13
Figure 16
Figure 26
Figure 28

Hiʻa kā ʻupena
Figure 34
Figure 35
Figure 37

Fig. 1.—A HAWAIIAN GOD OF WAR, WITH A FACE EXPRESSIVE OF CALM FEROCITY.

Fig. 2.—GOD OF WAR WITH A MOUTH EXPRESSIVE OF SADNESS.

Fig. 3.—GOD OF WAR WHOSE MOUTH AND DILATED PUPILS INDICATE FRIGHT.

Fig. 4.—GOD OF WAR WITH A FEROCIOUS AND SANGUINARY LAUGH.
Six original murals were commissioned to Eugene Savage between 1937 and 1940. Details from those murals were printed on menus in the late 1940's and provided to passengers traveling on luxury cruises between the U.S. mainland and Hawaii.

Published in cooperation with Makani Ltd.

8885 Hawaiian Resources Co., Ltd. Printed in Japan.

$1.50

Figure 39
Hawaiian Art

Image of feathers on a basketry frame probably representing the war-god Ku

The Museum of Mankind L.M.S. 211

© 1976, The Trustees of the British Museum BM/C/ET/088

Figure 40
Hawaiian Basketry Image
Formerly covered with feathers, this image was probably the representation of the war god, Kūkūlīlimoku.
Bernice P. Bishop Museum
Honolulu, Hawaii

Photo by Seth Joel
HAWAI'I: THE ROYAL ISLES exhibition 1980-1983

Figure 41
7. Lei palava: human hair, ivory hook

8. Feather images; semni, feathers, dog incisors

10. Petroglyphic rock

These ten slides are from Hawaii, Polynesia.

Figure 42
Feather god

From Hawaii, Polynesia
Possibly 18th century AD

The Hawaiians made images of their gods which they
feathered and carried into battle on poles. These they
as personal gods for the chiefs and as encouragement to
their warriors. It was believed that these feather gods represented the war
god through whom, including forms of the gods Lua and Lono,
also represented.

It was assumed until recently that this image had been
acquired by Captain Vancouver during his voyage in 1791, as it was
believed to be an artifact of Cook's voyages. However, it is now
assumed that this was brought by Captain Vancouver during his
voyage to the Hawaiian Islands in 1791. The image is
believed to be a representation of a feathered god, possibly
18th century AD.

This feather god was acquired by the British Museum in 1823 during
Captain Vancouver's voyage. It is now on display at the British Museum.

Department of Ethnography (study collection)

A L Keanie - Tracing the history of Hawaiian Cook vessels in the
Museum of Scotland in T C Michell (ad.), Captains of the
R W Forse and M Forse, Art and artifacts of the Hawaiian
In the Leeward Islands as penned by Sarah Stone (H
Museum Press, 1989), pp. 22-23
J L Keebler, "Artificial Canoes: a brief history and study of
British Museum collections", in the three Pacific voyages of
Cook, R N (Edinburgh, 1979), pp. 22-23

http://www.british-museum.ac.uk/compass/sbhm/hxclient.exe?JXDB=compass8_JXSR_
5/11/2002

Figure 43
Sammlung von James Cook

Zu den bedeutendsten und wertvollsten ethnographischen Sammlungen des Museums für Völkerkunde gehören jene Gegenstände, die Kapitän James Cook auf seinen Weltreisen in fernen Weltteilen erworben hat. In vielen Fällen waren es und seine Leute die ersten Europäer gewesen, die bisher unbekannte Inseln im Pazifischen Ozean anliefen und somit Kunde von der Kultur ihrer Bewohner brachten.

Im Jahr 1778 besuchte James Cook auf der Suche nach der Nordwest-Passage einige Monate die Nordwest-Küste Nordamerikas. Die bei den Landaufenthalten gesammelten Objekte lieferten Information über die einheimischen Kulturen aus der ersten Phase ihres Kontakts mit den Europäern.

Einige Objekte aus den Sammlungen

Auf einem Flechtherrn aus Pflanzenfaserschnüren sind Federn eingeknüpft, die Augen werden durch Perlmutter scheiben dargestellt, auf denen Holztüren zugezogen sind, und Mund beiden zwei Reihen Hundeohren. Die Bude ist eine Darstellung des hawaiischen Kriegsgottes Kukulakea.

Figure 44

Kleine aus Walnuss geschätzte Figuren aus Tonga sind in mehreren Sammlungen vorhanden. Sie wurden als Schmuck, möglicherweise auch als Ansteck um den Hals getragen. Die gegenständliche Figur weist am Hinterkopf eine Durchbohrung auf und könnte gleichfalls diesen Zweck gedient haben.

http://www.ehno-museum.ac.za/ge/sammlungen/pazifik/cook-4.html

5/11/2002
Kukailimoku

Hawaiianisch, dämonischer Kriegsgott, der Dämon der Aggression und Wut.
In seinem Maul sind zahllose messerscharfe Zähne. Er kennt keine Gnade und seine Grausamkeit ist ohne Grenzen.
Figure 45.2
GLOSSARY

‘ā - lava

‘a‘ali‘i - Dodonaea viscosa

‘ae - short, as in feathers

‘aha - prayer effective only without interruption

ahi - fire

aho - line, cord

‘ākau - right

‘āki - tufts of hair

aku - bonito

akua-god, goddess, image, idol, spirit

akua noho - a spirit that takes possession of people and speaks through them as a medium

ali‘i - chief

alokahi - single-pair twine

alolua ‘āmī‘i pa‘a - double interlocking twining

‘apapane - Himatione sanguinea

‘aumakua - family or personal gods, deified ancestors

haha kā ‘upena - mesh gauge

haku hulu - male feather worker

hala - Pandanus odoratissimus

hālau kahi olonā - a designated shed for olonā located near fresh water

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hale - house, building, institution

*hale mana* - the largest and primary temple within the luakini

*hale waiea* - house at the entrance to a heiau

hānau - human fertility and birth

*haumapu* - axe divinely bestowed

*hi‘a kā ‘upena* - shuttle

*hiki‘i* - tie

*hilo* - twisting

*heiau kaua* - temple used to bring success in war

*heiau loulu* - a temple erected to prevent starvation, drought, ruination, and other epidemics

*helu one* - third victim in a battle

*hema* - left

*hiohio* - minute hooks for fishing

*hoaka* - crescent, crest as on a helmet

*hō‘auwa‘e* - to show no interest, disrespectful, scornful

*hō‘īhi* - revered

*hōkū* - star

*holoholona* - fauna

*ho‘ola‘a ‘ana* - consecration

*ho‘omanamana* - to impart mana, as to idols or objects, to deify

*hulu* - quills

*huluhulu* - feathers, body hair

*hulumanu* - bird feathers
‘ie - ariel root of the ‘ie’ie
‘ie’ie - Freycinetic arborea
‘i’iwi - Vestiaria coccinea
‘ike - to see, to know, to understand
imu - an underground oven
inoa - name
iwi - bones
‘ō‘ē - yellow feathers of the ‘ō‘ō
ʻili - skin
ʻilio - dog
ka‘ā - thread, line
ka‘ā lua - two-ply
kāhai - variation of kā‘ai
kahi - scrapers
kahuna - priest
kahuna nui - high priest
kahuna nui ‘o Palikū - a high priest of the order of Lono
kahuna ‘o Kanalu - priest of the order of Kū
kanaka - person
kapu - tapa
kapu - taboo, sacredness
kapuō - cry announcing the arrival of a sacred person/ceremony effecting a taboo

kauila - *Alphitonia ponderosa* and *Colunrina oppositifolia*

kēpau - sticky juice of a plant

kiaʻi - guard

*Kia manu* - bird catcher

*kiele* - *Gardenia augusta*

kīhāpai - small land division, cultivated patch

kiʻi - image, statue, picture, photograph, drawing, likeness, idol

*kino* - body, person, receptacle, form, material

*kino lau* – many form, many bodies

*koana* - wefts

*koʻo* - long, as in feathers

*kuahiwi olonā* - *olonā* of the wet uplands

*kuahu* - altar

*kuleana ʻāina* - owned land

*kuleana olonā* – agricultural patches that fall under individual responsibility, ownership

*kumu* - base of the fiber

*laʻa* - sacred, consecrated

*lāʻau* - tree, plant, wood, forest, club, hardness

*lāʻau kia manu* - bird traps made with a short stick and looped *aha*

*lauoho* - hair of the head

*lehua* - warrior and beloved friend, killed first in battle

*lele* - form of an altar
loulu - long ritual dedicating a temple including Haku ʻōhiʻa, Kauila nui, Kuiki, and Hono rites

luakini - large heiau where aliʻi prayed and human sacrifices were offered

lupalupa - rite of purification

maʻawe loloa - warps

mahalo - respect

mahiole - feather helmet with ʻieʻie framework

maile - Alyxia oliviformis

maka - mesh, eye

makaʻainana - commoner, populace

Makahiki - period beginning in the middle of October through February

makawai - second victim in a battle

māla - garden patch

malo - loincloth

māmalu - protecting, shading

mamo - Drepanis pacifica; descendant

mana - divine power, authority

manamana - to impart divine power

mano - shark

milo - twist

Mōʻi - sovereign or king

momona - fertility

moʻolelo - story or tale
muli - stem of a canoe
naepuni - fine netting of olonā
niho - tooth, toothed
niho 'ilio - dog tooth
niho manō - shark tooth
ninikea - white tapa
noa - freed of taboo, released of restrictions
'oai - twining
'oki mahiole - haircut with a crest of hair left down the middle of the head
ola - life, used as "hail" within lupalupa contexts
'ōlapa - Cheirodendron
'olē'olē - Wide-mouthed grin, as of an idol
'Ōlelo Hawai‘i - Hawaiian Language
'oloa - white tapa
'oloke‘a - flexed burial position
olonā - Touchardia latifolia
olonā ka‘akahi - single-ply olonā
'olopū - a specific adz used to cut 'ōhi'a
ō‘ō - Moho nobilis
'opihi - Cellana
ōpū - clumps, agriculture
pā - Mother-of-pearl shell
papa olonā - olonā scraping board
pāpala kēpau – *Pisonis*, sticky substance of *Charpentiera*

pāpale lauoho – wig ‘hat’ made of hair

pānauea – means feeble and slow

piko – crown of the head, umbilical cord of newborns

po’e hahai – hunters

pōhaku – stone

po’o – head

puapua – tail feathers

pue – feathers directly above the puapua

puhi – eel

pule – prayer

pule hulahula – victory prayer

pu’uhonua – place of refuge

uila – lightening

uka lā’au he ‘olonā – ‘olonā of the inland forested areas

‘ula – red

‘ulu – *Artocarpus altitis*

ulukoko – first victim of a battle

‘unihi pili – spirit of the deceased

‘uo – mall bunches of feathers

‘upena – nets

wa’a kaulua – double canoe

wai ‘olonā – ‘olonā of wet areas
waiwaikaua - spoils of war

wēlau - tip, end
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