

RE-PRESENTING "THE KONA STYLE"
EXAMINING THE MULTIPLE IDENTITIES OF KŪ

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DEDICATION

E hō mai ka ‘ike mai luna mai e,

O nā mea hūnā no‘eau o nā mele e,

E hō mai, e hō mai, e hō mai . . .

“Grant us knowledge from above

Concerning the hidden wisdom of songs

Grant, grant, grant us these things.”

This prayer is used before work begins to ask for spiritual assistance, guidance, and to receive energy from the gods. I dedicate this thesis to my kūpuna (ancestors) to whom I appealed with this chant for assistance through the difficult moments, like writer’s block, in finishing this work. Help arrived and this thesis is completed.

Mahalo nui loa e kūpuna.

Prior to learning this oli (chant), I found it difficult to write about Hawaiian art topics in the beginning of my career as an art history student. A huge mental block filled my head, causing me hallucinations. Intuitively, I asked for help, not knowing who heard me. My mind cleared, and the papers wrote themselves. This problem never occurred when my topic was non-Hawaiian. I realized that there are forces more powerful than myself at work, and I must ask their permission to research a topic and to guide my work. This thesis was a huge endeavor for me. Needless to say, I chanted often.

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INTRODUCTION

Aloha. My name is Wanda Ke‘ala ‘Anae-Onishi (née ‘Anae). I am Kanaka Maoli or indigenous Hawaiian. I was born and lived most of my life in Honolulu, O‘ahu, Hawai‘i. Specifically, I spent my formative years in Kalihi, O‘ahu, the place I refer to as my one hānau (birth place; literally, “birth sands”).

My father is Charles Domnick. He is indigenous Marshallese from Majuro, Marshall Islands. His ethnic background includes Japanese and German. He is Japanese from his grandfather, a Merchant Marine from Nagasaki, Japan, who settled in the Marshall Islands and married a local woman. I am not sure how he came to be of German ancestry, but the Germans colonized the Marshalls before World War I. The Japanese occupied the atolls in World War I. He came to Hawai‘i to attend Chaminade University on O‘ahu. There he met my mother, Lanette Leinaala Low (née ‘Anae), also a Chaminade student. She was born in Honolulu, O‘ahu, Hawai‘i and is Kanaka Maoli. She is Samoan, Tongan, Hawaiian, German, and American from her father, Oloilima ‘Anae, and Hawaiian, German, and Irish from her mother, Caroline Kahaunani Kamakolu ‘Anae (née Muller). Caroline adopted me at six months of age in the western style; I call her mom. She passed down our family mo‘o ‘ōlelo (stories, history) to me.

My Samoan side is descended from chiefs, and can be traced prior to the western time line of B.C.E, or “Before the Common Era.” I have been told that chiefly families in Sāmoa were reluctant to advertise their non-Samoan lineages, perhaps to maintain power. As a result, my non-Samoan ethnicity from the ‘Anae side is a bit murky. My grandfather, Oloilima, was born in Sauniatu, Upolu, Sāmoa. He settled in Lā‘ie, O‘ahu, Hawai‘i with his parents around the 1930s. His father, Aulelio Tame‘ame‘a ‘Anae III—born on Upolu, Sāmoa—relinquished his

chiefly ties and converted to Mormonism in Sāmoa. He became a missionary for the church and moved his family to Hawai‘i. One of the reasons he was chosen for the mission was that he spoke the Hawaiian language fluently. As a child, I heard that he learned Hawaiian from his mother, Siliuā Tupua Lealaisalanoa who was part-Hawaiian. Now I hear he learned the language in preparation for his mission to Hawai‘i.

The source of his name, “Tame‘ame‘a,” is unclear. Aulelio Tame‘ame‘a told his daughter-in-law, Caroline, that the name came from Kamehameha I. Kamehameha’s cousin—an ali‘i and our ancestor through my great, great grandmother Siliuā—did not agree with Kamehameha’s quest to rule the Hawaiian archipelago. He left Hawai‘i with his family and his people and eventually migrated to Sāmoa. He also brought the Kamehameha name, which must be a common name throughout Polynesia. Many of my male relatives on Upolu are named Kamehameha. I also met a man named Kamehameha from Mo‘orea in the Society Islands who has a similar family history regarding that name. Currently, my aunt is verifying the genealogy. She thinks the name is connected to Kamehameha V, and not Kamehameha I.

Siliuā was born in Falefa, Upolu, Sāmoa. As mentioned above, she was indigenous Samoan and Hawaiian. The tiny island of Aunu‘u, near Tutuila (an island in American Sāmoa), was settled by Hawaiians many years ago. Her Hawaiian ancestry stems from these people, possible relatives of the Kamehameha Dynasty.

Tame‘ame‘a’s father, Misa ‘Anae Fiamē Oloilima Tapopo, was born on Upolu, Sāmoa. An indigenous Samoan, he was descended from the Tuiaana ruling family from Upolu and from Queen Salamasina, the only Queen of Sāmoa. He also descended from the Tu‘itonga Dynasty from Tonga, hence, my Tongan ancestry. I believe it was through my great, great grandfather,

Misa, that we are of German extraction. Again, who this German ancestor was and why he came to Sāmoa is unclear. However, many Germans went to Sāmoa for various reasons.

My maternal grandfather's mother was Sina Siona Leali'ifano Roberts of Falealili, Upolu, Sāmoa, an indigenous Samoan. The American ancestry (presumably Euro-American) originated with her paternal great-grandfather, James Roberts, who emigrated from America in the early nineteenth century to Sāmoa. Her father, Sani Leali'ifano Roberts, was a third generation Roberts. He was born in Vaovai, Falealili, Upolu, Sāmoa, and was three-quarters Samoan and one-quarter American.

Sina descended from Siona Leali'ifano, who was one of eight powerful chiefs from Lealatele, Savai'i, Sāmoa. They were called the House of Eight under the leadership of Chief Sala, son of Chief Tautaiolefue who comes from the "Satuala" family of Aana where Sina's mother, Fiaali'i Tuala, resided. Fiaali'i Tuala was a descendant of Tuala, son of the Tuiaana King Tamalelagi and the Malietoa Royal Family through Sautialeu, the daughter of Malietoa Uitualagi and wife of Tuala. Tuala was the founder of "The Family Satuala" with a strong connection to all the Tuiaana rulers of Sāmoa.

My Kanaka Maoli side stems from my "grandma-mom," Caroline. She was born in Honolulu, O'ahu, Hawai'i. Her mother was Irene Wehilani Muller (née McCarty), who was born in Pearl City, O'ahu, Hawai'i. Irene's parents were Mary Ka'apa of Hilo, Hawai'i, and George James McCarty (or McCarthy) of Cork, Ireland. I am not sure why McCarty came to Hawai'i. However, he was a veterinarian, or as my grandma-mom always said, "He was a horse doctor." In nineteenth-century Hawai'i his services were needed, since horses provided a source of transportation. Beginning with Mary, this Hawaiian line was mixed with haole (foreign) blood.

Her parents were Benjamin Y. Ka‘apa and Haili of Hilo, Hawai‘i. They had a special child, a son named Kupanihi. While expecting this baby, Haili experienced a miscarriage and Ka‘apa was responsible for properly handling the miscarried fetus. However, he sensed that the baby was still alive. He prayed, then placed the fetus into a little pond near his home. Instead of sinking to the bottom, the fetus swam. It grew and took on a shark-like appearance. The difference is he had human eyes. When he outgrew the pond, Ka‘apa released him into the ocean. The children of Haili had been instructed to call out for their brother Kupanihi if they experienced trouble in the ocean. One such rescue is documented within our genealogical records. Kupanihi has been sighted twice in the twentieth century. Once was to help family members who went fishing and found themselves in stormy seas. The other time occurred because my grandma-mom’s cousin did not believe he existed; that he was a mythical creature. She called out his name and a shark swam up to the pier and lifted his head out of the water. She saw his human eyes and fainted. My grandma-mom repeated the instructions to me that should I need assistance in the ocean, I should mention Kupanihi’s name, because he should never be forgotten.

Through Mary, we are descended from Kihanuilūmoku, ruler of Hawai‘i Island from circa 1560 to 1580 (Cordy 2000:191). However, in our genealogy, Kiha was born around 1490. He fathered two children, Līloa and Kaikilaniali‘iwahineoPuna, from two different wives. Kaikilaniali‘iwahineoPuna was the wife of Lonoikamakahiki. My family descends from Kiha and Kaohuikiokalani. Our lineage can be traced to Pili, ruler of Hawai‘i Island from circa 1320 to 1340 (Cordy 2000:190). It can be traced to Wākea and Papanuihānaumoku, sky-father and earth-mother respectively, and beyond the western time line of B.C.E. to Kūnuiākea and

Hawai‘iloa. As this thesis prominently features Kūnuiākea, I am, in fact, writing about my kupuna (ancestor).

Caroline’s father was Waldemar Muller of Pāhoehoe, Kona, Hawai‘i. His parents were Waldemar Maximilian Muller of Brandenburg, Berlin, Germany and Mary Ann Palaualelo or Palauwalelo Kekaula of Kona, Hawai‘i. His parents were Charles Muller and Augusta Waldemar of Berlin, Germany. Her parents were Palaualelo or Palauwalelo (father) and Kamakolu (mother) of Kona, Hawai‘i. Waldemar Maximilian arrived in Hawai‘i after fighting in a war in Mexico. After he was injured and discharged, he boarded a ship to Hawai‘i in California. Upon arrival, he advertised in a newspaper that he was a music teacher who spoke different languages, including Greek. He was also an entrepreneur. He made salt in the Hawaiian manner and sold it to foreign ships docked in Kona; his salt pans still exist at the shores of Kīholo Bay. He also was the first to can pineapple in Kona, along with a partner. Beginning with Mary Ann, this Hawaiian line was mixed with haole blood. As Mary Ann was adopted or hānai by the Kekaula family, we cannot trace her genealogy beyond her biological parents. However, family members continue to research our genealogy to learn more about her and our family in the process.

I begin this thesis with my mo‘o kū‘auhau (genealogy) because, in Hawaiian culture, I have learned it is a proper way to introduce myself—through my ‘ohana (family). My family gives me my identity. My history—my identity—does not begin with me. It began centuries ago with my kūpuna. While I have inherited their personality traits, I, of course, am an individual who has acquired numerous identities throughout my life, based on my experiences. I will continue to assume different identities until my death, even though I am aware of my familial

connections.

Identity is the focus of my thesis. Using a group of wooden images from Hawai‘i which share similar formal characteristics, I will demonstrate how their identities are derived from both their carved motifs and the various identities they have acquired throughout their lifetimes. This group has been dubbed “The Kona Style” images by artist/scholar J. Halley Cox in his book, Hawaiian Sculpture (1974). Cox believed that this style of carving originated along the Kona coast of Hawai‘i Island, hence the name. Since 1974, the images are often associated with the “Kona-style” name. Cox’s classification will be covered in Chapter One, along with other stylistic analyses by various writers on the subject of wood sculpture from Hawai‘i.

Although Cox’s classification is generally accepted today, he received criticism on the topic. These critiques will be covered in Chapter Two. Also, a different kind of stylistic analysis that Cox did not address will be featured here to establish a new identity for the images, along with a hypothesis that may explain why a Hawaiian carver would create an image with certain characteristics.

Identities can be formed by the multiple underlying meanings which contribute to the whole. The iconographic analyses by different analysts in Chapter Three suggest the meanings behind the formal characteristics which give the image its identity. Other hypotheses based on Hawaiian culture are discussed as well.

Hawaiian culture is elaborated on in Chapter Four. Although the term “Kona-style” was coined in 1974, some people consider the style to be an “authentic” identity created by carvers of ancient Hawai‘i. Documentation on the carving of wooden images from this period is poor, so no one really knows how these carvers identified their work. What is known is that the images

were carved to represent gods. Associated with this style of carving are the war manifestations of one of the major gods in the Hawaiian pantheon, Kū. Different regions within the Hawaiian archipelago worshiped different war manifestations of Kū; the images are visual symbols of regional gods.

The last chapter, Chapter Five, uses a discursive interpretation to explain how the images acquired various identities throughout their lifetimes. These identities are akua ki'i (god image) in past and present-day Hawai'i, "pagan idol" with the arrival of the missionaries, "artificial curiosity" for western collectors, "ethnographic specimen" and "artifact" within western science, "primitive art" in Western art, and "tiki" in Western popular culture in America, various company logos, and "tourist art" in Hawai'i. "The Kona Style" was produced by the discourse of primitive art.

Please note that all definitions for Hawaiian words, whether noted or otherwise, are taken or verified from the Mary Kawena Pūku'i and Samuel H. Elbert Hawaiian Dictionary (Pūku'i and Elbert, 1971). Generally, I do not mention the sources where the word is used often, because the meaning is known by most people who reside in Hawai'i. However, I have provided definitions for those who are not familiar with the words.

Furthermore, I have not provided a "List of Figures" because the same figures appear throughout each chapter to illustrate various topics. Thus, I do not feel it is necessary to include a listing. Appendix One features scale figures of the nineteen images of the Kona-style group.

As the title indicates, the Kona-style images will be re-presented to illustrate how different identities were and are acquired by these images based on the meanings and contexts in which they were and are perceived. As Nicholas Thomas states in In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts,

Histories (Thomas, 1997): “The identities of material things are not fixed and founded but mutable and prone to subtle and radical historical reformulation; ethnographic artifacts, like other things, have biographies marked by different contextual meanings and uses and punctuated by appropriations and recontextualizations” (131). Hence, the term “The Kona Style” is not fixed or incontestable. Is this an appropriate term for these images? Through my analysis, I hope to gain a better understanding of Cox’s classification, the images, and the culture—my culture—that produced them.

Chapter One
“The Kona Style”

In his Principles of Art History (Wölfflin, 1932) Heinrich Wölfflin established the classifications of style for later Western art. To him, style was a form of expression that informed the viewer/reader of the artist who created the work, the country, and the age in which the art was made. In the “Introduction” to the book, he gave an example of personal style that revealed information about the artist: “All the distinction (sic) between masters and their ‘hand’ is ultimately based on the fact that we recognise (sic) such types of individual creation” (Wölfflin 1950:1). To personal style he added the styles of the school, of the country, of the race, and of the times or “period style” which he felt were equally important in imparting information on the art. In order to assign a style or styles to a number of artworks he suggested that general traits of these works be established¹ (Wölfflin 1950:vii, 1, 6, 9, & 10).

Like Wölfflin, J. Halley Cox attempted to establish something similar in his book Hawaiian Sculpture (Cox, 1974) with William H. Davenport. The book features various wooden sculptures created in Hawai‘i during the 18th and early 19th centuries. Cox provided the context in which these images were made, such as the history, culture, religion, and the sculptural tradition. In the final chapter, entitled “Style,” he constructed a stylistic analysis of the images based on characteristics that were unique to Hawaiian wooden sculpture and characteristics of wooden sculpture found throughout Polynesia.

In the chapter entitled “Hawaiian Sculptural Tradition,” under the heading “Specialized Sculptural Forms,” Cox listed the traits found on many of the sculptures that establish the

¹Wölfflin’s traits for drawing, painting, sculpture, and architecture include the developments from the linear to the painterly, from plane to recession, from closed to open form, from multiplicity to unity, and the absolute and relative clarity of the subject (14–15).

distinctive styles: “Many of the style characteristics of Hawaiian sculpture are also found in other Polynesian areas. But a few style traits are unique to Hawaii (sic)—elaboration of the head, dislocation of the eyes, the protruding jaw-mouth-tongue, the wrestler’s posture, and faceted surfaces” (Cox 1988:36). An elaboration of the head indicates that the size of the head is increased and/or the image wears a headdress (Cox 1988:36–41). The “dislocation” of the eyes refers to the elliptically-shaped eyes or the triangularly-shaped eyes that blend into the hair pattern (Cox 1988:41). The protruding jaw-mouth-tongue pertains to the curved shape of the jaw and mouth with a protruding tongue (Cox 1988:41–45). The “wrestler’s posture” signifies vitality and aggressiveness via the stylization of the upper arms, the cupped hands, and the flexed knees: “muscles tensed on the threshold of aggression” (Cox 1988:45–48). The faceted surfaces refer to the marks made by the adze on the surface of the torso and limbs (Cox 1988:48–50).

Additionally, within this chapter, Cox divided the sculptures into “Types.” These include “Support Figures:” anthropomorphic embellishments of practical objects such as bowls or drum bases; “Temple Images:” monumental statues which he further separated into “Slab Images,” “Post Images,” and “Fully Sculptured Images” (This last category included “The Kona Style.”); “Akua Kā‘ai Images:” portable images with pointed props; and “‘Aumakua Images:” sculptures of personal family gods (Cox 1988:50–103).

In the following “Style” chapter, Cox elaborated on what he termed the characteristics of style. He separated the physical characteristics of the images into two categories: “Traits Unique to Hawaii” (sic) and “Traits Not Unique to Hawaii” (sic). The unique traits include: fully three-dimensional form; body parts as discreet units; supplementary material for teeth, hair, and eyes; elaborate headdress; protruding jaw-mouth-tongue; and eye dislocation (Cox 1988:104–107).

He listed the last three traits as style characteristics in his “Hawaiian Sculptural Tradition” chapter. Traits that are not unique to Hawai‘i include: arms at the sides or separated from the body; flexed knees and heavy calves; natural proportions, portraiture; sex differences; monumental scale; and figures as supports and as supplements to utilitarian objects (Cox 1988: 107–112). With the exception of “flexed knees,” these traits are not listed as style characteristics in the “Hawaiian Sculptural Tradition” chapter.

In his classification of “Kona style”—featured in “Hawaiian Sculptural Tradition”—Cox categorized twelve wooden images according to his observations of characteristics these images shared. According to Cox, these characteristics include: an increased head size, eyes dislocated into an elaborate headdress, broad nostrils, a predominant figure-eight grimace, parallel grooves around the mouth to represent beards, and parallel faceted surface of the body. The torso and limbs are clearly defined and separated. Knees are flexed, while the arms and calves appear muscular and tense, giving the image an air of “aggressive power”—the “wrestler’s posture” (Cox 1988:78).

Cox then groups these traits as follows. The Kona traits listed as style characteristics under the sub-heading “Specialized Sculptural Forms” in the “Hawaiian Sculptural Tradition” chapter are increased head size (elaboration of the head), dislocation of the eyes, flexed knees and muscular arms (“wrestler’s posture”), and parallel surface faceting. Kona traits that fall under the “Traits Unique to Hawaii” (sic) category are the clearly defined body units, elaborate headdresses, and eye dislocation. “Traits Not Unique to Hawaii” (sic) that characterize Kona-style images include arms at the sides of the body, flexed knees, and heavy calves (Cox 1988:104–109). The Kona traits that Cox did not address in the “Hawaiian Sculptural Tradition”

and the “Style” chapters are the broad nostrils, the figure-eight grimace, the parallel grooves around the mouth, and the tense, muscular calves (Cox 1988:35–50 & 104–112). Images bearing these features belong to certain categories. Cox divided the twelve images which he first considered into two groups: six “temple images” and six “akua kā‘ai” (Cox 1988:50, 78–81). Actually, there are seven images on pointed props, for a total of thirteen examples of Kona-style images that Cox considered (see fig. 1 & 2).² The numbers below the images are taken from the Catalog as designated by Cox (Cox 1988:117–202). There are four other images that feature Kona-style characteristics but were not classified by Cox, either because he did not consider the image to be of this style (K48) or they were included in the 1988 revised edition, for a total of seventeen images (see fig. 3).



Fig. 1. Kona-style Temple Images (Cox 1988:120–124).

²Refer to Appendix One for the dimensions of the images.

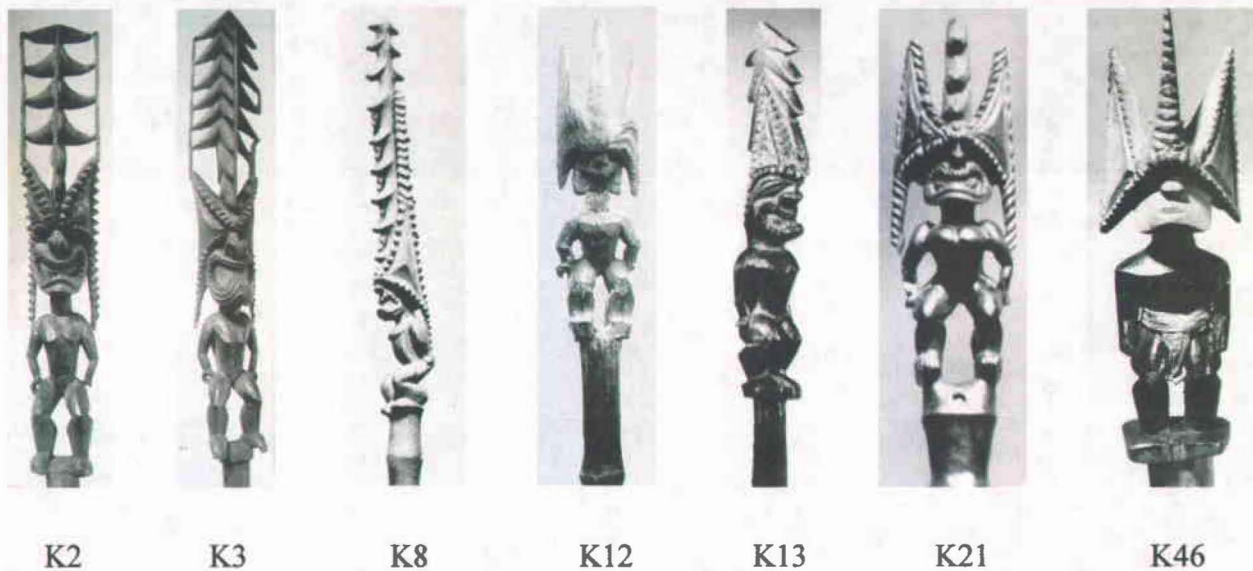


Fig. 2. Kona-style Images on Pointed Props (Cox 1988:136, 140–142, 147, & 158).

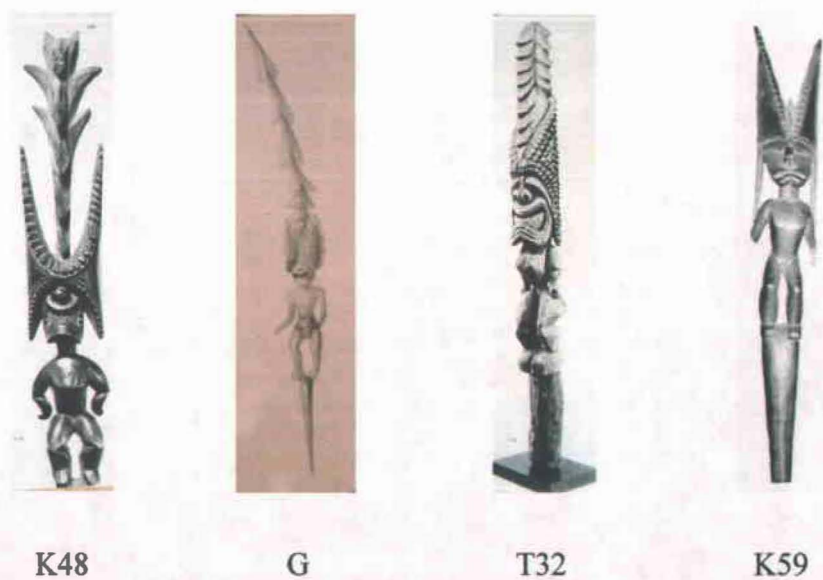


Fig. 3. Additional Kona-style Images (Cox 1988:159, 196, & 200; Force & Force:1968:97).

In establishing his style characteristics, Cox made use of illustrations by artists Louis Choris in 1816 (see fig. 4 & 5), Jacques Arago in 1819 (see fig. 6), and by Reverend William Ellis in 1823³ (see fig. 7) of heiau luakini (large heiau where ruling chiefs prayed and human sacrifices were made) on the Kona coast of Hawai‘i Island in the late 1700s and early 1800s (Cox 1988: 77–78 & 81). Cox’s explanation for this development of visual imagery during this particular time period is the rise of Kamehameha I’s regime. By 1790, Kamehameha had conquered most

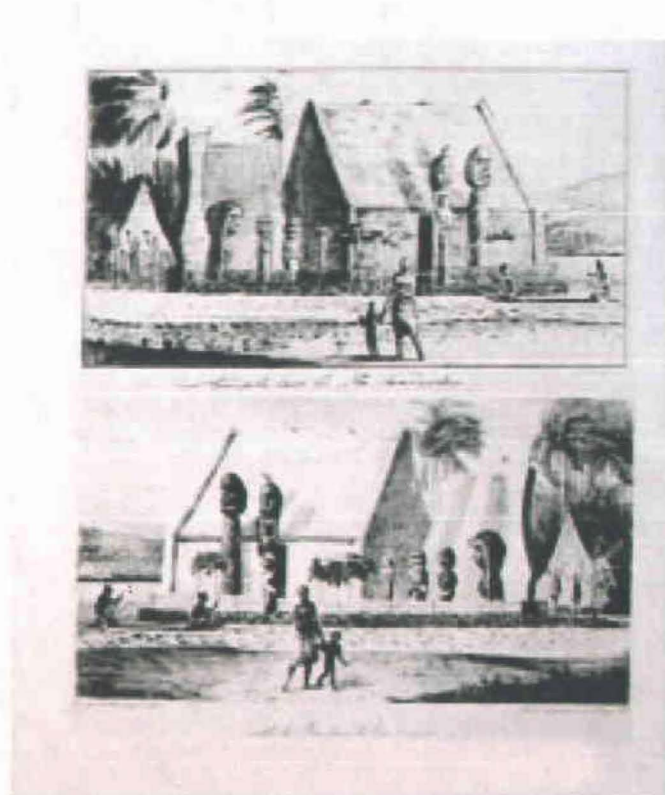


Fig. 4. Top: Choris’s in situ illustration of Ahu’ena Heiau in 1816 (Dodd 1967:284).

Bottom: A lithograph based on Choris’s illustration of Ahu’ena Heiau (Dodd 1967:284).

³ Choris and Ellis illustrated the same luakini heiau, Ahu’ena, which adjoined Kamehameha I’s residence at Kamakahonu, Kailua, North Kona, Hawai‘i Island (Pūku‘i, Elbert, & Mo‘okini 1974: 6).

(1-4)



(5-8)



Fig. 5. Choris's in situ sketches of various wooden images at Ahu'ena Heiau (Dodd 1967:285).

Choris's inscriptions to the right of the images (clockwise from upper left hand corner) are "Maruha" or "Mavuha", "Wahu", "Sandwich Inseln" (1); "Otihi-otuay" (2); "Kawakaky", "Kavakakay", "Kavakakey" "1" (3); "Tanarere", "Tanarere", "2" (4); "Tanataea", "Sandwich I" (5); "Kolea/oko" (6); "Awapelu", "Awapelu" (7); and "A/ra/m", "A/ra/mo/ku" (8).⁴

⁴ I transcribed Choris's inscriptions from the original watercolors at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, with the permission of Western Art Curator Jennifer Saville.

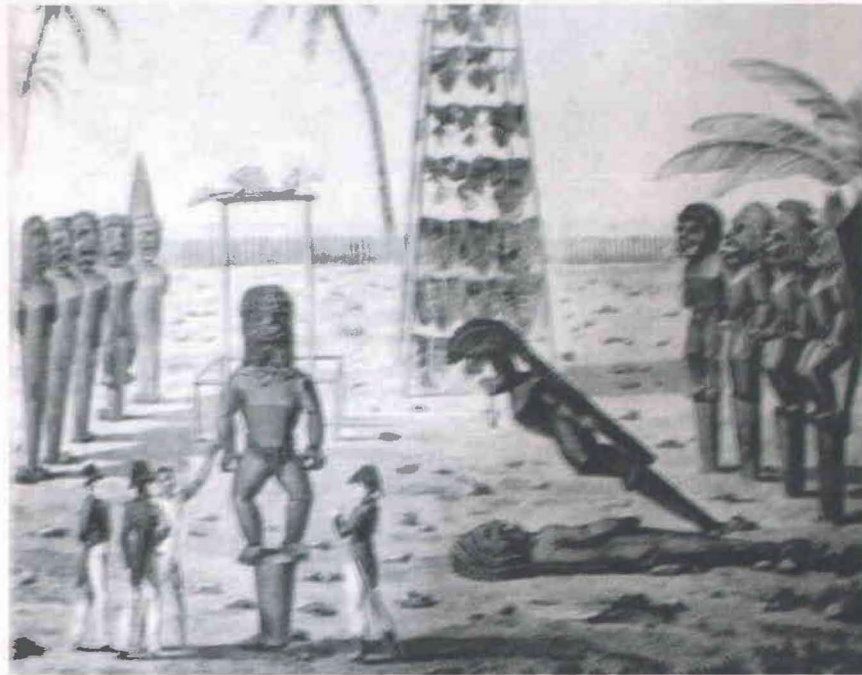


Fig. 6. Arago's engraving of Keikipu'ipu'i Heiau at Honua'ula, North Kona, Hawai'i Island (Cox 1988:79; Stokes 1991:49).

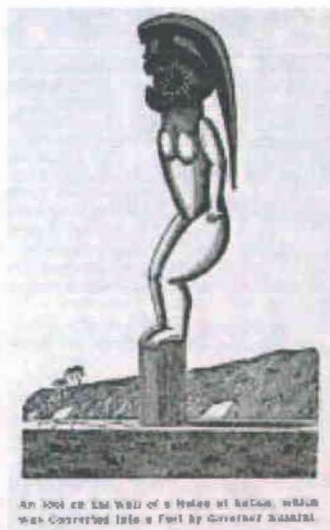


Fig. 7. Ellis's illustration of an image at Ahu'ena Heiau. The caption reads: "An idol on the walls of a Heiau at Kairua, which was converted into a Fort by Governor Kuakini" (Ellis 1963:313).

of Hawai‘i Island and Maui. In his efforts to conquer the northern Hawaiian islands successfully, he constructed numerous heiau luakini “in the Kona district” and dedicated them to his personal god, Kūkā‘ilimoku, a war deity. Wooden images were carved and installed at these heiau luakini. As Cox stated: “The resulting stimulation toward one effort, the unity of purpose and concentration of production by a limited number of kahuna sculptors in a relatively small area, seems to have resulted in the dramatic Kona-style images” (Cox 1988:78). Kamehameha I died in 1819. Soon after, his son, Liholiho (Kamehameha II), and his favorite wife, Ka‘ahumanu, whom he also appointed regent, abolished the ‘ai kapu (eating restriction between the sexes). The collapse of the state religion quickly ensued (Silverman 1987:61–70). Thus, the need for temple images and images on pointed props ceased.

Cox was not the first scholar to offer a stylistic analysis of wooden Hawaiian sculpture. In the “Foreword” to Hawaiian Sculpture (Spoehr, 1974 & 1988), University of Pittsburgh’s professor of anthropology Alexander Spoehr mentioned that Cox’s predecessors were Huc-Mazelet Luquiens and Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck). Luquiens asserted that he was the first to consider the problem in his book entitled Hawaiian Art: “The present writer has been tempted to the following sketch by his interest in Hawaiian art for its own sake, and by the fact that no one before him has undertaken just such an appraisal” (Luquiens 1931:1). Specifically, the characteristics he assigned to the temple images are: immense heads of “demoniacal expression,” topped with elaborate crests or formalized hair that covers the eyebrows, staring eyes, and upturned nostrils. The figure-eight mouths are open to show the teeth, and in some images the tongues protrude. The body is “squat and powerful in form.” The flexed limbs are muscular and heavy. Luquiens also noted the firm strokes of the adze purposely left on the surfaces of the

bodies. Yet, in his opinion, the figures are lively, animated, and quite realistic as compared to Maori carvings (Luquiens 1931:19–21, 22–25). Image T5 is a perfect example of Luquiens' stylistic analysis (see fig. 8).

Te Rangi Hiroa was the next scholar to undertake the issue of style in his series of books Arts and Crafts of Hawai'i (Hiroa, 1957). Hiroa gave detailed information on nine of the images that Cox categorized as Kona types. His analysis covered the images on pointed props and the temple images. He determined the characteristics to be an ornate headdress—some images feature mesial spikes or elaborate hair treatments—with the head and headdress larger than the body. A broad or pointed nose with high nostrils; some of the noses and nostrils are well formed. The mouth is shaped like a figure-eight. A few images have slightly protruding tongues and/or notched teeth. Others have parallel grooves to “enhance” the mouth (Hiroa 1964:469 & 490). The eyes are dislocated in the “wings” of the headdress or are elliptical in shape but converge downward to a point. The arms and legs are flexed; the thighs and calves are large (Hiroa 1964:469, 486–487, 490–491). Images T5 and K2 embody the characteristics set forth by Hiroa (see fig. 8 & 9).

Cox's analysis was also not definitive. Valerio Valeri offered his analysis in Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii (Valeri, 1985). Many of the characteristics were reiterations of Luquiens, Hiroa, and Cox. The style characteristics Valeri assigned to the temple images include bent knees; a tense, massive body; an immense mouth with teeth; a massive tongue that protrudes and resembles a fishhook in profile; a wig that ends in two long tails; and the outer corner of the eyes are elongated and merge into the tails of the wigs (Valeri 1985:244). The characteristics he gave to the Kona images on pointed props, or as he termed them “mobile

images,” include a miter and a mouth like that of the temple images (Valeri 1985:246). Images T5 and K2 epitomize Valeri’s stylistic traits (see fig. 8 & 9).



Fig. 8. Image T5 (Cox 1998:122).

In the same year, Hawaiian artist Rocky Jensen and his wife, Lucia Tarallo-Jensen, published their book on all types of Hawaiian sculptures: Lord of the Forest (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen, 1985). Their stylistic analysis for Cox’s Kona images centered on the Kū image in the British Museum (see fig. 8). The traits include: broad adze markings; large inflated pectoral muscles; the clenched fists of the boxing stance; flexed knees, thick thighs, and bulging calves; the forward thrust of the torso; rounded shoulders and flexed arms (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen



Fig. 9. Image K2 (Cox 1988:136).

1985:75–77).

These writers generally observed the same characteristics on the images, while omitting other characteristics from their analyses. The common features which each writer agreed on are large, flexed limbs. Cox, Luquiens, Hiroa, and Valeri mentioned the elaboration of the head, whether it be an increase in size or an ornamental headdress; and the figure-eight mouth.

Luquiens, Hiroa, and Valeri noted that the images have teeth and a few have protruding tongues.

Three of the writers named the nostrils: Cox called them “broad,” Luquiens labeled them “upturned,” and Hiroa referred to them as “high.” Cox, Hiroa, and Valeri mentioned the dislocated eyes into the headdresses. Cox and Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen designated the

“wrestler’s posture.” Cox Luquiens, and Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen included the adze marks on the body’s surface.

With Cox’s complete stylistic analysis of Hawaiian sculpture and the stylistic analyses of Luquiens, Hiroa, Valeri, and Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen regarding Cox’s Kona images in place, it is now possible to re-examine Cox’s classification of Kona style. A re-styling of Kona style will be the focus of the next chapter, based on the analyses just mentioned and criticisms of Cox’s classification system.

Chapter Two

Re-Styling “The Kona Style”

Although J. Halley Cox's classification of Kona style is widely accepted today, it has been criticized by people knowledgeable in Hawaiian art, including anthropologist Adrienne Kaeppler, anthropologist Roger Rose, and artists and writers Lucia Tarallo-Jensen and Rocky Jensen.

In Eleven Gods Assembled: An Exhibition of Hawaiian Wooden Images (Kaeppler, 1979), Adrienne Kaeppler critiqued Cox's definition of Kona style. She stated that his classification might suit his own "ideas or needs" but does not express "Hawaiian classifications" about the use and meaning of the wooden images of any time period (Kaeppler 1979a:5–6). However, she credited Cox for having the courage to compile all of the information into one book and to make the classification so that others could disagree with him (Kaeppler 1979a:5).

Kaeppler's argument pertains to Kona as a provincial or regional style. For example, she believed that only one temple image can be traced to Kona. She referred to image T6 collected by Tyerman and Bennett from a heiau at Kawaihae, Hawai'i, which is actually located in Kohala. Kaeppler also indicated that the two images, T1 and T2, which can be traced to Kona—Hale-o-Keawe in Hōnaunau to be exact—were not included in his classification. These images were collected by naturalist Andrew Bloxam of the H.M.S. Blonde, which Bloxam documented in the diary that he kept of his journey to Hawai'i (Diary of Andrew Bloxam: Naturalist of the "Blonde" on her Trip from England to the Hawaiian Islands 1824-1825 1925:75–76) (see fig. 1). Her point is valid. Images T1 and T2 have an increased head size, hair elaboration (although not in the wig style), extended nostrils, parallel facets on the body's surface, clearly defined and separated torso and limbs, flexed knees, and the "wrestler's posture." They are missing the figure-eight grimace and the parallel grooves representing beards. While beards are represented on the images, the carvings are different from the temple images. Additionally, the dislocation of the eyes into the

headdress is absent. However, they do possess a similar treatment of notched ridges around the eyes—possibly representing eyelashes—as do images T5, T7, and T8, and the images on pointed props.



Fig. 1. Images with a Kona provenance (Cox 1988:119–120).

Kaeppler continued her argument to say that of the seven images with props that Cox considered to be Kona-style carvings, only four can be traced to a Kona provenance. She referred to images K2, K3, K12, and K13. However, like T6, images K2, and K3 were also from Kawaihae, in this case from a cave. K12 was collected at Keaupuka, Kona, Hawai‘i. In regard to K13, which was collected at Hale-o-Keawe in Hōnaunau by midshipman Joseph N. Knowles, Kaeppler stated that carvers created forgeries to trade with the Blonde crew; therefore some of images with a Hale-o-Keawe provenance are questionable (Kaeppler 1979a:6–7). Therefore, of the seventeen images that are characterized as Kona-style, only one is definitely from the Kona district, image K12, while the other three images, T6, K2, and K3, are from Kawaihae. Perhaps,

the style should be called “Kohala style.”⁵

Kaeppler also felt that the style cannot be classified as a period style: “All eight images are probably from the late 18th or early 19th century, so variation cannot be traced to time factors” (Kaeppler 1979a:6). However, Cox did state that the characteristics were in use prior to 1790. He referred to image G, which was probably collected during Captain James Cook’s third voyage of 1779. Yet, in a previous paragraph, he dated the style from 1790 to 1819 (Cox 1988:78).

Furthermore, Kaeppler felt that concentration on the formal differentiation between temple images and images with pointed props was inadequate and ignored the various roles conceivably adopted by the images; many of the figures could have been large and small versions used within contextually different purposes or times (Kaeppler 1979a:6). An example of this pertains to the temple images; T3, T4, and T5 measure over 6 feet in height, while image T7 measures 29 inches tall (see Appendix One).

Her final thoughts on the matter were: “Although it is possible that the ‘Kona’ images do form a group, I would hesitate to categorize them as a local style, given the small number that have a known provenance or history. The similarity in style of these images may be owing to the influence of a master carver—all could have, in fact, been carved by one sculptor” (Kaeppler 1979a:6–7). In other words, Kaeppler felt the stylistic analysis might refer to a personal style.

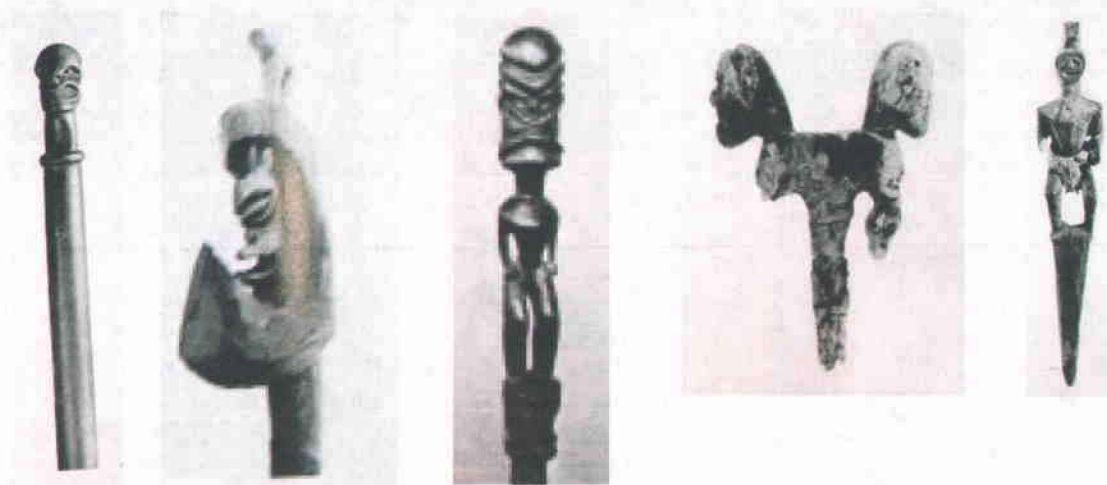
In a later article, entitled “Genealogy and Disrespect: A Study of Symbolism in Hawaiian Images.” (Res 3, 1982), Kaeppler argued that Cox’s categorization of the “Kona style” does not address symbolic form. She restricted “Kona style” to T1 through T8, categorizing T1 and T2 as

⁵ Since Cox’s term for his style analysis was based on the region of Kona, Hawai‘i Island, and Kaeppler pointed out that three of the four images with a known provenance are from Kawaihae, Kohala, Hawai‘i, I suggest that “Kohala Style” may be a more appropriate term for a regional stylistic analysis.

Kona-style Lono images and T3 to T8 as Kona-style Kūkā'ilimoku images based on the characteristics carved onto them (Kaeppler 1982:103).

Roger Rose, formerly of Bernice P. Bishop Museum, wrote "Reconstructing the Art and Religion of Hawai'i" (Rose, 1978), a review of Cox's Hawaiian Sculpture. While he did not address the Kona-style classification as critically as Kaeppler, he did stress the need for further research of the provenance of the images to insure that the Kona area was the place of creation: "As the task of historical documentation proceeds, it may in time be possible to verify the so-called Kona style as a true geographical entity tied to the island of Hawai'i, and not merely a body of images attributed to the Kona area primarily on the basis of stylistic comparison" (Rose 1978:277). As indicated before, only image K12 has a Kona provenance. Hence, to classify this group as a regional style is questionable.

Finally, Lucia Tarallo-Jensen and Rocky Jensen stated briefly why they disagreed with Cox's classification: "The 'Kona Style' has been erroneously accepted by all, as portraying the total Hawaiian style and form of sculpting. True, this last style is the most visual, but it is definitely not the only style that should be identified with the entire island group" (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:71). For example, other images that actually have Kona provenances do not conform to Cox's stylistic analysis (see fig. 2). Image K1 was collected from a cave near Ka'awaloa, Kona around 1830. It was presented to Samuel Ruggles by Chief Kamakau (Cox 1988:137). K15 was collected at 'Ala'ē, Kealahou, Kona (Cox 1988:142; Pūku'i, Elbert, and Mo'okini 1974:8). K23 was collected from a cave in Kona by a Mr. Kiniakua (Cox 1988:147). K51 was found in a lava tube in Honokōhau, Kona in March 1976 by Benjamin Lucrisia (Cox 1988:197; Pūku'i, Elbert, and Mo'okini 1974:49). K53 may have been collected by Roland



K1

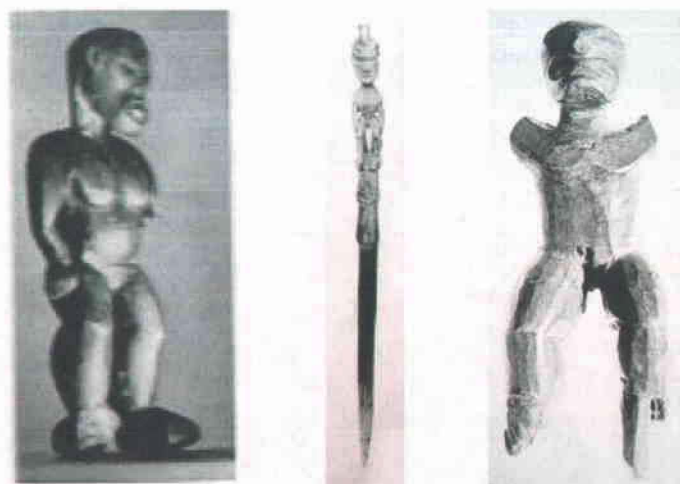
K15

K23

K51

K53

Fig. 2. Images with a Kona provenance (Cox 1988:136, 142, 147, 197, & 198).



K56

A10

S33

Fig. 2. Images with a Kona provenance (Cox 1988:199, 162, & 185).

Kennedy who acquired it while exploring the Kona coast as a child near the turn of the twentieth century (Cox 1988:198). K56 was reported to have been found in a royal burial cave near Kealakekua Bay about one mile from the Captain James Cook monument (Cox 1988:199). Like K1, A10 was also collected by Samuel Ruggles in Ka'awaloa around 1830 (Cox 1988:163). S33 was collected by medical missionary Dr. Seth Andrews between 1836 and 1848 (Cox 1988:185). I have observed that most of them have few of the Kona characteristics established by Cox. These are an increased head size: K23; the figure-eight grimace: K1, K23, and S33; defined torso and limbs and flexed knees: K23, K53, K56, A10, and S33; the aggressive posture: K23, K53, K56, and A10; and the parallel faceted surfaces: K53 and S33.

While Cox based his analysis on illustrations by Choris, Arago, and Ellis, which feature images that resemble the extant sculptures, Choris' illustrations also show images that are not consistent with Cox's stylistic analysis (see Chapter 1, fig. 4 & 5). This presents a problem. Moreover, to assign a particular region to seventeen images based on ten traits that do not appear on all of the images from the area seems suspect.

Before Cox's classification is further analyzed, a review of his Kona-style characteristics is merited:

1. increased head size
2. hair elaboration
3. eyes dislocated into the volume of hair headdress
4. extended nostrils
5. predominant figure-eight grimace
6. parallel grooves around the mouth to represent beards

7. parallel facets on the surface of the body
8. torso and limbs are clearly defined and separated
9. flexed knees
10. arms and calves appear muscular and tense, or the “wrestler’s posture”

(Cox 1988:78)

Yet, these characteristics are not unique to Kona images; many non-“Kona-style” images possess them as well. Cox did assert that this style influenced carvers of non-temple images that feature various Kona-style characteristics. He noted similarities in posture, articulation, form, and surface treatment present in many of the images on pointed props, ‘aumakua, and support images (Cox 1988:78).

However, not all of these traits are found on all of the seventeen images. Of the ten traits just listed, only six are featured on the entire group: the increased head size, the elaborate headdress, the dislocation of the eyes into the headdress, the clearly defined limbs, the flexed knees, and the muscular arms and calves. As for the broad nostrils and figure-eight grimace, these characteristics are found on most of the images except for K12 and K46. The parallel grooves that represent beards are found on all of the temple images and on K3. They are missing on the rest of the images with pointed props, and it is not clear if the grooves appear on image G, which is an illustration by Sarah Stone (Force and Force 1968:97). The faceted surfaces are found on all of the images with the exception of K21, which appears to have been sanded to a smooth finish. Again, it is not clear if the facets appear on image G.

If all of the “Kona” traits do not appear on all of the “Kona” images, can they still be

considered one group? Does a style group have to exhibit all of its characteristics? At least one trait should unify the entire group to distinguish it from others. A characteristic that Hiroa included in his analysis, which Cox failed to mention, is the presence of notched ridges throughout the headdress, the hair treatment, and around the eyes (fig. 3). By contrast, Cox said this feature is prevalent only on images with “notched or spiked vertical spires” (Cox 1988:106). This trait really sets the Kona-style images apart from other Hawaiian wooden sculpture. The notched ridges appear on all of the seventeen images and on none of the other extant sculptures with the exception of images T1 and T2. Once again, as Kaeppler suggested, T1 and T2 should be

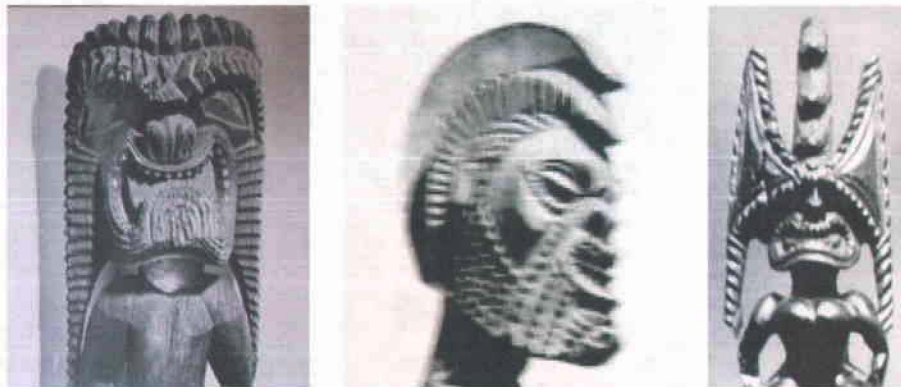


Fig. 3. Notched ridges appearing in the headdress, hair treatment, and around the eyes (Cox 1988:120 & 147).

considered in this grouping, because the notched ridges were carved onto the heads to represent hair (see fig. 1). The answer to the question of whether the Kona images can be considered as one group is yes. Furthermore, as Kaeppler, Rose, and Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen have established in their criticisms, the group cannot be correctly named “Kona-style” images. A

regional style limitation may not be initially appropriate. Since image G features the notched ridges around the eyes and this sculpture was collected around 1779, the initial limitation of the period style has been expanded.

Kaeppler stated that the style may have been created by one carver and constituted a personal style. Considering Arago's illustration which features monumental sculptures similar to the extant temple images (see fig. 4), it is not clear whether new images were commissioned for that particular ritual. If those images were current, then this may have been too much work for one carver, given the time frame within which the images were needed for the haku 'ōhi'a ritual in

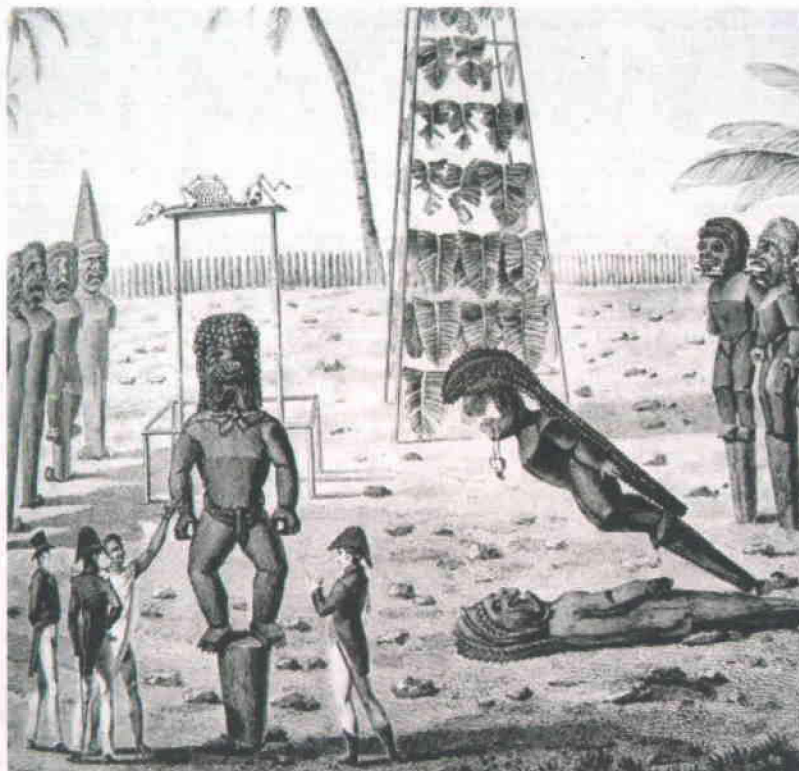


Fig. 4. Arago's engraving of Keikipu'ipu'i Heiau at Honua'ula, North Kona, Hawai'i Island (Cox 1988:79; Stokes 1991:49).

which the wood for the images was procured. A group of carvers working in an agreed-upon style could have produced images such as these.⁶ If the images were reused from a previous ritual, it is possible that Kaeppler is correct and one carver, perhaps the kahuna kālai ki'i (carving expert), established this style.

Wölfflin identified five different styles: individual, time, national, race, and school (Wölfflin 1950:6 & 9). This is definitely a manner of carving developed in Hawai'i before the arrival of foreigners. As far as being a style originating in a particular school, insufficient documentation exists from the period of production regarding the degree to which carvers worked in groups. Therefore, what style best describes this group of images? Wölfflin did not mention a style based on a characteristic. If such a style existed, then I would classify this group of nineteen images as "The Notched-Ridged Hair Style" of Hawaiian wooden sculpture.

In addition to Wölfflin, other theoreticians proposed similar as well as alternative definitions of style. Meyer Schapiro consolidated their methodologies in his article entitled, "Style" (Schapiro, 1962). One of the definitions that may apply to the "notched-ridged hair style" is that the hair treatment communicates meaning and intensifies the associated effects. "By an effort of his imagination based on experience of his medium, the artist discovers the elements and formal relationships which will express the values of the content and look right artistically. Of all the attempts made in this direction, the most successful will be repeated and developed as a norm" (Schapiro 1962:295–296). The presence of the notched-ridged hair style may be the pre-eminent signifier among these carvings. In other words, the participants in the luakini rituals may have associated the notched ridges in the hair treatment with the desired effects of the luakini rituals,

⁶ The ritual will be covered in the Chapter Four.

i.e., success in warfare.

If the purpose of the images was to appeal for success in war, then it seems that the carver(s) would develop a style that conveys a bellicose nature. The images' characteristics express their intent: the posture shows readiness, the grimace displays aggression, etc. The notched-ridges expressed in the hair treatment may have been added to distinguish the war gods from non-war gods. The hard-edged geometric facets may express masculinity and virility in battle. War was fought primarily by men in Hawai'i. The rituals of the luakini were facilitated and attended by men. For example, compare the notched-ridged images with smooth surfaced, predominantly female 'aumākua images, the family gods (see fig 5). The notched-ridged images were meant to frighten opponents and commoners, who were uninitiated in the luakini ceremonies. Conversely, the 'aumākua images were more personal and participated in more intimate situations. If the notched-ridged hair style was associated with Kamehameha I's rise to



Fig. 5. A3, a female 'aumākua image (Cox 1988:160).

power, the carver(s) would continue to create war gods in this style. Keikipu‘ipu‘i Heiau featured many images with the notched-ridges carved into the hair treatment (see fig. 4).

“The Notched-Ridged Hair Style” is a suggestion that I advance as an alternative to Cox’s “Kona Style.” Chapter Three will explore this newly coined style via the iconographical analyses by various writers.

Chapter Three

The Iconography of “The Notched-Ridged Hair Style”

While a stylistic analysis concentrates on an artwork's form, iconography pertains to its meaning. In Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (Panofsky, 1972), Erwin Panofsky outlined three distinct levels of iconography: Natural subject matter is similar to stylistic analysis because it involves the identification of the motifs. Conventional subject matter connects artistic motifs and compositions with themes or concepts. Lastly, intrinsic meaning or content interprets the motifs, images, stories, and allegories (Panofsky 3, 5, 6, & 8).

In the case of Hawaiian wooden images, writers often surmised the conventional subject matter and the intrinsic meanings because much of the information concerning their creation was not documented. Although nineteenth-century Native Hawaiian authors recorded their research on wood carving, they shed little light on the subject. Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau described the war manifestations of Kū⁷ as wooden images “below” dressed in layers of kapa, or barkcloth, that were suitable for god images. A very “fine” feather was placed on their heads; its movement indicated whether the god would assist the ruling chief in war or toward the prosperity of the government (S.M. Kamakau 1964:12). However, S. M. Kamakau did not attempt to interpret the meaning behind the characteristics. On the other hand, Davida Kupihea Malo's description is closer to an iconographical analysis. He declared that the shapes of the images were conceived by carvers who modeled them after the elements they represented. For instance, if the god was from the heavens, then it was carved to look like the heavens. Gods from the sky were made to look like the sky. Those from the earth looked like the earth, while the appearance of gods from the water was like the water (Malo 1987:195).

⁷ The war manifestations of Kū are Kūnuiākea, Kūkā'ilimoku, Kūkeolo'ewa, Kūho'one'enu'u, and Kūkalani'ehu, who is also known as Kūkalani and Kūkalani'ehuiki. These gods are featured in the next chapter.

In recent times, the five writers who addressed the iconography of Hawaiian sculpture were artist Huc M. Luquiens; Rocky Ka‘iouliahikolo‘Ehu Jensen, a sculptor of Hawaiian ancestry; his wife, artist Lucia Tarallo-Jensen; structural anthropologist Valerio Valeri; and anthropologist Adrienne L. Kaeppler. Luquiens, the Jensens, Valeri, and Kaeppler applied meanings to the various surface motifs carved onto the images.

Luquiens gave a brief analysis of wooden images in his 1965 lecture on carving at Kamehameha Schools. He acknowledged that the symbolic meanings of the large war temple images could not be fully interpreted. However, he stated that their intended appearance was ferocious in order to inspire fear in their beholders. He compared their looks—the decorated headdresses, the “staring eyes” which symbolize the god’s power, the large heads, the scowling mouths, and the sticking out of the tongue—to the method in which Hawaiians initiated warfare: insults were shouted at the enemy and fierce grimaces were made as an introductory challenge. He added that sticking out the tongue was a common Polynesian gesture of defiance. As supernatural leaders in war, the gods were given the ideal expressions of the human warrior plunging into battle. Luquiens suggested that image T1, the Bloxam image in Bishop Museum, may represent Kū, because of the warrior’s helmet (see fig.1). But, even with the knowledge of Hawaiian religion and its many gods, he admitted that it was impossible to give specific names to the images (Luquiens 1974:228–230).

The Jensens stated that the images were sculpted to mirror the qualities which the chiefs desired for themselves (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:71–72). They also named each characteristic displayed on image T5, Kūkā‘ilimoku, whose “magnificence expresses a period in



Fig. 1. Image T1 (Cox 1988:119).

Hawaiian history when the usurper, the aggressor, the physically powerful, reigned supreme” (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:75–76) (see fig. 2). The names given are in Hawaiian; they did not provide English translations or the source of the terms which may have come from Rocky Jensen’s family traditions. I will attempt to translate the words with the Pūku‘i and Elbert Hawaiian dictionary (Pūku‘i and Elbert, 1971). The Jensens admitted that they provided only the “surface” meanings, as much of the knowledge surrounding wooden images was lost. They acknowledged that the ancient symbols conveyed layered meanings, signifying the “spiritual and metaphysical essence of Kū.” They stressed that every line was rendered effectively in order for the psychic ritual to be successful. Furthermore, while the techniques and designs changed over the years, they believed that the symbolism remained the same throughout the Pacific (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:75).

The Jensens began at the top of the image with the headdress, which is called kau-maka-kea-‘akū-‘akū. The term may be defined as “bumpy white eyes placed” (Pūku‘i and Elbert

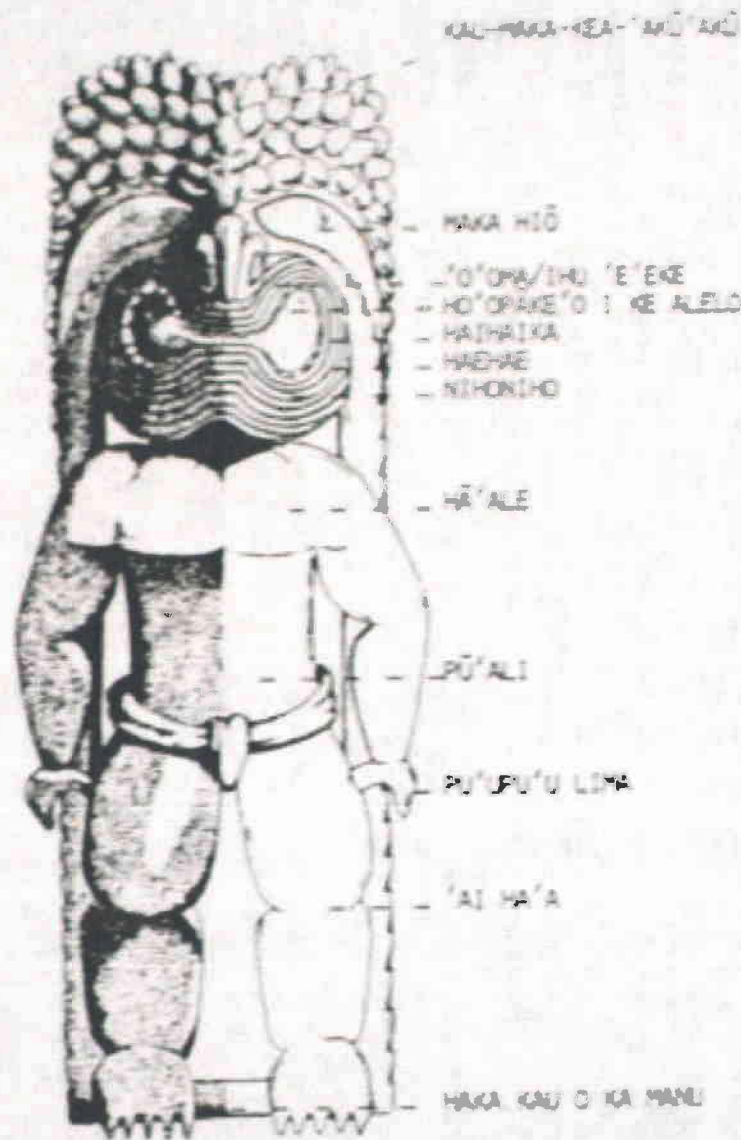


Fig. 2. Description of characteristics on image T5 (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:76).

1971:14, 127, 130). The Jensens described the headdress as “an impressionistic symbolism” of the elaborate helmets, called taupo'o, worn by the chiefs of the Society Islands. The Jensens traced the relationship between the image's headdress to the helmets of the Society Islands' chiefs

and to the voyager Pā‘ao and his migration to the island of Hawai‘i from Kahiki or Tahiti (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:74–75).⁸ Furthermore, they said that the exaggerated headdress represented the feathers of the sacred bird Halulu: “He who made a roaring and thunderous noise” (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:75). In the Aukelenui story, he was a man-eating bird from Kahiki, whose shape shifts into a human. His heiau on Lāna‘i was regarded as the most important on that island. The feathers placed on the images’ heads (mentioned in the introductory paragraph to this chapter) that respond to a priest’s petition by rising and falling, were said to come from Halulu and another bird, Kiwa‘a (Beckwith 1976:91–92).

Additionally, the Jensens drew attention to the four rows of notches on the headdress that extend downward to the feet. Although they did not explain the significance of the notches, they noted that in the center of the forehead is an image of a pig (see fig. 3).⁹ The couple disagreed with Cox who stated that the pig refers to the god Lono in his Kamapua‘a body. The demigod Kamapua‘a is the shape-shifter whose many forms include a pig and a man. The Jensens believed that the pig alludes to the numerous pigs sacrificed to Kū during the kapu loulou ceremony, when the luakini, or war temple, was being constructed (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:81).

The Jensens called the eyes, maka hiō. This means “oblique eye” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:67 & 207). The eyes expressed the emotions of this god of war. The extreme slant of the eyes symbolized mankind’s view of the world when they are steeped in passion (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:79).

⁸ Information on Pā‘ao and his connection to wooden images is featured briefly at the end of this chapter and is elaborated on in the next chapter.

⁹ The number of pigs carved onto the headdress varies among the analysts. The Jensens noted one pig, while Valeri and Kaeppler perceived a row of multiple pigs.

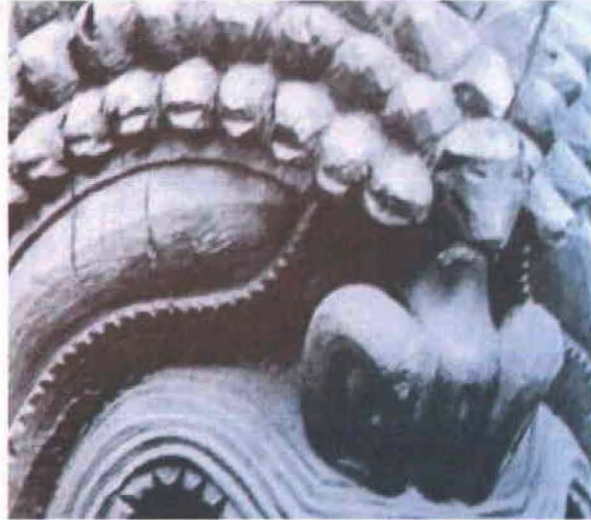


Fig. 3. Detail of image T5 with pig's head carved into headdress (Cox 1988:40).

The nose is named 'o'oma and ihu 'e'eke, which means “large sharp nose” and “to wrinkle up the nose, as to show scorn” respectively (Pūku'i and Elbert 1971:89 & 267). Like the eyes, the nose also expressed the war god's passion (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:79).

The tongue is called ho'opake'o i ke alelo, meaning “to thrust out the tip of the tongue as a gesture of contempt.” The word for tongue is “ke alelo” (Pūku'i and Elbert 1971:18 & 281; Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:76). While the Jensens did not explain the importance of this gesture, Cox likened the tongue to the lei niho palaoa, the whale tooth pendant suspended on a necklace of braided hair (see fig. 4). It signified high rank as it was limited to the chiefly class.

The mouth is called haihaika, or “a grimace of defiance or contempt: the corners of the mouth were drawn back tightly, the teeth separated, chin and lower teeth twisting from side to side” (Pūku'i and Elbert 1971:44). This “figure-eight” mouth symbolized the challenge given by the Hawaiian warriors in ancient times. Surrounding the haihaika is haehae, the multiple grooves



Fig. 4. Lei Niho Palaoa (Cox 1988:42).

parallel to the mouth which Cox described as beards (Cox 1988:78). The various meanings of haehae are “to rage, ferocious; to provoke; to growl” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:43).

Within the haihaika are the teeth, nihoniho, meaning “set with teeth; toothed; notched” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:245). The Jensens stated that the combination of the grimace, the multiple grooves, and teeth further emphasized the challenge given by the warriors and chiefs and the power they possessed (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:78).

The anthropomorphic lower body contains the following names and definitions. The hā‘ale means “completely full and ready to overflow” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:42) and refers to the chest. The large inflated pectorals denote the “hāumanawa,” which the Jensens defined as the “breath of life” located high up in the chest cavity (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:75). The dictionary definition of hā is “to breathe; exhale,” and manawa is “time; infrequent; affection; anterior fontanel” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:41 & 219). The pū‘ali refers to the abdomen and means “warrior” and also “to gird tightly about the waist.” Incidentally, pū‘ali also means “notch” and “notched” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:104). The explanation connecting these diverse

definitions provided in the dictionary is that warriors tied their loincloths tightly at the waist so enemies could not grab the loose fabric covering the groin area, thereby overpowering them (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:319). The act of dressing the Mō‘ī (main, central image) with a loincloth symbolized that the god was present (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:29). The pu‘upu‘ulima pertains to the slightly clenched “side fists” of the mokomoko boxing stance (see fig. 5). The term means “clenched fist, knuckles, blow of the fist” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:332).



Fig. 5. Mokomoko stance with pu‘upu‘ulima (side fists) (Cox 1988:93).

Malo described the sport of mokomoko, but did not explain the hand positions. The spectators sat in a circle. One side of the crowd made a loud noise and the mokomoko, or boxer, appeared. The other side did the same and their boxer appeared. The boxers, wearing tight pieces of cloth around their waists, approached each other and started punching. When one boxer fell, the opponent’s fans cheered and taunted the fallen boxer’s supporters by shouting, “Eat the excrement of your cock.” The matches were fierce as many mokomoko suffered serious injuries,

like broken arms, swollen eyes, or their teeth were knocked out (Malo 1987:287–288).

The ‘ai ha‘a position refers to the bend in the knees, which further emphasized the heavy thighs and calves (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:77). ‘Ai ha‘a literally means “low style” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:9). Like Cox, who stated this was a wrestler’s stance, the Jensens identified it as a stance of power and energy that is often found in martial arts (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:79). The feet are called haka kau o ka manu, meaning “perch (haka kau) of the bird (o ka manu)” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:46 & 220). Although the deeper meaning of this term is unknown, two ‘ōlelo no‘eau, proverbs and poetical sayings, allude to perches and compare birds to chiefs (‘Ōlelo No‘eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings 1983:63):

He ali‘i ka manu.

“A bird is a chief.”

A bird flies and perches higher than any human. (534)

He ali‘i ka moa.

“The rooster is a chief.”

The rooster sleeps on a high perch. (535)

These ‘ōlelo no‘eau suggest the sentiments of the chiefs and the commoners in ancient Hawai‘i, which may explain the name of the feet, haka kau o ka manu.

Another possible reference to the bird-like feet of the image and the perch is cockfighting, or hākāmoa, which was a popular sport of the chiefs. The moa, or roosters, were raised by skilled people who trained them to fight. The trainer kept a fire burning at night below the haka, the perch on which the cock rested, to make the bird swift in battle. On the day of the cockfight, gambling bets were placed on the roosters. When the betting was completed, the referee stood up

and quieted the crowd by showing them a cord attached to the wrist of a dead man. The roosters were released into the circle of spectators and fought. The outcome was a tie if the strength of the birds were equal; if the one bird overpowered the other, then it was declared the victor. As in mokomoko, the winning spectators taunted the losers with the same expression: “Eat the excrement of the moa” (Malo 1987:286).

Together, the inflated chest, abdomen connoting “warrior,” clenched fists used in mokomoko boxing, bent knees, and reference to birds in the feet contribute to the bellicose character of this particular expression of Kū. The sculptor endeavored to portray the posture before an initial attack. The Jensens pointed out that one of the meanings of Kū is “to strike.” They added that anyone familiar with martial arts can identify the “stance of power and energy” via the legs, the fists, the placement of breath, all of which are important in the transmission of mana or power against an enemy or for other types of physical effort. The images of Kū in his war and sorcery manifestations were the vehicles of controlled and invoked energy that was necessary for warfare with a victorious outcome (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:75–79).

The next analysis is by Valeri, whose iconological observations allowed him to explain his interpretations of the ritual role of the images (Valeri 1985:248–253). He divided the wooden images into two parts: the headdress, and everything below the headdress, i.e. the anthropomorphic body. He believed that the headdress evoked the transition from the god’s invisible state to his visible state (Valeri 1985:252). He listed three types of headdresses: the crescent, the high tiered miter, and the representation of a wig. Each headdress is featured on most of the nineteen images.

Valeri wrote that the crescent represents a mahiolo, which is a helmet with a crescent (see

fig. 6). Various types of mahiolo were made in ancient Hawai‘i, including helmets without crescents and feathers as well as helmets with crescents, but without feathers. Mahiolo with crescents and covered with feathers were the sole privilege of the highest chiefly class, who were also warriors. The mahiolo is a symbol of the warrior, as it was worn in battle along with other feather regalia, such as cloaks, capes, and god images (Malo 1987:80). Valeri also said that the

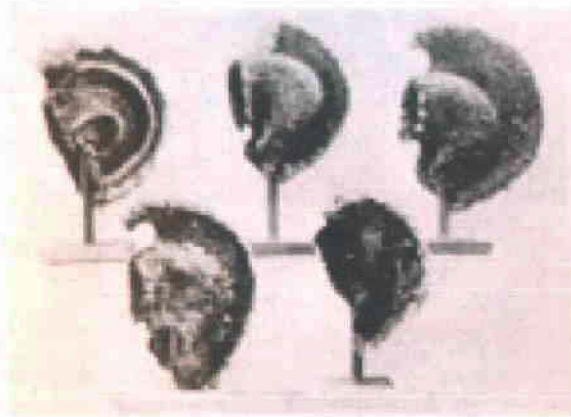


Fig. 6. Examples of various mahiolo styles (Brigham 1974:47).

crescent is an aggressive symbol, which exemplifies the warrior, especially when the crescent transforms into the cock’s comb seen in other Hawaiian wooden sculpture. The fighting cock is a metaphor of the warrior, as alluded to in the ‘ōlelo no‘eau (535). Additionally, Valeri felt that the crescent represents the rainbow by which gods descended from heaven to earth. He reasoned that the crescent along with the anthropomorphic body constituted the physical manifestation of the ritual that makes the god present: “the statue represents both the rainbow on which the god descends and the human form into which he descends to manifest himself” (Valeri 1985:250). The crescent is carved on the heads of images T1 and T2 (see fig. 7).



Fig. 7. Images T1 and T2 with mahiole (Cox 1988:119–120).

Valeri described the high tiered miter as a headdress in which each tier—numbering from three to eleven—forms an inverted crescent placed at right angles to one another. He asserted that the inversion may evoke the aforementioned aggressive connotation of the single crescent. Additionally, he compared the crescents to the god Lonoka'eho whose eight stone foreheads struck his enemies. In addition, he explains that the tiers represented the multiple layers of heaven—a belief in Hawaiian cosmology—from which the god must pass to reach the earth. Thus, he concluded that an image with this headdress symbolizes a higher-ranking god because the god descends from a greater number of heavens than a god with a single crescent.

Valeri also associated the tiers with the layers of offerings placed on top of the altars and on the sacrificial poles. He considered image K48 to be an example of a tiered headdress that represents a sacrificial pig bound to the top of a sacrificial pole (see fig. 8). Furthermore, he concluded that the god's image is equivalent to the offering pole (Valeri 1985:250–251). Other images bearing the tiered miter are K2 and K3 (see fig. 9).



Fig. 8. Image K48 with tiered headdress (Cox 1988:159).



Fig. 9. Images K2 and K3 with tiered miters (Cox 1988:136).

The last headdress that Valeri considered was the wig. He stated that the wig also suggests aggressiveness because it forms a prominent forehead similar to that of Lonoka'eho and to the points of the crescents. The wig may also evoke offerings on image T5 where the knobs carved on the front row of the wig display the heads of sacrificial pigs (Valeri 1985:251–252) (see fig. 3

and footnote 9).

A type of headdress that Valeri did not cover is the mesial spike which Te Rangi Hiroa referred to as “prolongations” extending upward from the head (Hiroa 2003:486). These prolongations are featured on images K8, K12, K13, K21, and G (see fig. 10). I have not found information on the specific meanings of this headdress. However, they might be related to the Hawaiian barbed javelin, ihe laumeki, which is featured later in this chapter.



Fig. 10. Images K8, K12, K13, K21, and G with mesial spikes (Cox 1988:140, 142, & 147; Force & Force 1968:97).

Valeri perceived that the face, which connects the all-important headdress to the anthropomorphic body, marked the transition between the god’s two states: the transcendent and the immanent, because the face contains the eyes and the mouth. To him, the eye and the mouth are the two principal organs of the sacrificial transformation. Valeri interpreted the eye to symbolize the devouring of the entire victim in the Kahōāli‘i rite, one of the rituals within the

luakini ceremonies that precede battle. A man representing the god Kahōāli‘i eats the eye of the human or fish offering to the god Kū. Through this act, the impersonator of Kahōāli‘i enacts the ingestion of the entire victim by incorporeal Kū. The mouth stands for the consumption of the offerings (Valeri 1985:252–253 & 323). Additional information on Kahōāli‘i is featured on page 87 of this thesis.

Valeri stated that the eye, in Hawaiian belief, marked a transition or transformation. Within this context, he associated the eye with the stars—which are divine—and with sight and intelligence—which are human. The eye enables man to grasp the divine and transforms the divine into the existence of gods.¹⁰ For Valeri, the correspondence between eye and star allows man to understand and to dominate the gods, while permitting man to transform the gods into human actions and states of being. This correspondence is conveyed through the merging of the eyes into the image’s headdress. In some images, the crescent on the top of the head continues downward to form a mouth: the metaphor for devouring in sacrifice (Valeri 1985:252–253).

Valeri linked the mouth with human sacrifice which was conducted before and after war campaigns, and on the battlefield. The belief that the god ate the offering is conveyed in prayers and stories which describe the gods partaking of the sacrificial victims or “smacking their lips” when the gods saw them. Warriors intimidated their enemies with threats of being eaten by their gods. Sacrificial offerings or parts of humans were placed in the mouths of the images. Valeri described the image as if they were in the act of swallowing, i.e. an open mouth with the tongue flexed backward. Valeri interpreted the metaphor of eating to mean encompassing, possessing,

¹⁰ It is not clear to me as to what Valeri means when he associates the eye with the stars. I am paraphrasing his interpretations.

and transforming. Eating means to destroy or to kill in punishment. Thus, a god or chief “eats” an island when he has conquered or encompassed it (Valeri 1985:40, 44, 56, & 252–253).

As for the anthropomorphic body, Valeri stated that it is the result of the god’s transformation. In addressing the posture—straight back, bent knees, arms slightly stretched forward—Valeri cited Cox’s and Kaeppler’s interpretations. Cox believed that the posture expressed potential action and identified it with the posture taken by wrestlers and boxers. While Valeri agreed with the “potential action” theory, he opposed the fighting position interpretation. Valeri preferred Kaeppler’s view—featured later in this chapter—that the god represented dancing. The recitation of prayers for the consecration of images in war temples is accompanied by hula. The images’ stance represents the dance that sanctifies consecration. The god’s anthropomorphic transformation is completed in its dance posture (Valeri 1985:252–253).

While Valeri did not identify the abdominal region as pū‘ali as the Jensens did, he did acknowledge that the image would have been girded with a malo, or loincloth, as a symbol of consecration in the temple rituals. Several objects—such as images and plants—regarded as manifestations of the gods were consecrated by being wrapped in kapa, or bark cloths. “[W]rapping is the collectively accepted sign of the god’s presence” (Valeri 1985:300). Image K46 is girded with a malo of kapa (see fig. 11).

Kaeppler’s analysis is the last to be featured here. Like the previous authors, she looked to Hawaiian culture—such as religion, politics, society, and art—to explain the meanings behind the characteristics of the religious anthropomorphic sculptures. She linked together genealogy, respect and disrespect, and kaona, (veiled meaning)—aspects important in Hawaiian culture and connected to religion, politics, society, and art—to interpret the exaggerated and stylized



Fig. 11. Image K46 wearing a malo (Cox 1988:158).

features of the body and the stance of the images (Kaepler 1982:83 & 105). Deeper meanings were more than likely intended due to the importance of kaona, or “veiled meaning,” in Hawaiian culture. The symbolism of the characteristics carved onto the images were probably only completely understood by the initiated specialists (Kaepler 1982:83).

Kaepler hypothesized the symbolism behind seven of the nineteen notched-ridged images. These included references to notches, backbones, elaborated head coverings, lizards, and pigs, which she suggested are symbolic of Lono images. Kaepler is the only author included in this chapter to address the importance of the notched ridges. She described images T1 and T2 as having “carved notches” extending from the nape of the neck over the top of the head. She suggests that the notches are related to the spinal cord which is a metaphor, or ‘ōlelo ho‘ohalike and mana‘o ho‘okūkū, in Hawaiian culture for genealogy. Another sign of Lono is “the sacred

top of the head.” The notches of T1 and T2 are covered by a crest, which holds the same meaning for Kaeppler as it does for Valeri: the mahiole. She continued that these Lono symbols had interrelated functions and were used interchangeably (Kaeppler 1982:89 & 94).

Kaeppler also suggested that T1 and T2—given their visual symbols—may have been guardians of the sacred tax grounds of Lono. Their extended hands may have held alia poles (see fig. 7).¹¹ T1 and T2 were once placed on each side of the altar within Hale-o-Keawe, a royal mausoleum for the remains of ali'i Keawe'īkekahiali'iokamoku and his descendants. It is located on the site of the old heiau 'Āle'ale'a in Hōnaunau, Kona, Hawai'i Island (Stokes 1991:104–107), where the City of Refuge, an ancient pu'uhonua or place of refuge, now stands. Kaeppler asserted that Hale-o-Keawe was a “heiau of the Hale-o-Lono type.” She theorized that this type of temple would be appropriate for the placement of Lono images. Also, the sanctified chiefs interred there were descended from this god (Kaeppler 1982:87 & 89). However, this temple has a pit and a semicircle of images, fixtures of a heiau luakini (Feldman, personal interview). These fixtures indicate that the temple had been used both as a luakini and Lono heiau at different times. Finally, Kaeppler also noted that the notches on the posts on which the portable images stood, may also represent a relationship to Lono (Kaeppler 1982:93).

Another pair of images that Kaeppler re-examined were K2 and K3 (see fig. 9). These headdresses incorporate the extended backbone and the striking head projections as stylized chevrons, both of which may connote Lono. Like Valeri, she thought that these characteristics

¹¹ Alia poles were used in Makahiki observances to mark the ahupua'a boundaries. They were placed at each side of the Lonomakua image (Kaeppler 1982:87). The Makahiki were annual celebrations in which thanks was given to the god for life and health, war was forbidden, the first fruits of harvest were paid to the chiefs, and games and sports were enjoyed (S.M. Kamakau 1964:19–20). Ahupua'a are land divisions that usually extend from the uplands to the sea (Pūku'i and Elbert 1981:8).

may represent early nineteenth-century renditions of Lonoka‘eho, a particular manifestation of Lono whose eight stone foreheads struck his enemies. Kaeppler counted eight projections of chevrons along the back of the spine and the headdress on K2. She placed the time at the early nineteenth century because the headdresses are significantly different from any image collected during Captain James Cook’s third voyage to Hawai‘i in 1778–1779.

Additionally, Kaeppler noted that K2 and K3 feature “the mouth of disrespect”: a wide-open mouth, or ‘ole‘ole, which distends backward, has teeth, and in some images, has a tongue that sticks out.¹² This mouth style includes a protruding chin, or hō‘auwae, indicating scorn, indifference, and disrespect, and, usually, concentrically-carved flutes surrounding the mouth.¹³ As for the rest of the face, the eyes are often elongated and nonhuman in appearance, and the prominent nostrils are flared—characteristics found on many of the nineteen notched-ridged images.

Kaeppler compared the expression of disrespect on K2 and K3 with the mouths of the large temple images associated with Kūkā‘ilimoku (specifically T3, T4, and T5). Although Lono often represents the peaceful, life-giving aspects of nature, the disrespectful side is conveyed through Lonoka‘eho’s striking foreheads. She suggested that K2 and K3 may incorporate aspects of both Lono and Kū because they project the stylized headdresses and the mouth, the “essence of disrespect.” Disrespect was a trait portrayed by high chiefs or enemies in war. Therefore, the

¹² The Jensens stated that the ‘olē‘olē mouth of Lono is different from the figure-eight grimace, or haihaika of Kū: “That oral feature [‘olē‘olē] is a grin and not a grimace. The grin should be a frontal figure-eight, without teeth and without drawing back the corners of the mouth” (Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:79). The differences are subtle to the untrained eye. However, Rocky Jensen carves Hawaiian anthropomorphic images, thus he is more familiar with the differences between the two mouth types.

¹³ Cox said these parallel grooves represented beards (Cox 1988:78).

images could have been featured within a heiau luakini constructed by high chiefs. As such, Kaeppler felt that K2 and K3 may have been the central images installed at Hikiau, a heiau luakini in Kealakekua, Kona, Hawai'i dedicated to Lono and Kū (Kaeppler 1982:96–97; Stokes 1991:98). Although Malo stated that if the ali'i nui decided to use the Kū priesthood, the ma ka mo'o Kū (in the order of Kū), then a heiau luakini was built (Malo 1987:239). A different heiau was constructed to worship Lono.

While Kaeppler attributed many symbols to Lono, she assigned the aforementioned mouth of disrespect to be the main symbolic feature of Kū images. Images T3, T4, and T5, as representations of Kamehameha's war god Kūkā'ilimoku exemplify the high chief's greatness in warfare via their enormous size (each image is approximately six feet in height, not including the post) and their profound mouths of disrespect. Kaeppler felt that these components reflected Kamehameha's disrespect for his opponents and for the genealogical rules of the time. His disrespect was necessary for him to attain a higher rank, since he was not in the line of succession as was his cousin Kīwala'o, but appointed guardian of the war god by high chief Kalaniopu'u, Kīwala'o's father and Kamehameha's uncle. She explained that disrespect is more recognizable in the Kū gods when competition was emphasized. In Hawaiian society, competition involved degrading others in order to raise the status of one's group and was often manifested in warfare and sacrifice. Before the introduction of European weapons—Kaeppler hypothesized—wars may have been fought to degrade enemies by tripping them with tripping clubs, scaring them with shark tooth weapons, or throwing stones at them, actions that may have been more satisfactory than the actual killing of opponents (Kaeppler 1982:84 & 98–99). Furthermore, as sorcery was

necessary in the success of war, the war gods were also considered sorcery gods,¹⁴ embodying disrespect for individuals or groups (Kaepler 1982:100–101).

Although Kaepler distinguished between Lono and Kū and their visual symbols, she also stated that one image may contain the attributes of both gods. Previously mentioned examples are images K2 and K3 with their Lono-style foreheads and their Kū mouths. Another example is image T5 who displays Kūkā‘ilimoku characteristics—the exaggerated mouth of disrespect—but also sports pig heads carved within the headdress, the pig being a form of Lono.

Kaepler proposed that the word ki‘i may hold clues. Ki‘i refers to an image which is the receptacle of the gods and into which the gods can be invoked. She hypothesized that an image into which either Lono or Kū could be called may have been convenient, especially for use on a heiau luakini. However, she stated that Kamehameha’s rise to power changed sculptural tradition. By emphasizing temples associated with his own war god Kūkā‘ilimoku, it seems he separated the symbolic attributes of Lono and Kū images. Kaepler believed that images T1 to T5 were most likely carved during Kamehameha’s reign. She hypothesized that T1 and T2 were associated with Lono and were used originally for Makahiki festivities and later to guard Kamehameha’s ancestors in Hale-o-Keawe, while T3 through T8 were associated with Kūkā‘ilimoku and used on the luakini for assistance in war. Kaepler differentiated them by their placement within temples and by the kaona incorporated into the carvings (Kaepler 1982:100 & 03–104).

As mentioned before in the section on Valeri’s analysis, Kaepler argued that the stance of the images is related to the ‘ai ha‘a used by hula practitioners and to the dance performances of heiau rituals and is not derived from a wrestler’s posture referred to by Cox and the Jensens. The

¹⁴ See Chapter 4 for the war gods’ association with sorcery.

‘ai ha‘a position involves more than bent knees. Instead, the stance combines knees that are “thrown forward” and a straight back. In this position, the weight is placed toward the back, which would cause a wrestler to be thrown off balance. Kaeppler suggested that this pose was a secondary abstraction, serving as a visual metaphor for a poetic text or prayer even when the recitation was over (Kaeppler 1982:94–95).

Additional meanings found in Hawaiian culture, but not included in the iconographical analyses offered by Luquiens, the Jensens, Valeri, and Kaeppler, may explain the importance of the notched-ridged hair images. One of Cox’s Kona-style characteristics is an increased head size (Cox 1988:78). The significance of this may be the presence of mana, or power, that the image would have once the god was invoked. In many Hawaiian images, the size of the head dominates the body. The reason may be that while mana permeates the entire body—especially the bones—it is concentrated in the head (Cox 1988:36; Handy 1939:30).

The wig, or hair elaboration, is another, or Cox’s second, characteristic of the Kona-style images (Cox 1988:78). An ancient Hawaiian custom involved false hair, which was worn in large quantities that flowed down the back in long ringlets. A bundle of twisted and braided hair found in a cave in Pali o Keoua, Ka‘awaloa, Hawai‘i, and now at Bishop Museum, measures 55 inches in length (Hiroa 2003: 562–563). Additionally, a special method of dressing the hair, called nīheu (sand crab) involved plastering false hair with red clay. This wig was worn by the man impersonating Kahōālī‘i (Beckwith 1976:468).¹⁵

¹⁵ Nīheu is featured in the legends of Kana, the heroic stretching shape-shifter who destroys evil shape-shifters. Nīheu is Kana’s mischievous brother, also a shape-shifter (Beckwith 1970:464).

The wood from which the images were carved holds significance in itself, because certain woods are believed to be the kino lau, or the multiple forms, of the gods (Valeri 1985:407). An example is the three images of Kūkā‘ilimoku (T3, T4, and T5) which are sculpted from ‘ulu (Artocarpus altilis), or breadfruit wood (Kaepler 1993:42; Wagner, Herbst, and Sohmer 1999:14) (see fig. 12).¹⁶ One of the stories about Kū reveals his relationship to the breadfruit tree. Upon arriving in Hawai‘i, Kū married a Hawaiian woman without disclosing his true status as a god. Kū labored like mortal men and had many children with his wife. However, when famine struck, Kū sacrificed himself to feed his family by burying himself in the earth with the exception of his toes. These became a sprout from which a breadfruit tree grew. Kū’s family ate the fruit and lived (Pūku‘i 1933:127). The breadfruit tree is also associated with the goddess Kāmeha‘ikana who also has a war and sorcery connotation.

Another tree related to Kū is the ‘ōhi‘a lehua (Metrosideros polymorpha) (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:389; Wagner, Herbst, and Sohmer 1999:967). Another of his manifestations, Kūkā‘ōhi‘aLaka, was worshiped by canoe builders in the body of the ‘ōhi‘a lehua tree (Beckwith 1976:16). ‘Ōhi‘a lehua was used to carve images K2 and K3 (Kaepler 1993:44) (see fig. 9), as was image K43 (see fig. 13), which Kaepler speculates is the prototype for the later large Kūkā‘ilimoku images. Image T6 was also carved from ‘ōhi‘a lehua (Kaepler 1982:103–104) (see fig. 14). A specific rite, called haku ‘ōhi‘a, was performed to procure this wood when a heiau luakini was erected or refurbished (S.M. Kamakau 1976:136–139). Additionally, a freshly

¹⁶ In Kaepler’s 1982 article, “Genealogy and Disrespect: A Study of Symbolism in Hawaiian Images” (Res 3) she stated that the Bishop Museum image was carved of Moraceae and the British Museum image was carved of Artocarpus. The wood analysis was done by David Cutler and Paula Rudall of the Jodrell Laboratory, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, through the courtesy of Dorota Starzecka and the Trustees of the British Museum (103–104). Later, in her 1993 article, “Wood Analysis and Historical Contexts of Collecting Hawaiian Wooden Images: A Preliminary Report,” she stated that the Bishop Museum image (T3) was carved from breadfruit wood, Artocarpus (42).



Fig. 12. Images T3, T4, and T5 carved from 'ulu wood (Cox 1988:120–122).



Fig. 13. Image K43, a prototype for larger Kūkā'ilimoku statues according to Kaeppler (Cox 1988:157).

carved block of this wood may have represented Kūnuiākea, another manifestation of Kū (Beckwith 1976:26). More information on Kūnuiākea, the haku 'ōhi'a rite, and Kāmeha'ikana will be included in the following chapter.



Fig. 14. Image T6 carved from ‘ōhi‘a lehua wood (Cox 1988:123).

Image K46 was carved from Eugenia Sp. wood, which Pūku‘i and Elbert defined as nīoi (1981:246) (see fig. 11). The identification was made in 1981 by Dr. Paula Rudall who also identified the wood used to carve the Kūkā‘ilimoku images. The identification of K46 was confirmed by testing in 1986 (Liddiard, personal communication, 4/28/04). Reverend Ellis described it as a “hard yellow wood” (Ellis 1963:53). One variety of nīoi wood is poisonous and is one of the trees of the three Kālaipāhoa deities of sorcery, namely the god Kāneikaulana‘ula who entered the nīoi tree. The others were goddess Kapo and god Kahuilaokalani who entered the ‘ohe (Reynoldsia sandwicensis) and the a‘e (Sapindus saponaria f. inaequalis) respectively (S.M. Kamakau 1964:129; Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:3 & 254). Pūku‘i and Elbert stated that kauila (Alphitonia ponderosa), and not a‘e, was the third tree (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:112). Ellis also reported that a small image of Kālaipāhoa was carved from nīoi. It belonged to Kamehameha who placed it under his pillow whenever he slept (Ellis 1963:53). Another scientific name for nīoi is Eugenia koolauensis: the poisonous variety grows only on Maunaloa, Moloka‘i (Pūku‘i

and Elbert 1971:246; Wagner, Herbst, and Sohmer 1999:960).

Confusion over the wood identification and the scientific names remain. Kaeppler, in her article entitled “Wood Analysis and Historical Contexts of Collecting Hawaiian Wooden Images: A Preliminary Report” (Kaeppler, 1993), stated that images T1 and T2 were carved from ‘ōhi‘a ‘ai, or mountain apple, with the scientific name Eugenia (Kaeppler 1993:45) (see fig. 7). One of the complete scientific names of the mountain apple is Eugenia malaccensis (Wagner, Herbst, and Sohmer 1990:975–976). This scientific name is also listed in Pūku‘i and Elbert’s dictionary (1971:255). Without the second part of the scientific name, it is not clear whether T1 and T2 were carved from ‘ōhi‘a ‘ai or nīoi wood. Furthermore, I have not found specific information linking mountain apple wood to a god in the traditions.

“Lehua” and nīoi served utilitarian purposes as well, because they were hard woods, they were used to make kapa beaters (Hiroa 2003:169–170). Hence, these woods were not reserved exclusively for religious rituals. Presumably, Hiroa meant lehua to refer to ‘ōhi‘a lehua when he used the term.

Discussion

Other than Kaeppler’s association of the notches with the symbolism of Lono images and their important relationship to genealogy, I have not found any other information to explain their presence on the nineteen images. As noted in Chapter Two, the notched ridges represent the treatment of hair on the head, face, and around the eyes. Actual human hair was used in lei niho palaoa (see fig. 4) and in a few of the wooden and feather images (see fig. 15). The hair contained mana, because it grows out of the head which is where mana is believed to be

concentrated. Specifically, it contains the mana of the people who grew it—possibly the ancestors of the current bearer. Hence, the object is imbued with mana and the owner carries the mana of his or her ancestors via the object.

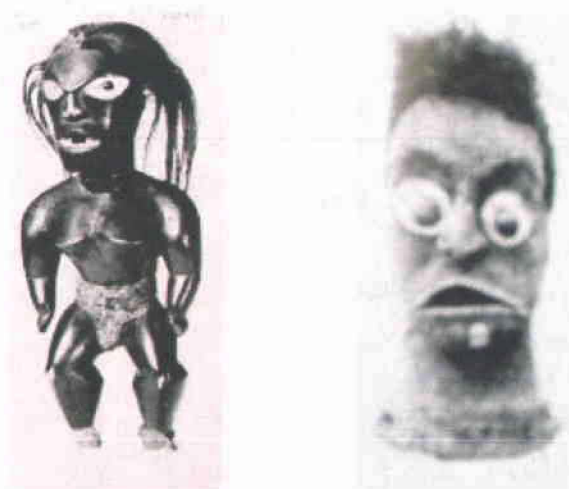


Fig. 15. Wood and feather images incorporating human hair (Cox 1988:166; Hiroa 2003:504).

I feel that the shapes and patterns found on the notched-ridge images look similar to other designs found on manufactured objects of Hawai‘i, such as the short barbed javelin (ihe laumeki), an object that belonged to and was used by chiefs and warriors; kapa beaters (i‘e kuku), which was used to make kapa and leave watermark impressions on the cloth; and feather cloaks and capes (‘ahu‘ula), which was worn by chiefs during special occasions and in war. It would be appropriate if a connection exists between the notched ridges and the shape of the ihe laumeki and the design featured on ‘ahu‘ula as most of the nineteen images were probably created for use on war temples. Additionally, the carving of the notched ridges onto the images may be related to the carving of the incisions on the i‘e kuku and to the names of the designs.

The shape of the short barbed javelins are reminiscent of the notched ridges (see fig. 16), and they resemble the mesial spikes of G (see fig. 10), and of K48 in reverse (see fig. 8). From adolescence the chiefs received individual training in the use of weapons from the elders. Training for the short barbed javelins involved catching and returning, dodging, or warding them off as they flew through the air. Kamehameha I was proficient with this weapon. Captain Vancouver described Kamehameha in a sham battle, where he caught three flying spears with his right hand, warded off two others by parrying with his spear in his left, and avoided the sixth spear by twisting his body. Much of the chiefs' free time was devoted to training, which led to becoming proficient in fighting (Emory 1974:233-235).

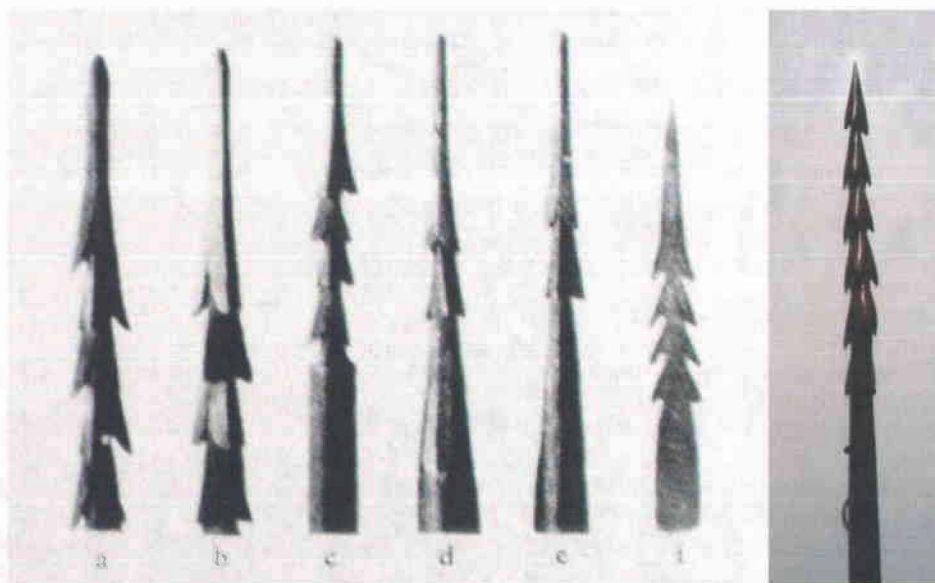


Fig. 16. Left: Ihe laumeki (short barbed javelins) (Hiroa 2003:422, 434, & 451–452)

Right: Ihe laumeki on display at Bishop Museum (Wanda Anae-Onishi)

The i'e kuku is the second type of beater used in the manufacture of Hawaiian kapa, after the hohoa, the first type of beater used to process the fiber. I'e kuku, with their incised patterns that produced watermarks, are a Hawaiian invention, as they are not found in central and eastern Polynesia (Hiroa 2003:166). They were made of hard woods, such as koai'a (Acacia koai'a), the wood used in most of Bishop Museum's specimens; nioi (Eugenia sp.); uhiuhi (Mezoneurum kauaiense), lehua (Metrosideros polymorpha), kaula (Colubrina oppositifolia or Alphitonia ponderosa), and o'a (Alphitonia ponderosa of Maui) (Hiroa 2003:170).

The i'e kuku has a quadrangular blade with four surfaces of equal width. Each surface was rubbed smooth to prepare them for the long parallel grooves and the geometrical designs; each surface received a different design. The beaters were constructed by male experts who used a ruler made from a straight-edged length of bamboo and a carving implement—a shark tooth set in a handle—to etch the design onto the surface. Later, the beaters were incised with metal tools (Hiroa 2003:170–171 & 179). Image carvers also used metal tools to create the images once the tools were introduced.

A surface that was not incised was called mole which was used at the end of the beating process to smooth out the cloth. When widely spaced shallow grooves were cut into the mole surface the lines were termed hālua, which mean “grooves,” or hālu'a, meaning “stripe” or “ridged.” The surface was then called mole hālua or mole hālu'a.

Deeper longitudinal grooves were cut into some of the surfaces to form distinct ridges, which were necessary for the early stages of beating. To create the grooves lines were drawn with a shark tooth along the bamboo ruler at the required distances. Then, the lines were deepened into grooves ('auwaha) to define the ridges (nao). The number of ridges determine two distinct forms:

the pepehi form and the ho‘opa‘i form.

The surface of the pepehi form is made up of deep grooves with wide ridges which vary in number but does not exceed 14 ridges. The ho‘opa‘i surface has more than 14 ridges, ranging from 12 to 18 grooves per inch with an average of 15 grooves to the inch.

Furthermore, the pepehi pattern crossed by horizontal lines is called pepehi hālūa or pepehi hālū‘a; the ho‘opa‘i pattern crossed by horizontal lines is called ho‘opa‘i hālūa or ho‘opa‘i hālū‘a. Regular squares are formed by the horizontal hālūa lines being the same distance apart as the vertical lines. The various combinations are: konane (checker board), a large check pattern of mole hālūa with transverse lines; pepehi hālūa or konane pepehi, a smaller check formed by pepehi with cross lines; ho‘opa‘i hālūa or konane ho‘opa‘i, an even smaller check of ho‘opa‘i with cross lines; niho li‘ili‘i (small teeth), whose squares are notched from the middle of the upper border; and a variation of niho li‘ili‘i, where the squares are notched diagonally on one side (Hiroa 2003:171–173) (see fig. 17).

Other i‘e kuku designs are formed by oblique lines crossing to form lozenges, resembling the meshes (maka) of a net (‘upena). The net motif is then combined with the hālūa longitudinal lines and is enhanced with circles or triangles. These designs are called: ‘upena hālūa, a large-meshed net with longitudinal lines; a variation of the ‘upena hālūa features a smaller mesh; and niho manō hālūa, lozenges bisected vertically by hālūa lines with half of lozenges cut out to form a dominant shark-tooth (niho manō) pattern (Hiroa 2003:174).

Other triangular shark-tooth motifs with a vertical hālūa background are: hālūa niho manō, regularly-spaced small triangles with their bases toward the left enhance the panels between the hālūa lines; another pattern named hālūa niho manō, where the bases and

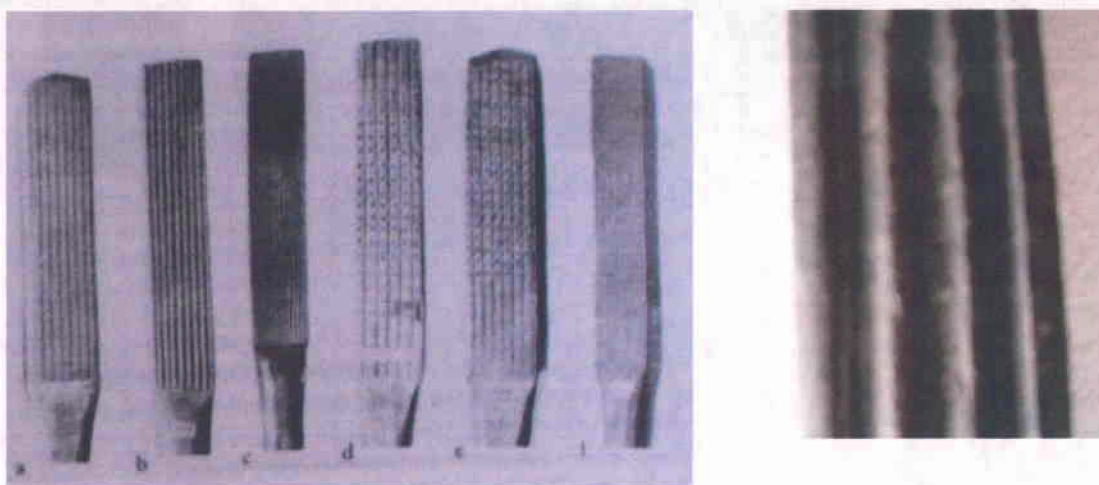


Fig. 17. Left: I'e kuku with various surface designs (left to right): konane, pepehi hālūa, ho'opa'i hālūa, konane pupu, niho li'ili'i, and a variant of niho li'ili'i (Hiroa 2003:172)

Right: Detail of incised i'e kuku on display at Bishop Museum (Wanda Anae-Onishi)

apices of triangles on alternating vertical panels unite to form lozenges; and niho manō hālūa, where the hālūa are subsidiary to the dominant vertical rows of triangles with their bases toward the left (Hiroa 2003:175) (see fig. 18). These methods and terms may have been used in the carving of the notched-ridge images.

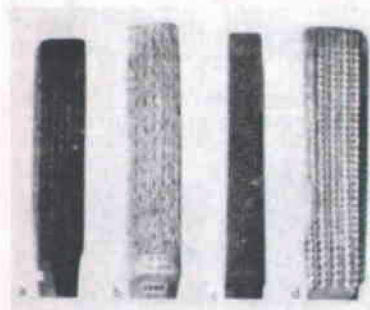


Fig. 18. I'e kuku (far right) is an example of niho manō hālūa design (Hiroa 2003:175).

The triangular shark-tooth motif may be related to a frequent pattern found on feather cloaks and capes: the triangle. Although not as popular as the crescent design, the triangle is the principal motif on six cloaks and five capes.¹⁷ Triangles decorate the side borders of eleven capes in which the main designs are the lozenge (six capes) and the triangle (five capes) (Hiroa 2003:227). The triangle emblem is found on the side borders of 24 cloaks. As a body motif, triangles embellish six cloaks, varying in size and number from one large to 12 small triangles. This motif also decorates 11 cloaks along the neck (Hiroa 2003:229–230). These designs were large so that they may be seen from afar, as one of the uses of cloaks was “war-like” decoration acting as a standard around which the other warriors rallied in battle (Brigham 1974:53; Webb 1974:135). The designs among the various cloaks and capes were unique, due to the various combinations of the decorative motifs (Hiroa 2003:228; Kaeppler 1970:96). These unique insignias may symbolize the numerous attributes the wearer desired—much like the Jensens’ assertion of the carvings on the images—and act as a coat of arms.

Feather regalia signified prestige and power, as a body clothed in feathers was compared to the feathered bodies of the gods. Only high-ranking males, who were also deemed gods, were allowed to wear the larger cloaks. The length indicated the social station of the bearer; lower-ranking chiefs wore feather capes. Cloaks were worn on state occasions and in war for physical and spiritual protection. They were also highly valued for their beauty and their rarity. Cloaks were inherited from chief to chief or taken as trophies from losing opponents. These spoils of war were often displayed on public occasions to the conqueror’s allies. Additionally, featherwork symbolized wealth, as it took approximately a half-million feathers to make a large cloak

¹⁷ Te Rangi Hiroa examined 92 capes and 45 cloaks to determine his findings (Hiroa 2003:227-228).

(Brigham 1974:53; D'Alleva 1998:107 & 114; Kaeppler 1970:92). The example in Fig. 19 is the Elgin Cloak. It measures 59 inches in length by 108 inches at its greatest width. Yellow triangles decorate its side border and a huge yellow triangle extends downward from the shoulders (Kaeppler 1970:96–97). These motifs may be related to the notched-ridged projections on the images, signifying the prestige and power of the images as feather regalia does for the chiefs.

Stories abound in Hawaiian literature regarding the practice of worshiping images. La'amaikahiki is credited with the introduction, which he brought from Kahiki. And so is Pā'ao, who is also said to have brought image worship from Kahiki. Yet, another story is of a child named Alelekinana, who was born in the form of a wooden image to Pu'uonale and Homakeikekula, a chief and chiefess of Kohala. The image of Alelekinana gave carvers the idea of creating images of gods from wood. Thus, the district of Kohala, and not the voyagers,



Fig. 19. The Elgin Cloak with triangular motifs (Kaeppler 1970:Frontispiece).

La‘amaikahiki nor Pā‘ao, is credited as the place where images were first made for worship (Beckwith 1976:359, 370, & 515–516). However, none of these stories offer a glimpse into the manufacture of the nineteen images with notched ridges and the significance they contain. Like much of the practices of ancient Hawai‘i, the symbolism behind the craftsmanship is lost.

Luquiens, the Jensens, Valeri, and Kaeppler have attempted to explain the symbolic meanings of wooden images through iconographic analyses, which placed the images within a cultural context. Chapter Four continues to place the images within Hawaiian culture by featuring the religion of Kū and his various incarnations.

Chapter Four

The War God Representations of Kū

As art, style, and iconography are Western disciplines, it is essential to place the nineteen images within an Hawaiian cultural context. Wooden sculpture played a major role in Hawaiian religion because the images were the visual symbols of the gods and goddesses: “Each deity is defined by his manifestations, which reveal his attributes . . . these manifestations can take three main forms: natural phenomena . . .; living human forms; . . . or anthropomorphic images” (Valeri 1985:9). Three of the wooden images (T3, T4, and T5) discussed in this thesis are believed to represent Kamehameha I’s war and sorcery god Kūkā’ilimoku, who is also expressed in feathered form. Reverend William Ellis and author William D. Westervelt acknowledged two other feather gods of war and sorcery: Kūkeolo‘ewa and Kūho‘one‘enu‘u. These gods are manifestations of Kū, a major god in the Hawaiian pantheon, who empowered their owners to conquer and defend lands (Valeri 1985:247).¹⁸ Thus, like Kūkā’ilimoku, the other images with notched ridges may also represent the war and sorcery manifestations of the god Kū. This chapter contextualizes the images, providing the data for the iconological interpretation discussed in Chapter Three. The religious beliefs pertaining to these war gods via stories and rituals are disclosed in this chapter. As the religion experiences a resurgence among Hawaiian practitioners in modern times, the beliefs are sometimes stated in the present tense.

According to Hawaiian historian Davida Kupihea Malo, Kū and his consort, Hina, were the first gods to arrive in Hawai‘i from the ancient homeland of Kahiki: “They were the gods who ruled the ancient people before Kāne. On Lāna‘i was the gods’ landing place, at Kumoku” (Beckwith 1976:11).¹⁹ They are recognized as the first parents, the great ancestral gods of

¹⁸ The other major gods within the Hawaiian pantheon are Kāne, Kanaloa, and Lono.

¹⁹ Other genealogies may credit another deity as being the first to arrive in Hawai‘i.

mankind of the past, present, and future. Later, cohorts Kāne and Kanaloa arrived in the Hawaiian archipelago at approximately the same time as the Polynesian demi-god Māui.²⁰ Lono came last and his role was confined mainly to the celebration of games and times of peace (Beckwith 1976:11–12; Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:389).

Kū, whose name means “stand or erect,” symbolizes male generating power that endows the Hawaiian race with fertility. Hina, or “prostrate,” represents female fecundity and the power of growth. Kū governs all male gods; Hina regulates the female deities. They preside over heaven and earth. Kū embodies the rising sun, thus the morning belongs to him. Prayers addressed to Kū are expressed toward the east. Hina personifies the setting sun, therefore, the afternoon is hers. Prayers to Hina are uttered toward the west. Furthermore, medicinal practitioners pray to Kū for success in their treatments and the herbs associated with his healing practices were collected with the right hand. They prayed to Hina for success and gathered the herbs associated with her healing practices in the left hand. These prayers to Kū and Hina emphasized familial relationships that the practitioners used for protection (Beckwith 1976:12–13; Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:383 & 389)

Many epithets are associated with Kū and Hina, representing gods and goddesses in various forms, which imply their high births as descendants from the first gods. Many of the early gods of the sea and the forest were given Kū names. Groups who specialize in various fields worship the different Kū entities. For instance, farmers appeal to a specific Kū for rain and a successful harvest. Fishermen pray to Kū‘ula for a plentiful catch. The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth nights of the lunar month are sacred to Kū. Certain plants and fish flourish, wither, or are

scarce on these nights. Kūka‘ōhi‘aLaka is worshiped by canoe builders in the body of the ‘ōhi‘a lehua tree, the principal hardwood of the upland forest. Other reasons for worshipping a Kū deity were long life, and family and national prosperity. Conversely, he was entreated for sorcery and for war, which also encompassed family and national prosperity over others. Sorcery and war are connected within the Kū realm. As he is best known as a war god, it is in this capacity that he also served as a sorcery god (Beckwith 1976:12–17; Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:383 & 389).

The main deity of the Kū realm is known as Kūnuiākea, literally “Kū of wide expanse.” He was appealed to on all the islands by the ruling chiefs and priests. The regional gods are Kūkalani‘ehu (Kū the heavenly blond) of Kaua‘i, also known as Kūkalani (Kū the chief) and Kūkalani‘ehuiki; Kūho‘one‘enu‘u (Kū pulling together the earth or Kū-moving-the-heights) of O‘ahu; Kūkeolo‘ewa (Kū the supporter) of Maui; and Kūkā‘ilimoku (Kū snatcher of land) of Hawai‘i Island. The regional gods were visual symbols of Kūnuiākea (Beckwith 1976:15; Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:391). Te Rangi Hiroa noted that not all gods were expressed visually. The older gods were not invoked for earthly benefits. Thus, representations of them in wood or stone were not carved. The images of deities that were carved were prayed to for material assistance (Buck 1939:18).

Kūnuiākea

Kūnuiākea was an invisible god who lived in the highest heavens. Heiau, such as luakini, po‘o kanaka, and waikaua, were erected to entreat the god for success in times of war and other

crises.²¹ The representation of Kūnuiākea, the main image at these places of worship, was allegedly a freshly-cut block of ‘ōhi‘a lehua wood (Beckwith 1976:26).²² To procure the wood, a strict tree-cutting ceremony was followed; this was included in the observances for the construction of the houses within the entire heiau complex. This rite was called “haku ‘ōhi‘a,” which is the name of the log for the main image, “haku ‘ōhi‘a.”²³ Before the tree-cutting ceremony began, an ‘ōhi‘a log—one without blemish—was chosen for the main image, and the adze, or ko‘i, used to fell the tree was consecrated. The existing images were redressed with feathers the same day.

The procession to the forest commenced on a day of clear weather, which indicated the god’s consent to obtain the haku ‘ōhi‘a (S.M. Kamakau 1976:136). The procession occurred on Kūkahi, the first day of Kū within each lunar month (Malo 1987:245). The group included the ali‘i nui (the main ruler), other chiefs, their retainers, the kahuna haku‘ōhi‘a (the priest who protected the consecrated adze), other kāhuna (priests), the kahu akua (attendants of the gods), the bearers of the god images and of the drums, and the carver of the image. They brought the sacrifices—pigs, bananas, coconuts, red fish, and the person to be sacrificed—with them. The kahuna recited a prayer to eliminate obstacles to cutting the ‘ōhi‘a tree. For example, the bark of the haku‘ōhi‘a log could not be stripped in the process. If it was marred, a man was killed. Once

²¹ Luakini and heiau po‘o kanaka are places of worship where ruling chiefs prayed and human sacrifices were offered. Heiau waikaua is a place of worship where services to ensure success in war were enacted (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1981:60 & 197).

²² ‘ōhi‘a lehua wood was one species of wood used in Hawaiian carving; other woods used was ‘ulu, kauila, kou, etc. (Kaepler, Rudall, and Starzecka 1993:41–46).

²³ Malu ‘ōhi‘a, ‘ōhi‘a ko, and malu ko‘i are other names for these observances. “Mō‘ī” was another name for the main image (S.M. Kamakau 1976:136; Malo 1987:245).

they reached the forest, the kahuna and the ali'i nui approached the tree, where the kahuna grabbed a suckling pig and made it squeal. Then, he recited the prayer for the felling of the tree. The kahuna cut off a chip of the tree. The ali'i nui touched the trunk with one of the famous old adzes of the gods Haumapu or 'Olopu, which belonged to god Kahōāli'i. The belief was that these adzes could "cut down" the government and make it fall. The man to be sacrificed was guided to the tree's base and killed. Then, another chief cut down the 'ōhi'a tree with another adze. When the tree fell, the kahuna cut the top off and pronounced the 'āmama (end of the prayer) of this rite. While the pigs cooked, the timbers for the houses within the heiau and the carving of the haku 'ōhi'a were completed. The ali'i nui and his retinue ate the pigs until they were sated. The tree-cutting feast was called 'aha'aina moku lehua. Any leftovers, plus the suckling pig, a coconut, a kapa garment, and the sacrificed man were buried at the stump of the tree. Silence was maintained throughout the ceremony until the burial of the offerings was completed (Beckwith 1976:26–27; S.M. Kamakau 1976:136–138; Malo 1987:240–241 & 245–246, & 239–240).

The return procession to the lowlands followed similar strict protocol. The announcement of the group's arrival was shouted to warn the people. This warning was exclaimed continuously until they entered the enclosure of the heiau and the 'ōhi'a wood arrived at the outside pavement of the heiau. Absolute silence was expected. Fires could not be lit nor the sound of kapa beaters heard. If a man met with the procession, he was executed (Beckwith 1976:26–27; S.M. Kamakau 1976:136–138; Malo 1987:240–241 & 245–246, & 239–240).

The story of Kūnuiākea belongs to the Kumuhonua, a genealogy recited on Moloka'i, beginning with the original ancestor, Ho'okumukahonua (Founding of the race), also called

Hulihonua, of the Hawaiian people. People of other islands favored other genealogies, which featured other original ancestors. Kūnuiākea was the grandchild of Hawai‘iloa, or KekowaiHawai‘i, a great voyager who also is credited for populating the Hawaiian islands. Hawai‘iloa was a son of Anianikalani; his brothers were Ki, Kanaloa, and La‘akapu. Together, the brothers left their homeland in the “south” and ventured to other Polynesian archipelagoes to people those lands. Hawai‘iloa needed mates for his children and sailed southward to bring them back, such as Tu-nui-ai-e-te-atua, son of Ki, as husband for his daughter O‘ahu. Their son Tu-nui-atea, or Kūnuiākea, was born at Keauhou on Hawai‘i Island. This child became a chief of the highest rank, from which the high chiefs of these islands descended (Beckwith 1976:307 & 363–365).

Kūkalani‘ehu

Kūkalani‘ehu was the war god of Kaua‘i. Although Kaua‘i genealogists employed the Kānehulihonua (Over-turner of the race) and the Kumuuli (Fallen chief) ancestral lines, the Kumuhonua also features the war god Kūkalani‘ehu. He was the father of Wākea’s wife, Papa-hānau-moku, who was sixth in descent from Makali‘i, chief navigator who traveled with Hawai‘iloa. As a settler, Makali‘i is consistently linked with the island of Kaua‘i. This may explain Kūkalani‘ehu’s connection with the island (Beckwith 1976:307, 363, & 366).

A story about Kūkalani‘ehu involves a Kaua‘i chief. It references gods who remain passive when appealed to by war leaders. In this case, chief Kawelo smashed the war god with a club and called it a coward when its feathers did not flutter when he consulted the god about the success of his Kaua‘i expedition (Beckwith 1976:28).

Another story regarding Kūkalani‘ehu takes place on O‘ahu. Kalanimanuiā was a famous chiefess of O‘ahu. Shortly before she died, she gave commandments to her children to fulfill, which included giving the charge of her gods, Kūkalani and Kūho‘one‘enu‘u, to her son Ka‘ihikapu-a-Manuia (S.M. Kamakau 1991:57 & 60). His guardianship aided him in successfully capturing the districts of his brothers, KūaManuia (Ko‘olaupoko and Kona) and Ha‘o (‘Ewa and Wai‘anae) (S.M. Kamakau 1991:57, 57, 60–61 & 64–66). The image of Kūkalani‘ehu was carved from the same tree as the goddess Haumea, albeit unnamed (S.M. Kamakau 1964:129).

Kūho‘one‘enu‘u

Kūho‘one‘enu‘u was also carved from the same tree as Kūkalani‘ehu. The story of this god also involves Haumea. When Haumea was traveling in Kahiki-kū and Kahiki-moe, she met chief ‘Olopana and his daughter Mulei‘ula, who was having difficulty in childbirth; preparations were made to cut open Mulei‘ula’s body to save the child but from which she would ultimately die. Haumea said in her native land, Nu‘umehalani, both mother and child lived. ‘Olopana asked her to deliver the child so that his daughter would live. When he asked what payment Haumea expected in return, she asked for Mulei‘ula’s tree (S.M. Kamakau 1991:6–8).

The name of the tree was Kalauokekāhuli or “tree of changing leaves.” It bore two flowers named Kanikawī and Kanikawā. Haumea grabbed its branches and roots and leapt into the sky. She flew beyond the Pillars of Kahiki till she reached Hawai‘i Island. Not finding a place to set it down, she continued on to Maui. When she came to Waihe‘e stream, she set the tree down at Pu‘ukuma. She left the tree there and drank the water of Kāne. In another version,

she set the tree down at Pu'ukume and mixed 'awa to quench her thirst. When she returned, she found that the tree rooted itself in the earth. Haumea constructed a wall around the tree that reached from Pihana to Kaho'omano Point. Safe within the wall, Haumea took the two blossoms, Kanikawī and Kanikawā, and returned to Nu'umehalani, the land of the gods (S.M. Kamakau 1991:6–8).

A man from Nakohola, named 'A'a'ala'au, went up to the mountains to cut wood and found this tree. He chopped it down and returned home, leaving the tree inside the wall enclosure. That night a fierce storm began, lasting twenty nights and days. The wall collapsed and the tree washed into the ocean. After six months at sea, the tree trunk washed ashore at Niukūkahi at Kahului, Maui. The trunk would become Kūho'one'enu'u (S.M. Kamakau 1991:6–8). S. M. Kamakau listed Kūho'one'enu'u as a female 'aumakua in a prayer (S.M. Kamakau 1964:31).

In one version, the trunk was used as a dung heap and as a place for throwing waste. In another version, the trunk is found floating near the beach by an old couple, Waila'ahia and his wife Halelau, who were people without gods. The couple dreamt about the god Kūho'one'enu'u for three nights and days; he urged them to go and get the tree trunk and carve a god image for themselves. On the third day of prompting, Wai-la'ahia prepared the things that had been ordered: a pig, coconuts, red fish, garments, and kohekohe grass. Then he offered these items and thus freed the kapu, or prohibition. Next, he took the tree trunk inland to Polipoli at Nāpoko there in Waiehu. Waila'ahia erected a waihau, a heiau in which no human sacrifices were made. Kūho'one'enu'u became famous as a god of mana (power) and as a god who seized kingdoms. Waila'ahia was a kahu, or guardian, of KamaunuiHalakaipo, a chief of O'ahu, who heard about Kūho'one'enu'u. He had Waila'ahia bring the god to O'ahu (S.M. Kamakau 1991:6–8).

KamaunuiHalakaipo built Pākākā, a po‘o kanaka heiau where human sacrifices were conducted for the god. Pākākā stood near the foot of the present Fort Street in Honolulu. Kūho‘one‘enu‘u became a noted god throughout the islands. She was the god of the chiefs of O‘ahu from ancient times to the reigns of Kūali‘i, Kapi‘ioho‘okalani, Pelei‘ōhōlani, Kūmahana, and Kahahana. It is said that Kūho‘one‘enu‘u was the most ancient god from Hawai‘i to Kaua‘i. Another important aspect of Kūho‘one‘enu‘u is that she is mentioned in a prayer to acquire female ‘aumākua, or family guardians (S.M. Kamakau 1991:6–8).

Kūkeolo‘ewa

The creation of Kūkeolo‘ewa, the war deity worshiped by Maui and Moloka‘i chiefs, is included in Kūho‘one‘enu‘u’s story. The branches of Haumea’s special tree, Kalauokekāhuli, from which Kūho‘one‘enu‘u was formed, were carved into other god images. The branches washed up on the shores of Oneawa, O‘ahu where the fish leapt about them. The god Makalei, who attracts fish, was carved from one of the branches. He was a god of Hawai‘i for many generations. The other branch was formed into the god Kūkeolo‘ewa (Beckwith 1976:113 & 284; S.M. Kamakau 1964:31–32; S.M. Kamakau 1991:6–8 & 82).

S. M. Kamakau mentioned another version of Haumea’s story of the tree, in which Kūkeolo‘ewa was not made from this branch. Instead, Kūkeolo‘ewa was carved from Kahaiki, the tree of Kaloakaoma. But, Kamakau did not elaborate on this story (S.M. Kamakau 1964:129). In his Nā Mo‘olelo a ka Po‘e Kahiko, he said that one branch of this tree was made into a rack on which wooden bowls and netted calabashes were hung; the rack was called Ka-

haka-iki.²⁴ Another branch became a shelf on which bundles were placed. The shelf, or olo'ewa, was named Keolo'ewa, literally "the shelf" (S.M. Kamakau 1991:6–8; Pūku'i and Elbert 1971:262).

Later, the shelf was carved into an image with a red-feather helmet and clothed in kapa fringed with human hair. One such image, linked with sorcery, was kept by Kamehameha to guide the souls of the dead to the afterworld. The feathers were believed to come from mythical seabirds and are featured on the heads of the sorcery gods of war. In 1823 Reverend William Ellis described a wooden image of Keolo'ewa dressed in native kapa with the head and the neck of wickerwork. It was covered with red feathers to look like a bird's skin and wore a native helmet hung with human hair; the mouth was large and distended. It was placed in the inner room of the temple at the left of the door with an altar before it. Additionally, a feathered image, called Keolo'ewa, was presented to Lord Byron of the H.M.S. Blonde by Chief Naihe in 1825. This image described by Ellis and presented to Byron may be the same one; however, the present location is unknown. Keolo'ewa is said to have been worshiped as an akua noho, a spirit that takes possession of people and speaks through them as a medium. Conversely, Kūkeolo'ewa was also associated with healing and rain (Beckwith 1976:108 & 114–115; Kaeppler 1982:105; Pūku'i and Elbert 1971:390).

Beckwith surmised that the tree, Kalauokekāhuli, whose blossoms "sing" is probably bamboo, or 'ohe. She suggested that 'ohe was used for sorcery, and the bamboo nose-flute was cut from the joints of the trunk (Beckwith 1976:284–285). However, Beckwith was mistaken.

²⁴Perhaps, the word Ka-haka-iki may be identical to the Kahaiki tree. One of the meanings of the word haka is "shelf"; iki means "little," and ka may refer to the article "the." In other words, "the little shelf" (Pūku'i & Elbert 1981:46, 91, & 99).

While ‘ohe is the name of all types of bamboo, it is also the name of a native tree, Reynoldsia sandwicensis, which grows at Maunaloa, Moloka‘i. The wood is poisonous and is carved into the sorcery gods, collectively known as Kālaipāhoa. The goddess Kapo is the manifestation of this wood. Kālaipāhoa is represented as the nīoi tree (Eugenia sp.) (Beckwith 1976: 111; Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:246 & 254).

Keolo‘ewa, a ruling chief of Moloka‘i, was also referred to in the Kālaipāhoa stories. The nīoi tree grew in a single night during the time of chief Kamauaua, father of Kapeepē and Keolo‘ewa (Beckwith 1976:32 & 112).

Beckwith identified a figure of Keolo‘ewa at Bishop Museum (see fig. 1).²⁵ The goddess carries a small human figure on her back. Keolo‘ewa holds the same position in ancient tradition as the leading spirit of Maui that Pahulu, a sorcery deity, is said to have held on Moloka‘i (Beckwith 1976:114).



Fig. 1. Image of Keolo‘ewa (Cox 1988:137).

²⁵ In Cox’s “Revisions to Catalog of Extant Pieces,” this image is designated as Kealoewa, a “goddess of rain.” Mrs. Mercy P. Whitney owned the images for approximately 50 years. It was then in Boston for 15 years before coming to Bishop Museum (Cox 1988:203).

Kūkā‘ilimoku

The last war god that visually symbolized Kūnuiākea is Kūkā‘ilimoku, who was believed to utter loud cries during battle. He is the most famous of the Kū war images, owned by Kamehameha in both wooden and feathered forms (see fig. 2). The original god was named Kā‘ili who was inherited by ‘Umi from his father, Līloa. ‘Umi became the guardian of Kā‘ili, while his brother, Hākau, became ruling chief. As keeper of Kā‘ili, ‘Umi was empowered to seize his brother’s government. ‘Umi passed the god down to his son, Keawenuia‘Umi, who in turn bequeathed it to his son Lonoikamakahiki. Kamehameha was designated guardian of the god by his uncle, chief Kalaniopu‘u. Like ‘Umi, Kamehameha unseated his cousin, Kīwala‘o, and became ruler of Hawai‘i Island. When Kamehameha conquered all the islands, the saying was “E kū kā‘ili moku” (“Kā‘ili has risen over the islands.”). This expression became attached to the god.



Fig. 2. Kūkā‘ilimoku in wooden and feathered forms (Cox 1988:120–122; Hiroa 2003:504).

Liloa's image of Kā'ili was crafted from a stone or gourd about the size of two fists, bound with sennit, and topped with two feathers from the mythical bird called Hiva-oa. King David Kalākaua described the image as "a small wooden figure, roughly carved, with a headdress of yellow feathers." Another form in which the god manifested himself was a streak of light, which Reverend William Ellis compared to a "comet" that flew around in the evening sky (Beckwith 1976:28–29 & 112–113; Pūku'i and Elbert 1971:390)

Much reverence was paid toward Kā'ili. Heiau, often called Hale o Kā'ili, were erected in his honor. At a heiau, named Mākole'ā, at Kahalu'u, Kona, Hawai'i, chief Lonoikamakahiki worshiped the god and some of his victories were celebrated there. The sacrifice of Kamehameha's cousin Keoua at the newly rebuilt Pu'ukoholā Heiau, also dedicated to Kūkā'ilimoku, led to Kamehameha and Kūkā'ilimoku's widespread influence. Their power eclipsed that of the other chiefs, other aspects of the god Kū, and the war gods of other chiefly lines. The god was awarded lands which were made places of refuge, or "pu'uhonua." A law, 'Aliamoku belonged to him as well; it stated that widespread fires were prohibited during his rites. John Papa 'Ī'ī, an attendant of Liholiho, Kamehameha II, recalled prostrating before Kā'ili's entourage. 'Ī'ī also traveled in the god's canoe (Beckwith 1976:423; 'Ī'ī 1959:58, 95, & 104; Kaeppler 1982:99; S.M. Kamakau 1964:14 & 19).

Another heiau luakini ceremony that involved the war manifestations of Kū is the 'aha ka'i ritual, the dedication of the heiau. It followed the haku 'ōhi'a ritual, in which the wood was procured for the image. The kahuna nui (the high priest) performed the dedication inside the hale

mana, the most sacred house within the complex because the symbol of Kū was positioned there.²⁶

The god was adorned with long feathers from the mythical birds Halulu and Kīwa‘a, which were inserted onto the top of the god’s heads to make a narrow crest, like a mahiole (feathered helmet).

The kahuna nui recited audibly the Kumuhonua and the Kumalohia prayers. The ali‘i nui, who accompanied the kahuna nui, judged the success of the ritual by the clearness of the words of the

kahuna. Then they went out in front of the lananu‘u mamao (oracle tower) into the hale i

kamauliola (the house to revive life). When he stopped, the ali‘i nui ended the prayer with the

word, “‘āmama,” to which the kahuna nui responded “‘āmama.” Then the kahuna nui asked,

“How was my prayer?” to which the ali‘i nui responded, “‘Lele wale aku la” (It went on its way).

When the assembly heard the response, they cheered because the ‘aha ka‘i was a success. The

success of this ritual was essential. If it was unsuccessful a second time, those who caused the

failure were indicated by the god. For instance, if the ritual was for Kūkeolo‘ewa,

Kūho‘one‘enu‘u, or Kūkā‘ilimoku, then the ali‘i nui or the senior attendant of the god would use

the portable image to point out the guilty party who was subsequently put to death (S.M.

Kamakau 1976:138–142).

Other Gods Associated with War

Although Kūkalani‘ehu, Kūho‘one‘enu‘u, Kū-ke-olo‘ewa, and Kūkā‘ilimoku are considered principal war gods, other gods associated with warfare were also worshiped in

Hawai‘i. They were Kūwahailo, Kūkauakahi, Kāmeha‘ikana, and Kahōāli‘i.

²⁶ S. M. Kamakau reiterated in these passages that the visible symbols were Kūho‘one‘e-nu‘u, Kūkeolo‘ewa, Kūkā‘ilimoku, and Kūkalani‘ehuiki (141). However, he did not clearly state whether the symbol of Kū was Kūnuiākea, the freshly-cut block of ‘ōhi‘a wood, or images of the regional gods were placed in the hale mana.

Kūwahailo (maggot-mouthed Kū) was a sorcery god, a man eater, and a conductor of souls. Likewise, Kamehameha's gods who guided the souls of the dead included Kūho'one'enu'u and Kūkeolo'ewa. Kūwahailo possibly ate men's souls. He is credited with the introduction of human sacrifice to Hawai'i. His forms were human, lizard, caterpillar, blood stream, and others. His other names are Milu and Kahanuo'awa (the breath of sourness). He was also a god of 'Umi. When 'Umi conquered Hākau's government, the god's voice was heard demanding more men for sacrifice (Beckwith 1976:29 & 110; Pūku'i and Elbert 1971:391).

Kūkauakahi (Kū first war or Kū the warrior) is another god connected to battle. He is the owl god to whom bodies are offered to become owls, representing 'aumākua. One version of his story reports that Haumea is the mother of war god Kekauakahi; another version states that Kauakahi was born from Papa's head and became a god. Haumea and Papa, as mother goddesses in Hawaiian religion, are often interchanged (Beckwith 1976:105–106, 123, & 276–278; S.M. Kamakau 1964:58).

Another story that involves Kūkauakahi and Haumea is Haumea's transformation into a breadfruit tree, in which she is worshiped as Kāmeha'ikana, in Kalihi Valley on O'ahu. Kāmeha'ikana hid in the tree with her husband Mākea to protect him from being sacrificed at Pākākā, the heiau of Kūho'one'enu'u. The men of chief Leleho'omao attempted to cut the tree down but failed till they greased their bodies with coconut oil and the proper offerings were made to the tree. They carved the tree into goddess Kāmeha'ikana, who was worshiped on O'ahu until taken to Maui where she joined Kamehameha's pantheon of gods. Like the Kū war gods, she was known to seize land and power and preserve the government. Additionally, Kāmeha'ikana is mentioned in a chant as a goddess of Kauakahi. In the Kumulipo genealogy chant Kāmeha'ikana

is also known as Kāmeha‘ikaua, who is the god of Kauakahi (Beckwith 1976:281–283; S.M. Kamakau 1991:11–13 & 82).

In the aforementioned tree-cutting ceremony, the adzes of gods Haumapu and Olopu were used. They belonged to the ancestral god Kahōāli‘i (the chiefly companion), the deity of a heiau at Kawaipapa, Pāpa‘a, Kaua‘i (previously mentioned on page 51). He also used the adzes to sever governments until they fell. Kahōāli‘i was impersonated in religious ceremonies by a naked man with a strange marking. He participated in other observances, such as the Makahiki rituals for Lono, where he was presented with the eye of a human victim or of an aku or ulua fish. Kamehameha I worshiped the impersonator as the actual god because of the religious belief that the god possessed the man. In other words, Kamehameha revered the god and not the man (Beckwith 1976:49, 106, & 110; Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:385).

All of these war gods were considered sorcery gods. Sorcery was commonly practiced through the use of “fetchers” in the form of images, expressed in wood, feathers, streaks of light, etc. These fetchers were possessed by the spirit of a powerful ancestor or a nature spirit who was worshiped to bring the god’s mana under its owner’s control to care for its master and to discover and capture those who prayed for the owner’s death. The place where sorcery was learned was Moloka‘i because the sorcery of that island was the most powerful. Kūkā‘ilimoku was regarded as the most effective sorcery god until the rise of the famous sorcery god of Moloka‘i, Kālaipāhoa. Kamehameha was careful to secure his rivals’ gods—such as the principal gods of O‘ahu and Maui, Kūho‘one‘enu‘u and Kūkeolo‘ewa respectively—when he gained control of their lands. When he returned to Hawai‘i Island in 1812, he settled at Kamakahonu, Hawai‘i until his death. Not only did he build several houses for his own gods and their guardians, he also

constructed houses for his acquired gods and retained their keepers (Beckwith 1976:29, 105, & 108–109; S.M. Kamakau 1964:135).

The stories and rituals presented in this chapter illustrate the roles the war gods played in the national religion of Hawai‘i. These gods were invoked for material assistance that translated into visual symbols. Kūnuiākea, Kūkalani‘ehu, Kūho‘one‘enu‘u, Kūkeolo‘ewa, and Kūkā‘ilimoku were expressed in many visually symbolic forms: wood, feathers, a stone or gourd wrapped in sennit, and streaks of light. Other gods associated with war and the seizure of land are Kūwahailo, Kūkauakahi, Kāmeha‘ikana, and Kahōāli‘i. However, it is Kūkā‘ilimoku who supercedes the other war deities during the reign of Kamehameha I. This war manifestation of Kū, as well as the other images featured in this thesis, underwent many transformations in the way they were perceived from their creation to the present. Chapter Five will present these transformations as additional identities that the war gods have acquired throughout their cultural lifetimes via a discursive interpretation.

Chapter Five

The Discursive Interpretation to the

Notched-Ridged Hair Images

In Chapter Three, the iconographical analyses of the various writers detailed the supposed meanings of the individual features carved onto the nineteen notched-ridged hair images. Collectively, these characteristics comprise a whole image, one that acquires further meanings. The original intent of the religious images made in ancient Hawai‘i was that the image served as a receptacle into which a god could be invoked, thus becoming a visual symbol of that god. The multiple war incarnations of Kū—the focus of the previous chapter—may have been the calling form of the gods into the notched-ridged hair images. However, the meanings of these images were not static but dependent on the contexts in which they are encountered or “read.”

Numerous events have changed the original intent of the image from an invocation of the god, to a pagan idol, artificial curiosity, ethnographic specimen, artifact, primitive art, tourist kitsch, a marketing symbol for companies, and back to a forceful invocation of the god. This chapter explores these various meanings that the images have acquired over time via a discursive interpretation based on the discursive approach associated with French philosopher and historian, Michel Foucault. A brief explanation of his approach will follow so as to delineate how different meanings may be established. The remainder of the chapter will feature the various identities that the images acquired over time and the ways they acquired these identities, i.e., the power bases that contributed to their multiple identities. Please note that the word “image” will be replaced with “statue” to avoid ambiguity, as an image can be both two- and three-dimensional and hold various meanings, whereas a statue is only three-dimensional.

At the heart of the discursive approach is the term “discourse.” Foucault defined discourse as a group of statements that provide a language for discussing a particular topic at a particular historical moment, thus producing a body of knowledge. In addition to examining how language

and representation produce meaning, the discursive approach looks at how a discourse-produced knowledge reflects relationship of power within a society, governing behavior, shaping identities and opinions, and defining the method in which certain things are represented, thought about, practiced, and analyzed (Hall 1997a:6; Hall 1997b:44).²⁷ As for this thesis, nineteen statues are called by different names at different times in history depending on the contexts in which they are interpreted. Furthermore, these contexts determine the relative importance of the statues in society and the ways in which they are perceived and treated.

Meanings originate within society. In other words, people give objects meaning. As people/cultures differ, an object can generate different meanings. In other words, the meaning of an object can change from one culture or period to another. These formations specify what is and is not acceptable within a particular society (e.g. particular cultural practices or social identities) or what knowledge is considered significant and “true.” Foucault argued that ultimately, meanings can be considered “true” only within a specific historical context. Under a “regime of truth” if everyone believes something is true, it will be so, even if it has never been proven conclusively (Hall 1997a:6; Hall 1997b:44, 46, 49, & 61).

The meanings of the nineteen statues have changed over time, and these meanings were/are considered true by the people who gave them meaning. The statues were considered receptacles into which the gods were invoked by ancient and some contemporary Hawaiians; after the invocation, the statues embodied the gods. With the arrival of the missionaries, they were

²⁷Stuart Hall reviewed Foucault’s work on the discursive approach in the Introduction to Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, and in Chapter 1, “The Work of Representation” of the same book. His concise summation is used in this chapter to explain the approach and to lead into the changing definitions of the nineteen statues.

viewed as pagan idols. Explorers, traders, and sailors regarded them as artificial curiosities. The scientific community named them ethnographic specimens and artifacts. The art community categorized them as primitive art. The statues became tiki (airport art, kitsch, and “Hawaiiana”) and were used by advertisers to market products. Contemporary Hawaiians seeking sovereignty and practitioners of Hawaiian culture restored them as gods. The people and cultures that created the different meanings over time imbued them with a certain power and controlled the way the statues were/are perceived.

Statue as Akua Ki‘i²⁸

In ancient Hawai‘i, the national religious system imbued the nineteen statues with the power, or “mana,” of the carver; the ali‘i nui, or high chief; the various kāhuna, or priesthood; and later, the mana of the god. In ancient Hawai‘i, religion played a major role in society and in the way the statues were perceived. Two influential factors of this religion, which constituted the “language,” are mana and kapu. Mana corresponds to power, while kapu dictates behavior. The belief in mana constructed the knowledge behind the power structure and shaped the opinions of this time period when the national religion was enforced. Kapu governed the people’s behavior. Both factors determined the ways the statues were represented and the religion was practiced.

Mana, as defined by anthropologist E. S. Craighill Handy, is procreative power that belongs to the superior, divine realm of nature. Within the dualistic nature of Polynesian religion, it is associated with male procreative energy, light, and life (Handy 1939:35).

Mana manifests the power of the gods in the human world (Shore 1989:139). The gods

²⁸ “Image representing a god” (Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:14).

meted out, channeled, and demonstrated their power throughout the universe. Individuals and things did not own mana. Rather, gods, persons, objects, spirits, and rites simply acted as receivers and mediums of this all-pervasive force. The amount contained within any of these agents was proportionate to the sacredness of the agent (Handy 1939:26–28 & 34–35).

Mana was transmitted between two agents through contact. Anyone or anything that came within the extension of an agent's "mana field" became affected and was employed for certain purposes; conversely, mana was removed if those affected were considered unsuitable containers. Mana could be channeled by invocation or removed in rituals conducted by priests (Handy 1939:28–29).

One such transmitter was a divine chief who was linked to the original gods by primogeniture. He was believed to embody power (psychic and physical, religious and civil, productive and destructive) via his direct descent from the gods and close accord with them through his illustrious ancestors via the rites that were performed to empower him and bring him closer with the gods, and as a result of his knowledge of the gods through his education. His mana was manifested wherever it was needed, i.e. in the areas of agriculture, industry, and war (Buck 1939:2).

Other transmitters of mana were gods and spirits. Any person or thing might become a transmitter by being connected to someone or something that was in contact with the ultimate source, such as a chief, god, or spirit. Animate or inanimate objects also conveyed mana through their intimate relationships with powerful beings, like chiefs or the gods. Priests born into a royal—hence, divine—family inherited the capacity to conduct mana. Otherwise, they and men of learning served as conduits. Their mana was acquired through consecrated ceremonies and

through their continual association with sacred beings, things, and rituals. Additionally, people and objects could be charged with mana through rites and be simultaneously connected with the source. Finally, neither a person nor a thing was believed only to transmit or receive mana (Handy 1939:28–30).

Evidence of mana was exhibited in a person's power, physical strength, prestige, reputation, skill, dynamic personality, and intelligence. For example, a ritualistic priest exhibited his power in the efficacy of his ritual and in his knowledge of occult influences and power to interpret omens. A man adept in the sacred traditional knowledge displayed his mana through the accuracy of his memory, extensive knowledge, and keenness of mind. It was seen in the object's efficacy and in the maker's or user's reputation. For instance, the mana of a warrior's spear increased with each death it inflicted. Places where ceremonies were conducted were believed to contain mana, thus influencing the results. The desired result of prayers depended on the mana of the esoteric words recited, and the mode in which they were recited (Handy 1939:26 & 30–32).

The need to insulate the transmitter and reservoir for their own protection and to safeguard the gods with which the agent was in contact, and to insure the protection of others became major concerns. They were accomplished by means of prohibitions, or kapu, designed to prevent direct or indirect contact through the medium of food, clothing, or other conductors. Hence, various rites were designed to relieve the commoner of an excess of mana and to restore it to the proper person or object (Handy 1938:28).

Handy defined kapu to mean anything that was “psychically dangerous,” therefore people, places, and things considered kapu were restricted, forbidden, isolated, and to be avoided for reasons of divinity and corruption. Divine entities required isolation from both common and

corrupt ones. Corrupt entities were dangerous to the common and the divine, thus requiring isolation to protect the latter entities. Duality was the basis of kapu to maintain balance thereby constituting unity. Any disturbance of this equilibrium in an individual, either by an excess of mana or by a loss of his natural endowment of it negatively affected this person. The penalties for violating a kapu were severe—often times, death—even if the person committing the offense was unaware. It was through this means that victims for human sacrifices were obtained. Kapu became the basis of social stratification of the strictest sort in Hawai'i in which an elaborate political system developed (Handy 1939:43–44; Kuykendall 1938:9).

The kapu of sanctity governed two classes of individuals: those with inborn or inherited sacredness (such as divine chiefs) and those of induced sacredness (priests, men of learning, etc.). For the latter group, kapu was acquired simultaneously with mana through direct or indirect association with the gods. On the other hand, a divine and consecrated chief was kapu beyond all others because he was the embodiment of the divinity and the instrument of the mana of the gods who were his ancestors. As such, he was surrounded with many kapu designed to protect him. For instance, the head of every person was kapu because mana was believed to be concentrated in the head. However, the head of the divine chief was especially sacred because his mana was significantly larger as a result of his birth and his role in society. To touch a chief's head, to pass something common or corrupt over it, or to insult it by comparing it to something profane was an act of desecration, requiring some kind of resolution. Furthermore, through the chief's kapu, his ancestors were protected from indignity and from loss of mana through contact with the common (Handy 1939:43–45).

The kapu system protected all of society, from the high chief to the community he

governed. The kapu surrounding the sacred chief was an essential part of the religious system and not devised to maintain power and control. The protective rules applied to him and to all his personal possessions. Food, and everything associated with its preparation and consumption, was especially protected because it was believed to be a transmitter. The chief was the community's main instrument of rapport, being endowed with the procreative powers of the gods. Through him the health of the community prospered (Handy 1939:43–45).

The community's enforcement of kapu was equally important. Members of a community helped to protect the chief's kapu by observing his isolation in important occasions such as the birth, marriage, sickness, or death of a chief; religious festivals; war; fishing expeditions; etc. During these activities, the people were prohibited in engaging in all common, everyday activities. They were to remain silent, and were not allowed to light fires, prepare or eat food (Handy 1939:43–45).

Other kapu which applied to all persons, places, and things were set apart for worship or consecrated labor. The rituals were isolated from the contagious influences emanating from the profane world, thus inducing divine control over worship or labor. All who were subjected to sacred enterprises became kapu, and would remain so until other rites were performed to remove or neutralize the conditions (Handy 1939:45).

The belief system just described explains the knowledge behind the perception of the statues. The purpose of carving the statues was to attain a particular result, presumably success in war. In order for mana to be conveyed into the statues to reach this goal, kapu was placed on the labor and labor force, the high chief, the priests, the chief's and priests' retainers, the community who did not actively participate in the rituals, the site and rituals of the heiau luakini, and the

offerings supplied to the gods. These restricted peoples and entities had the ability to transmit mana to the statues. Hence, strict observance of all activities was required in the manufacture of the statues and in the rituals conducted for the transmission of mana to the statues and the construction of the war complex. Successful completion of the luakini ceremonies was believed to ensure victory in battle for the high chief which benefitted all he governed. The following paragraphs will detail the means in which mana was imbued in the statues.

The Mana of the Carver

Once again, the statues were carved to be receptacles into which the gods were invoked via rituals that occurred during the course of the entire heiau luakini experience. The actual carving of the statues was considered consecrated activity requiring protection from evil influences and assistance from the positive powers of the gods and the high chief for the ultimate purpose of the statues' existence: success in worship, war, or peaceful pursuits.

The main features of the statue carving profession—and other sacred endeavors—were: organization and direction under master craftsmen and priests; worship of patron deities; kapu and purificatory rites designed to isolate the work, carvers, and statues from evil; the observation of omens relative to the result of the activity; empowering carvers, locations, implements, and the statues by using conductors of mana, and endowing them directly with mana through prayers; consecrating the completed statues through ritual; and feasting and conviviality to mark the end of the consecrated period, to enjoy the statues, and to give thanks to the gods (Handy 1939:282).

The master carvers were actually priest carvers, as evident in their titles which began with kahuna. The kahuna in any profession was one who had mastered all phases of his work, both

technical and ritualistic, and had ample experience and leadership to allow him to organize and direct the labor of other workers in communal endeavors. Thus, a man adept at a profession through heredity, aptitude, and apprenticeship was considered a master of the technical aspects and ceremonial requirements of his trade. The term was applied to experts or masters in any kind of activity, such as kahuna kālai ki'i (image carving expert) or kahuna haku 'ōhi'a. The kahuna haku 'ōhi'a—the highest position achieved by a priest carver—made sacred statues. The name derived from the haku 'ōhi'a ritual in which the 'ōhi'a wood was obtained for the central statue of the Kūkālepa, a semicircle of figures of deities at one end of the temple enclosure. The kahuna haku 'ōhi'a supervised the creation of all religious sculptures for the heiau luakini (Handy 1939:149 & 282; Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:23).

The kahuna as carver transmitted his mana into the statues via his implements and expertise. It was customary to empower the tools, such as adzes, to be used in labor. Adzes were endowed with mana through consecration to a god or ritual. The adzes with which the haku 'ōhi'a statue was cut were consecrated in the malu ko'i ritual of the luakini ceremonies that occurred on the night of Hoaka. The adze was laid to rest overnight within the lintel of the door of the sanctuary called hale mana in the heiau luakini (Handy 1939:32, 282, & 287; Malo 1987:245).

Many kapu protected sacred activity from evil influences. Purification rituals were enacted prior to the commencement of labor for anyone engaged in it, allowing the workers to become instruments of mana. During the manufacture, signs were observed if ritualistic or technical errors were made. If evil influences existed that might lead to imperfections in the work or misfortune in any of the following rituals, then the entire project would be abandoned (Handy 1939:284 & 286–287).

The Mana of the High Chief and the Priestly Class

After the carver, the ali'i nui, the kahuna nui, and the various kāhuna who participated in the luakini ceremonies acted as additional conveyors of mana toward the statues. The ali'i nui, or divine chief, was the most important and unique of the intermediaries between the gods and man. He was the first-born male of the highest rank and a direct descendant of the gods. As the prime embodiment of mana in nature, he symbolized the land and people. His mana was proportionate to the degree of his sacredness which depended upon the purity of his descent. Elaborate precautions were taken to insure that his blood derived only from the blood of the divine via his parents' genealogies. As such, he was the central figure who connected the psychic and physical aspects of nature by personally representing the gods. The honor paid to the sacred chief by the people corresponded to the belief that he embodied the gods, not out of fear but by the belief that their lives and the land depended upon him and the gods. The ali'i nui was consecrated in all the required rites, and received the education and training in the esoteric knowledge which was practiced (Handy 1939:138–140).

The trained organizers and leaders in ceremony were the kāhuna (plural for kahuna); the head priest was known as the kahuna nui. Specifically, the priests, called kāhuna pule—pule means “prayer”—performed the religious ceremonial duties that affected the entire community, including industry, war parties, families, and individuals. They were attached to the more important temples where they presented offerings and sacrifices to the gods whom they invoked, beseeched, and coerced to benefit the entire community. Their numerous responsibilities included consecrating laws and kapu on food, land, the sea, the newly born, the deceased, houses, canoes, temples, warriors, workers, other priests, and the chiefly class; indicating the proper occasions for

public and private rites; organizing and directing these ceremonies; and ritually freeing persons and things made kapu. To release someone or something from kapu was to make them noa. They were entrusted with the sacred traditions and genealogies relating to the gods and creation. These and the additional esoteric secrets of the religion were transmitted orally by the older priests to the succeeding generations of initiated priests and chiefs. Their class was governed by rules and regulations, suffering severe penalties if violations occurred.

Although the priesthood was subject to the ali'i nui, they were somewhat independent of him as well. They had their own genealogies and lands. And, since the high chief had to appeal to his priests for the gods' assistance in war and peace, the priests maintained a considerable amount of political power (Handy 1939:149–150).

A prerequisite of war was the construction of a heiau luakini, or war temple. Numerous rituals concerning the transmission of mana into the statues were enacted throughout this process. One of them was the rite to procure the wood for the carving of the main statue in the heiau luakini, known as the haku 'ōhi'a. The kahuna haku 'ōhi'a, ali'i, and retainers went into the forest—the domain of Kū—to pray, make offerings of food and a human victim to the god, fell the tree, and carve it into the statue (Malo 1987:245–246). As mentioned in Chapter Three, the wood used to carve the statues would have imparted its mana, as it was a kino lau of the portrayed god. The 'aha ka'i is another ritual in which the statue of Kū was adorned with feathers from magical birds within the hale mana. The feathers also would have contributed toward the power of the statues. Chapter Four gave detailed accounts of these rituals.

Other rites included incorporating the statue into the temple complex and invoking the god into the statue. The first was an 'aha ritual, called poupou'ana, where the new statue of the haku

‘ōhi‘a war god was erected within the Kūkālepa flanked by the other less important gods at the beginning of the evening of Kūlua (the name of the day).²⁹ A human victim was offered to appease the god and placed in the pit where the statue would be raised (Malo 1987:250; Valeri 1985:288–289). Mana from sacrificial offerings are covered later in this chapter.

On the same day, at the conclusion of the koli‘i prayer recited by the high priest, all of the chiefs with their feather images and all of the priests who were sitting in front of the inner temple went outside to give a pig to each feather image as well as one pig to each of the principal priests. The term, koli‘i, refers to the ceremony accompanying the landing of a chief with his god and people.³⁰ The king ordered his stewards to roast an additional ten large pigs which concluded that part of the koli‘i ceremony. Then, the participants returned to the inner temple to clothe the wooden statues with small white kapa and to recite the pule malo: “Put on, put on the malo(s). Declare, war has been declared, tell it clearly, tell the news”, and to make more offerings of pigs.³¹ The statues were given new names according to their placement within the Kukalepa. The haku ‘ōhi‘a statue was named Mō‘ī, or king (K. Kamakau 1919–1920:20; Handy 1939:148 & 271; Malo 1987:254–255).³²

Another of the luakini rituals involved the fasting of the kahuna nui and the kahuna haku

²⁹ Malo’s term for the Kūkālepa is Makaīwa (Malo 1987:250). Kūkālepa is S.M. Kamakau’s designation (Kamakau 1976:146).

³⁰ The definition is provided in Malcolm Naea Chun’s translation of Malo’s Ka Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i, Hawaiian Traditions. Pūku‘i and Elbert do not include a similar meaning in their dictionary.

³¹ The Jensens and Valeri stated that the act of girding the statue with a loin cloth marked the presence of the god (see Chapter Three).

³² Fornander’s accounts of the religious ceremonies of the luakini are derived from Dr. W. D. Alexander through the contribution of Kelou Kamakau of Ka‘awaloa, reputed to have been a chanter in Kamehameha’s court (Thrum 1919–1920:n. pag.).

‘ōhi‘a, which took place the morning of the following day, Kūkolu. Although not a complete abstinence of food (the priests ate the nectar of banana flowers, which was also baby food), the purpose of the fast for the kahuna haku ‘ōhi‘a was to turn the wooden statue into the real god. Valeri stated that the significance of partaking of baby food was that the ritual represented the nourishment of Kū who was considered an infant at this stage of the ceremonies [although the god was not yet born] (Malo 1987:251–252; Valeri 1985:305).

A few days later, on ‘Olekūlua, another ceremony occurred to cut the piko, or “umbilical cord,” made of braided coconut leaves placed around the belly of the statue of the Mō‘ī. This act was called “kona piko ia mai kona makuahine mai,” or “it was his piko from his mother.” The ali‘i nui and the kāhuna cut the cord of the statue. The ali‘i nui offered a pig as the priest prayed the pule ‘ohe, or “bamboo prayer,” referring to the bamboo knife which severed the cord:

This is the ‘ohe of the piko of Keawaiwalani.

This is the cutting of the ‘ohe of the piko of Keawaiwalani.³³

This is [the] cutting of the piko of Keawaiwalani.

This is the severing of the piko.

The underlying meaning of this prayer is “Sop the blood, sop the bright wreath, to animate your wooden god” (Malo 1987:254). Then, the priest cut the cord, wiped the wound with a cloth, and prayed, “Kupenu‘ula, Kupenulei.” The same chant was performed for the cutting of the umbilical cord of a high chief’s son. Finally, the ali‘i nui offered the pig and the ritual ended (Malo

³³ Keawaiwalani is the name of a god. Keawaiwalani mentioned in the second and third lines of the prayer may refer to another god, or was misspelled in the book and meant to be Keawaiwalani. It is interesting that the umbilical cord belonged to Keawaiwalani and not to Kūnuiākea. The significance of this god is not explained in Malo. Nor have I found any information in Beckwith’s Hawaiian Mythology or in Pūku‘i and Elbert’s “Glossary of Hawaiian Gods” in their Hawaiian Dictionary (1971).

1987:254).³⁴

Handy explained that Polynesians viewed a new material object as a new born child; the object had a soul and required strengthening. It was regarded as a living being which needed the same rites of consecration, both kapu and noa, to protect it from evil forces and to endow it with mana. The same piko cutting ceremony was observed for houses, such as hale mana in the heiau complex (Handy 1939:295). Once the god was induced into the statue, it, rather than the high chief and the priests, served as the medium of rapport.

Mana of the High-Ranking Women and Commoners

Foucault stated that power was not only imparted from the top, it occurred in a cycle (Hall 1997b:49). In general, in Hawaiian culture, the offerings of food (and humans in the case of the war ceremonies), high-ranking women, and the people transmitted their mana toward the efficacy of the rites, even though they were considered less powerful than the chiefs and priests.

Food acted as a concrete medium of rapport between the gods and the high chief who dispensed procreative mana. Often referred to as “first fruits,” food offerings contributed toward an increase in crops. Great feasts and festivals were held in which these offerings were made and at which the gods were believed to be present. In war ceremonies, the first fallen enemy, constituting the “first fruit,” was offered to the war gods to placate them, thus leading to the capture and death of many of the victim’s associates. The human offerings were instrumental in the release from kapu and in the endowment of the consecrated object with the mana of the victims through the rituals. The human offerings also counteracted any evil influences that might

³⁴ Handy stated that the cutting of the piko preceded the girding of the images (Handy 1939:280).

adhere to the new object. Both types of offerings were accompanied by invocations, as it was believed that the deity could be affected directly by the prayer that accompanied the gift (Handy 1939:188–192 & 195).

The power of high-ranking women assisted in removing the kapu placed on everyone from the beginning of the ceremonies by bringing the consecrated men in contact with the profane, i.e. the women. This occurred on the day of ‘Olepau at the Hale o Papa ceremony; Hale o Papa was a women’s house constructed on the temple grounds. The female chiefs presented Kū with a long malo—their sacrificial offering—which was ceremoniously carried into the temple but not draped on the statue. The priest recited the accompanying ka‘i-‘oloa prayer to which the participants replied “noa honua” (“total freedom”), thus, rendering the work of the heiau luakini completely free (Handy 1939:279–281; Malo 1987:256–257; Valeri 1985:327–328).

Prayers, offerings, and other ritual elements were, thus, thought to increase the mana of the gods revered and to draw on their strength, the people—both men and women and regardless of class—believed that their efforts in worship were effective and essential in empowering those gods on whom they depended (Handy 1939:34). In ancient times the beliefs in mana and kapu determined who was powerful and whose power required protection from usurpation. The nineteen statues were regarded as powerful through the absorption of mana from the carver, high chief, priests, rituals, offerings, chiefly women, and society as a whole. Kapu were established and reinforced to protect the power of the statues in order for society to attain their desired goal—success in warfare. Thus, the statues were revered.

However, the ceremonial observances of the national religion ended with the abolition of the ‘ai kapu (the eating restriction) in 1819 after the death of Kamehameha I. Now, large numbers

of statues were considered obsolete and thus burned. The belief in their power came to an abrupt end.

Abolition of 'Ai Kapu and the Death of the Gods

The 'ai kapu of the ancient Hawaiian religion required that men and women to eat apart because food acted as a medium that carried psychic influences into the body. Therefore, it was considered safer for men to have separate eating houses from the women and for men to prepare the food for both genders, using separate cooking fires and utensils. Women were also prohibited from eating certain foods. When Western and Hawaiian beliefs were compared, some people felt that these restrictions were burdensome and oppressive on everyone, especially the commoners and women of all classes.

Foreigners disregarded the kapu and tried to convince the Hawaiians that their system was wrong, causing some to feel that they could ignore the restrictions if the priests and chiefs were unaware of their illegal activities. Ka'ahumanu ate bananas secretly without suffering the consequences. Her brother, Ke'eaumoku, spoke disdainfully of the entire system before Kamehameha I's death. He openly defied the kāhuna and called their gods "wooden." Hawaiians were also aware that King Pomare of the Society Islands abolished their kapu and religious systems, perhaps influencing the decision to do the same in Hawai'i. After all, a connection had been established between the royal families when Kamehameha I had wanted one of his daughters to marry into the Pomare family (this did not happen). The elimination of this system was discussed for over a quarter of a century (Buck 1939:66–67; Handy 1939:49; Kuykendall 1938:9 & 67; Silverman 1987:62).

The abolition of the eating restriction occurred in November 1819—after Kamehameha I's death—by Ka'ahumanu, the favorite wife of Kamehameha I, and Keōpūolani, another wife of Kamehameha I and mother of Liholiho, Kamehameha II; the queens favored the abolition. They and other female chiefs observed that the foreigners ate with women and did not die as did Hawaiians who broke the kapu. They thought that by breaking with this eating restriction, the people would also be immune from foreign diseases (Kame'eleihiwa 1999:12). Additionally, Ka'ahumanu was an advocate of religious tolerance and equality for women. The 'ai kapu made a distinction between the genders.

At Liholiho's investiture, which occurred one week after his father's demise, Ka'ahumanu informed him that his father wanted them to rule together : Liholiho as ali'i nui and Ka'ahumanu as kuhina nui (regent). She addressed him, saying, "E ka lani, I tell you the will of your father: here are the chiefs, there are the men of your father; there are your guns; here is your land. But we two are to share the rule over the land" (qtd. in Barrère 1975:27). Liholiho complied. Ka'ahumanu then proposed that she intended to disregard the 'ai kapu and advised Liholiho to do the same. Keōpūolani supported Ka'ahumanu by eating with younger son, Kauikeaouli, an action permitted by Liholiho. Although he did not consent to a complete abandonment of the kapu, the topic was discussed by some of the higher chiefs at Kailua, Kona, Hawai'i, who admitted that society was not ready for revolutionary change until Liholiho ensured his subjects' loyalty.

Some of the young chiefs conquered by his father fostered contempt for the high chief and hoped to regain their power and independence. One of these rebellious chiefs was Kekuaokalani, the appointed guardian of Kūkā'ilimoku by Kamehameha I, who preferred to maintain the traditions. He dissuaded Liholiho from overthrowing restricted eating. Initially, Liholiho

followed Kekuaokalani's advice; the abolition was contrary to Liholiho's interests. As the months passed, he was pressured to declare 'ai noa (free eating) by those supporting the abolition of the kapu system. He consulted with his kahuna nui, Hewahewa, who endorsed the abolition of the kapu and the abandonment of their gods.

Liholiho finally decided to overthrow the system and arranged for a feast to be prepared at Kailua to which the leading chiefs and several foreigners were invited. He had two tables set European-style: one each for men and women. Liholiho sat with the women and ate voraciously, although very much troubled. When the commoners witnessed that the gods failed to punish Liholiho for this offence, the social structure collapsed. After the meal he ordered the destruction of the heiau, the incineration of the statues throughout the kingdom, and the elimination of the professions of kāhuna haku 'ōhi'a and kāhuna kālai ki'i. These priests were forbidden to create statues or they would be sentenced to death (Kame'elehiwa 1999:12; Kuykendall 1938: 63, 65, & 67–68; Silverman 1987:61–70).

However, the revolution was not complete, as many people continued the old practices of 'aumākua (family god) worship and hid their statues. Additionally, many priests and commoners aligned themselves with Kekuaokalani who positioned himself at Ka'awaloa, Kona, Hawai'i with a formidable party gathered about him. An embassy, which included Keōpūolani, went to Ka'awaloa to avert war against the rebellious chief. Although their efforts failed and the battle of Kuamo'o between the Kailua faction and Ka'awaloa faction ensued, Liholiho's army was victorious. The national religion and the kapu was abandoned, rendering useless Liholiho's education in the performance of temple rituals. However, this did not affect the power of the chiefs, nor was the priestly class completely ruined (Kuykendall 1938:68–71).

It is unclear just what proponents of the destruction of the statues thought of them or what terms they used for them, except for Ke‘eaumoku who called them wooden. The missionaries had yet to arrive to identify them as pagan idols. However, two ‘ōlelo no‘eau compare lazy people to statues (‘Ōlelo No‘eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings 1983:204 & 254):

Ku ki‘i kai o Kahuwā.

The image stands at the shore of Kahuwā.

An idle and ignorant person who stands around like an image. (1902)

No Kūki‘i ke kanaka.

The person hails from Kūki‘i.

A play on ku (stand) and ki‘i (image). Said of a lazy person who is as inactive as a wooden image. (2338)

At the time of their destruction, the statues appear to have been regarded as obsolete reminders of the old system. Although the times in which the ‘ōlelo no‘eau were created is unknown, these sayings or similar sentiments may have been used in the early nineteenth century, giving us an idea of the public opinions of the day.

While the dissolution of the national religion created a void for the Calvinist missionaries of Massachusetts to fill in 1820, Te Rangi Hiroa asserted that contact with Western civilization—rather than Christianity specifically—caused the fall of the national religions throughout Polynesia where theology and society were enmeshed. The section of this chapter entitled Statue as Akua Ki‘i illustrates how success in warfare (and agriculture, etc.) required the construction of temples and religious ceremonies in Hawai‘i. Western contact brought Western technology in the form of metal tools and woven cloth to Hawaiians who were willing to obtain

them at any cost. The missionaries also traded their material goods which appealed to Hawaiians more than the new religion. Hawaiians realized that the new items could be obtained more readily if they adopted the religion. Hence, their gods were deserted (Buck 1939:63–64).

Statue as Pagan Idol

The identity of the statues began to change with the arrival of the missionaries in 1820. The missionaries represented the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) from New England, consisting of an interdenominational body primarily made up of Presbyterian and Congregational members. Although the A.B.C.F.M. was founded in 1810, proposals for a mission to Hawai‘i began ten years earlier with the arrival of Hawaiians in New England, who were brought to the region aboard returning and visiting ships. Many New Englanders learned of Hawai‘i from newspaper reports, detailing activities of trading vessels. Later, several Hawaiian youths who were receiving education in New England, lamented over the religion practiced in Hawai‘i. Contact with Hawaiians and the reports caught the attention of the A.B.C.F.M. who decided to convert a people whom they regarded as heathens (Andrew III 1976:98; Kuykendall 1938:100).

The mission was an outgrowth of two forces: the evangelical revival of the late eighteenth century and New England trade in the Pacific Ocean. The revival intensified religious zeal, emphasizing the value of the human soul and the words of the Bible. This led to the formation of missionary societies in Europe and America whose sole purpose was to send its devotees to convert the indigenous peoples throughout the world to Christianity. The reports on the sandalwood trade in Hawai‘i included the customs and history of the islands, revealing to the

missionaries a place where they could do their work and trade ships that would provide them transportation (Andrews III 1969:98; Kuykendall 1938:100).

The A.B.C.F.M. arrived off the coast of Hawai'i on March 30, 1820. The first company of missionaries included two ordained ministers, Reverends Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston; a physician, Doctor Thomas Holman; two schoolmasters and catechists, Samuel Whitney and Samuel Ruggles; a printer, Elisha Loomis; a farmer, Daniel Chamberlain; their wives; and three Hawaiian youths who had been attending the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut. Kamehameha II permitted the party to land at Kailua, Kona, Hawai'i where they would stay for a year on trial. After four more days of discussion, they were granted an additional station in Honolulu. At this time Hawai'i was modified by contact with explorers, traders, and foreign residents and the fall of the national religion the year before. Kuykendall stated that demoralization was a consequence of Western contact because traders destroyed with "building up" (Kuykendall 1938:100). In addition to saving people's souls, the A.B.C.F.M. believed that their presence would act as a civilizing force because the highest form of civilization came in conjunction with Christianity. Their objective was:

to obtain an adequate knowledge of the language of the people; to make them acquainted with letters; to give them the Bible with skill to read it; to turn them from their barbarous courses and habits; to introduce, and get into extended operation and influence among them, the arts and institutions and usages of civilized life and society; above all, to convert them from their idolatries and superstitions and vices, to the living and redeeming God. (Kuykendall 1938:101)

They would achieve these means through preaching, teaching, and printing. Printing was

important because the missionaries felt that Hawaiians needed to be literate so they would be receptive to their religious ideas. In order for the mission to be effective, the missionaries had to learn the language, codify it, translate the Bible into Hawaiian, and then, teach it to the people. The Hawaiian alphabet was codified in the summer of 1826. The New Testament was translated by 1832; the Old Testament was completed on March 25, 1839. By May 10, 1839, the entire Bible had been printed in Hawaiian.

Once the A.B.C.F.M. received approval from the chiefs in 1825, Hawaiians converted in increasing numbers. Keōpūolani asked Reverend Bingham to train her daughter, Nāhi‘ena‘ena, “in the ways of missionary wives and civilized women” (Sinclair 1976:33). Membership subsided after Kaahumanu’s death in 1832—another convert to the new faith—but resumed in 1837. Although Kamehameha III never became a member of the church, his constitution deferred to the Christian god with the inclusion of language, such as “general spirit of His word” and all laws to be consistent “with the general spirit of God’s law” (Kuykendall 1938:100–105 & 113–116).

Believing that the statues worshiped by Hawaiians represented their actual gods, the missionaries called the practice “idolatry.” Thus, the statues were regarded as idols.³⁵ This language and its accompanying attitudes against the native religion and toward the praise of their own appear frequently in the diaries of missionaries. Bingham recorded his opinions of his visit

³⁵ Te Rangi Hiroa stated that Polynesians regarded the statues as kapu inanimate symbols of the gods, and not worshiped in themselves. “Hence the term idolatry applied to Polynesian religion by rival theologians is not quite accurate” (Buck 1939:18).

Additionally, the missionaries were not the only group calling the statues “idols.” The Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, referred to statue T4 as an idol in a catalogue for an exhibition of Hawaiian objects. See Appendix One for an excerpt from the museum’s exhibition catalogue.

on April 2, 1820 to heiau luakini Pu‘ukoholā in Kawaihae, Kohala, Hawai‘i.³⁶

With [Kalanimoku], I visited Puukohola (sic), the large heathen temple at that place, a monument of folly, superstition and madness, which the idolatrous conqueror and his murderous priests had consecrated with human blood to the senseless deities of Pagan Hawaii (sic)....

This monument of idolatry, I surveyed with mingled emotions of grief, horror, pity, regret, gratitude, and hope;—of grief and horror at the enormities which men and devils had perpetrated there before high heaven;—of pity and regret that the victims and many of the builders and worshipers, had gone to their account without the knowledge of the Gospel, which ought to have been conveyed to them; of gratitude, that this strong-hold of Satan had been demolished and the spell around it broken; and of hope, that soon temples to the living God would take the place of these altars of heathen abomination (Bingham 1969:84–85).

Reverend William Ellis of the London Mission Society (L.M.S.) arrived in 1823. He recorded this entry, regarding human sacrifices, of his visit to Pu‘ukoholā:

As I passed along this avenue, an involuntary shuddering seized me, on reflecting how often it had been trodden by the feet of those who relentlessly bore the murdered body of the human victim as an offering to their cruel idols. . . .

On the day in which he was brought within its precincts, vast offerings of fruit, hogs, dogs, were presented, and no less than eleven human victims immolated on its altars. And, although the huge pile now resembles a dismantled fortress, . . . it

³⁶ Pu‘ukoholā was dedicated to Kamehameha I’s war god, Kūkā‘ilimoku.

is impossible to walk over such a golgotha, or contemplate a spot which must often have resembled a pandemonium more than anything on earth, without a strong feeling of horror at the recollection of the bloody and infernal rites so frequently practised (sic) within its walls.

Thanks be to God, the idols are destroyed! Thanks to his name, the glorious gospel of his Son, who was manifested to destroy the works of the devil, has reached these heretofore desolate shores! May the Holy Spirit make it the “savour (sic) of life unto life” to the remnant of the people! (Ellis 1963:56–57)

Not all of the statues were destroyed. Ellis and other L.M.S. members saw them in other regions during his tour of Hawai‘i Island in which the Hawaiians either retained their reverence of them or regarded them as useless.

The missionaries of the A.B.C.F.M. and the L.M.S. collected Hawaiian material objects, including the “useless” statues, to reinforce their evangelical purpose: the conversion of peoples that they regarded as heathens. In Molly Lee’s article, “Zest or Zeal: Sheldon Jackson and the Commodification of Alaska Native Art” (Lee, 1999)—a case study on Sheldon Jackson’s career as “Alaska’s best-known missionary collector” during the nineteenth century—she stated that missionaries felt it was necessary to dismantle the existing value system of a culture and replace it with their nineteenth-century Christian ideals. She continued that missionaries sent Native objects home to exhibit them as proof of Christianity’s triumph over primitive religions and used the objects “to support the hierarchy of social Darwinism in its claim of Western superiority” (Lee 1999:27–28).

The A.B.C.F.M. shipped their collections to Boston:

Each ship that arrived from the mid-Pacific brought news, letters, and even artifacts from the mission stations. In June the pages of the Recorder announced that “TWO HEATHEN GODS” could be seen on display at a Boston bookstore. The editor urged everyone to view the strange and curious sight, since the idols represented visible evidence of what the missionaries had “conquered.” (Andrew III 1976:127)

This excerpt reveals the opinions of the editor and probably most Bostonians toward Pacific peoples and cultures.

The A.B.C.F.M. accomplished their conversions throughout the Pacific by removing objects, both religious and secular, from the places where they served their missions. The A.B.C.F.M. Collection that Bishop Museum purchased in 1896 contains objects from Polynesia and Micronesia (Anae-Onishi 2002:26 & 28–29).

In regard to collecting, Ellis related this information in his diary when he visited the villages between Kawaihae, Kohala and Kailua, Kona:

At Kaparaoa I saw a number of curiously carved wooden idols, which formerly belonged to an adjacent temple. I asked the natives if they would part with any? They said , Yes; and I should have purchased one, but had no means of conveying it away, for it was an unwieldy log of heavy wood, twelve or fourteen feet long, curiously carved, in rude and frightful imitation of the human figure.

(Ellis 1963:294)

Other members of the L.M.S. party collected statues as well. In Ka‘awaloa, Kona, Hawai‘i, missionaries Thurston and Goodrich, and a mechanic named Harwood exchanged a piece of blue

cotton cloth for four small “idols” which Ellis described as “rudely-carved imitations of the human figure.” One measured between three and four feet in length; the rest measured less than eighteen inches (Ellis 1963:92). Statue T6 was collected by Reverend Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett, Esquire from a heiau at Kawaihae, Kohala, Hawai‘i. They were deputies of the L.M.S. who accompanied the Reverend William Ellis to Hawai‘i in 1823 (Ellis 1963:v–vi) (see fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Image T6 as pagan idol, collected by Tyerman and Bennett (Cox 1988:123).

Despite the nationwide immolation of statues, some remained in public view and others were hidden. Foreigners collected the statues—as gifts, or through barter, or purchase—for various reasons. The missionaries sent statues to their homelands to show their success in changing the attitudes of Hawaiians. The changing perspectives of one statue can be documented and is featured in the following section.

The Changing Contexts surrounding a Notched-Ridged Hair Statue at Heiau Ahu'ena

The previous sections show the various names in which the statues have been called as they were affected by the discourses of historical change. Similar changes may have occurred toward a notched-ridge statue with the wig hair treatment—like statues T3, T4, and T5—in one particular location: Heiau Ahu'ena, located within the Kamehameha compound at Kamakahonu, situated in the ahupua'a (basically, a land division) of Lanihau at Kailua, Kona, Hawai'i. With the help of informants, Thomas G. Thrum dated the original temple to around the reign of Līloa during the 15th century. S. M. Kamakau and Reverend Ellis reported that the heiau was a luakini. Ellis stated that the “war-god” was kept there (Barrère 1975:1 & 7; Ellis 1963:311). Hence, the temple would have been dedicated to Kā'ili (Kūkā'ilimoku), the Hawai'i Island war god.

In 1812 Kamehameha I returned to Hawai'i Island after spending eight years in Honolulu, O'ahu. He acquired Kamakahonu early in 1813 and resided there until his death in 1819. Kamehameha I never used Ahu'ena as a luakini. He restored and rededicated the temple to Lono in the same year as a place for peaceful worship and to instruct his heir Liholiho in the matters of governance of the kingdom (Barrère 1975:1–2 & 7). John Papa 'Ī'ī described the statues of the complex as follows: “[a] row of images stood along its front, as befitted a Hale o Lono. Images stood at the northwest corner of the house, with a stone pavement in front of them that extended as far as the western gate and as far as the fence east of the house. On the west side of the outer entrance was a large image named Kōleamoku (sic), on whose helmet perched the figure of a plover” ('Ī'ī 1959:123).

Kōleamoku was a man who obtained all of the medicinal herbs and the knowledge to use

them from the gods. He was deified posthumously and a wooden statue of him was placed in “the large temple at Kairua, to which offerings of hogs, fish, and cocoa-nuts were frequently presented” (Ellis 1963:238). Kōleamoku became the god of healing. The statue, and the others at Ahu‘ena may have represented Kamehameha’s ‘aumākua (ancestral gods), both personal and of arts and crafts, with whom he maintained close rapport for his benefit and that of his kingdom (Barrère 1975:8).

John T. Prince, who donated statue T4 to Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts in 1846 said the statue represented “Koila Moku, god of medicine” (The Hawaiian Portion of the Polynesian Collections in the Peabody Museum of Salem 1920:12) (see fig. 2). Choris thought Kōleamoku was a war god (Barrère 1975:8). Could Prince have mistaken T4 for the statue depicted in Choris’ illustration for Kōleamoku? Kōleamoku sounds more like Koila



Fig. 2. Image T4

Moku, than Kā‘ilimoku or Kūkā‘ilimoku. As both Kōleamoku and a temple image with a wig,

who possibly represents Kūkā'ilimoku, were at Heiau Ahu'ena, perhaps T4 may be originally from Ahu'ena. As is typical with undocumented provenance, one can only surmise its identity.

The illustration of the heiau by Louis Choris was made in 1816 (see fig. 3). In it, we are viewing the rededicated heiau. The notched-ridged image near the 'anu'u' tower may represent Kūkā'ilimoku, Kamehameha I's personal war god and 'aumakua' which was passed down from Līloa. Furthermore, it is not known if this statue was created for the restored temple or moved from another luakini where it would have acquired additional mana. Although Ahu'ena was not a luakini where it was common to see wooden statues of Kū and his various incarnations, it is fitting that Kamehameha would honor his god—who assisted the ali'i nui in his successful quest of uniting most of the islands under his rule—with a wooden effigy at his residential place of worship. Kūkā'ilimoku probably retained his status as the premier war god, however, in this Lono context, his attributes would have been diminished. Thus, the perception of him is somewhat altered.

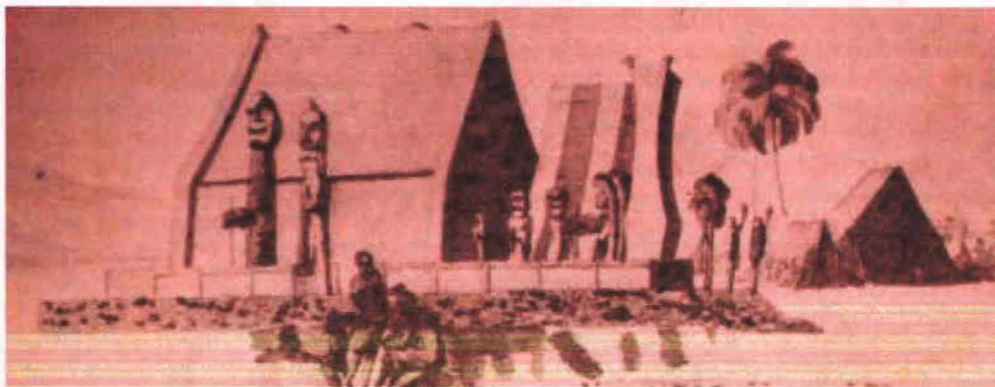


Fig. 3. Choris's original sketch of Ahu'ena; notched-ridged hair statue at right near the 'anu'u' tower (Barrère 1975:7).

Jacques Arago illustrated Ahu'ena after Kamehameha I's death. His depiction includes a statue with a wig similar to that painted by Choris (see fig. 4). A structure often called Kamehameha's "tomb" and a second 'anu'u tower were added to the complex. The second tower was used as a place in which Kamehameha's casket of 'ie'i'e was woven (Barrère 1975:29). These additional structures may have changed the perception of the temple and the statue.

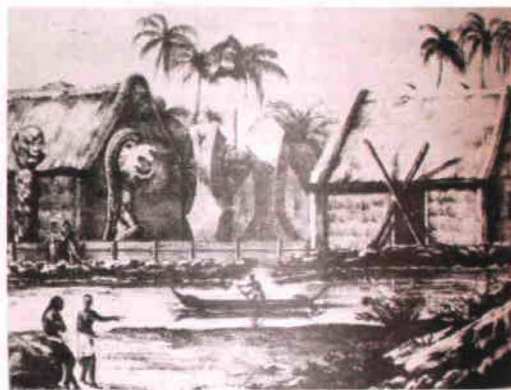


Fig. 4. Arago's illustration with notched-ridge hair image second from the left (Barrère 1975:30).

In 1819 the national religion was dissolved and most of the statues were destroyed. The destruction of Ahu'ena occurred between November 1819 and April 1820, according to Lucia Holman's journal entry on April 7, 1820. She was the wife of Doctor Thomas Holman; the Holmans were members of the first missionary group from New England to Hawai'i. She reported seeing four statues remaining on the ruins of the temple, which were "left for curiosity" (Barrère 1975:35 & 39).

A statue that resembles the notched-ridged one with the wig hair treatment, and is featured in Choris' work, was documented by Ellis in 1823, at which time the heiau was a fort. Its status

as a fort may have started during Kamehameha I's reign or by Governor Kuakini after Kamehameha's death in 1819. Ellis remarked that only three statues remained (Ellis 1963:311; Jones 1937:39). It is possible that this same statue was in the various contexts of Ahu'ena: a heiau to Lono and connected with Kamehameha's death, and a fort.

Various writers reported different numbers of the remaining statues of Ahu'ena after 1823. The official account of the Blonde's voyage from 1825 mentions "several large carved" statues standing, which they imagined were spared to honor Kamehameha's memory. Also, Levi Chamberlain saw four in 1825. Sereno Bishop recalled in his memoirs written in 1900 seeing "five tall wooden idols" with "shark-mouths" in 1830. He spent the first nine years of his life in Kailua. Quaker missionary Daniel Wheeler saw two on May 5, 1836. He mentioned that the fort was in disrepair. In 1840 James Jarves stated that one statue of "colossal size" remained (Barrère 1975:38–39). Unfortunately, these people did not draw the statues they witnessed, so it is impossible to know whether any of these statues were the same ones that Choris, Arago, and Ellis illustrated. In July of 1844 Samuel Chenery Damon wrote that the fort was still neglected and the statues were gone: "The 'grinning and staring' idols have all been removed. We found only a few chips of the last that was 'cut down,' and 'shipped off,' a few years since" (from Damon 1845 in Barrère 1975:40). If this last statue was the one with the wig hair treatment, it may be either T3, T4, or T5.

Nevertheless, the statue illustrated by Choris, Arago, and Ellis was possibly recontextualized with each change in the temple's history—including the destruction of the statues via the dissolution of kapu system—which allowed it to remain on the premises and avoid immolation. Hence, the life of the statue was not stagnant. If it was carved for luakini rituals, it

was not bound to those rituals nor to Hawaiian religion. Its identity continued to change within the Hawaiian context.

Western discourses continued to alter the perception of Hawaiian statues. Prior to the missionaries arrival in 1820, explorers to Hawai‘i collected objects, including statues. These became known as “artificial curiosities.”

Statue as Artificial Curiosity

The change from akua ki‘i to pagan idol for the nineteen Hawaiian statues was preceded by the transformation from god to artificial curiosity with the arrival of explorers. Statue G, of this thesis, was considered an artificial curiosity; it was collected by Captain James Cook on his third voyage to the Pacific which sailed to Hawai‘i in 1778 and 1779 (Force and Force 1968:97) (see fig. 5). With the exception of the statues collected later by missionaries, who termed them “idols”, it is unclear whether the remaining statues were labeled artificial curiosities, as poor documentation by the collectors makes it difficult to determine the exact provenances of many of the objects and the dates when they were collected.

The phrase “artificial curiosity” was coined in the sixteenth century and used throughout the seventeenth century in reference to man-made objects that were extraordinary, unusual, and exotic to the Europeans who collected them, as opposed to “natural curiosities” which referred to things made in nature, such as birds and shells. These objects by virtue of their “curiosity” were placed in “cabinets of curiosities” by European scholarly collectors. The language which defines this discourse became more prominent in the travel writing of the eighteenth century, when collected foreign objects were often characterized as being “curious” and arousing “curiosity.”



Fig. 5. Statue G as “artificial curiosity” (Force and Force 1968:97).

The early connotations of the phrase were positive. To collect curiosities signified an open, searching mind. Collecting permitted the curious to uncover hidden knowledge, thus allowing him a better understanding of the world (Lidchi 1997:155 & 158; Thomas 1994:122).

Cook, his officers, and the naturalists on his voyages often referred to the objects in their journals—garments, adzes, head-dresses, ornaments, etc.—as ‘curious’ or ‘curiously carved’ (Thomas 1994:122). For example, Cook wrote that the objects traded with the islanders “generally found the best Market with us, such was the prevailing Passion for curiosities, or what appeared new” (qtd. in Thomas 1994:123).

The desire for natural curiosities outweighed the desire for artificial ones for many reasons. Natural scientists on board collected for the government, while the sailors often collected objects, hoping to profit from sales to natural history collectors. Furthermore, few collectors took artificial curiosities seriously, because a system such as Linnaeus’ for natural objects was not developed to arrange these things nor was precise terminology available with which to discuss

them. Though no one considered manufactured items to be of any importance, the captains, officers, and naturalists collected the manufactured items as curious mementos to their voyages or gave them to their patrons or private collectors. Again, the sailors sold them. These items were easily obtained because the natives were eager to trade their manufactured goods for Western items, such as nails and cloth. They also gave away many of the objects to the visitors (Kaeppler 1978:37; Thomas 1994:135).

Statue G had been called an artificial curiosity by Sir Ashton Lever, the original owner of the Leverian Museum, which ultimately received part of Cook's collection. The term was also used by casual visitors, such as Sophie von La Roche of Germany who befriended Lever. She wrote: "Captain Cook so much admired this good Ashton's intellect, he gave him a complete collection of all kinds of South Sea curiosities which to me seems much vaster even than the one in the British Museum" (Jackson 1998:44 & 62). Lever was from Manchester, England and was educated at Corpus Christi College at Oxford. His passion for collecting began in 1760 when he bought a hogshead of foreign shells in Dunkirk, a seaport in Northern France. His collection grew quickly as he acquired every "curious" object that caught his attention (Jackson 1998:37).

Objects collected on Cook's third voyage were destined by Cook and Captain Clerke for the Leverian. Lever publically announced in a newspaper dated January 31, 1781, that he was in possession of "the most capital part of the curiosities brought over by the Resolution and Discovery in the last voyage." He displayed "magnificent dresses, helmets, idols, ornaments, instruments, utensils, etc. etc." in one room of his museum for public inspection (qtd. in Kaeppler 1978:47). He attracted many visitors, including serious natural historians, who visited the museum to see the newly purchased items from the second and third voyages (Jackson 1998:40 &

42).

Lever spent so much money on objects to constantly add to his collection that by 1784 he had to sell the museum to recoup his losses. The new owner, James Parkinson, won the museum in a lottery in 1786. The lottery idea was originated by Lever who did not expect anyone to win because he held the bulk of the lottery tickets. In 1806 Parkinson eventually had to sell the museum by auctioning off the contents in lots because the public's interests had waned and he was losing money (Jackson 1998:42, 48, & 60). However, Lever continued to visit the museum daily while it was in operation to "view these objects which I cherish as old friends...It was a passion of mine to possess all nature's wonders, no expense was spared; I have spent over a million on it..." (Jackson 1998:48). Statue G must have been lost in the sale as its whereabouts are unknown today.

Statue T1 was collected by Andrew Bloxam, the naturalist aboard the H.M.S. Blonde, on Friday, July 15, 1825 (see fig. 6). The ship, under the command of Captain Lord Byron, transported the bodies of Kamehameha II and his wife Kamamalu—who contracted measles and died during their visit to London—back to Hawai'i. He referred to the statue as both curiosity and idol. Bloxam accompanied Lord Byron to the royal mausoleum Hale-o-Keawe in Hōnaunau, Kona, Hawai'i where prime minister Kalanimoku permitted the party to remove "any curiosities he chose." In his diary entry regarding T1 he stated: "Before us were placed two large and curious carved wooden idols, four or five feet high, between which was the altar where the fires were made for consuming the flesh of the victims" (Bingham 1969:259; Diary of Andrew Bloxam: Naturalist of the "Blonde" on her Trip from England to the Hawaiian Islands 1824– 1825 1925:75–76). In 1924 the statue returned to Hawai'i through a gift from Bloxam's family to



Fig. 6. Statue T1 on display in Bishop Museum's Hawaiian Hall (Wanda Anae-Onishi).

the Bernice P. Bishop Museum where it is displayed in Hawaiian Hall.

By the mid-eighteenth century the identification of the collected objects as artificial curiosities had gradually ceased. The importance of science in the eighteenth century had grown out of the Enlightenment Age of the Western world in the previous century. The rise of natural and social sciences demanded that the work of the scientists, and their collecting activities be taken seriously. The next section explains how artificial curiosities became known as “ethnographic specimens.”

Statue as Ethnographic Specimen

The difference between artificial curiosities and ethnographic specimens is science. While curiosities inspired the imagination and philosophical reflection, ethnographic specimens provided evidence and proof of the differences among cultures in the form of man-made objects. While curiosities were placed randomly in cabinets of curiosities, specimens were systematically collected, selected, arranged, and classified to illustrate the progress of human history by

comparing different cultures and placing them hierarchically on the evolutionary ladder (Lidchi 1997:190).

Artificial curiosities became ethnographic specimens via the development of the human sciences that identified them as such. This began a different system of classification and generated other motives for collecting them. However, natural scientists, such as Joseph Banks and Johann Reinholdt Forster of Cook's first and second voyages to the Pacific, respectively, contributed to the transformation from one identification to the other. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the legitimacy of curious inquiry was being questioned in debates waged in Europe over the perceptions, practices, and passions of collectors whose tastes as well as the situations in which they acquired the objects were being questioned. The identities and authority of scientists and others who collected on the Cook voyages were scorned and attacked in the public debates (Thomas 1994:122 & 127).

The attitudes toward curiosities changed in part because the opinion toward curiosity was associated with being feminine, ignorant, unstable, and licentious. Curiosity was understood as a form of passion. It was invasive and acquisitive. It was not considered a masculine activity nor were the characteristics associated with curiosity seen as manly. It was also connected to commerce because a desire for novelties had stimulated trade which eventually corrupted commercial society (Thomas 1997:107, 123, & 126–127). Hence, the scientists, who were sanctioned by the government to collect objects on their travels, were compelled to legitimize their profession by systematically distancing themselves from passionate collectors and greedy sailors.

Engravings of the places they visited and of the natural and man-made objects they

collected were featured in voyage publications and served to legitimize yet decontextualize the objects. The engravings were extremely popular with the public; they embodied the historical significance of exploration voyages and manifested the growth of geographical knowledge and commerce. Engravings contributed to the new language of this particular discourse by decontextualizing the objects through depictions of them in neutral spaces which separated them from the people who made them and the cultures in which they were created. Thus, the objects purposes of the objects were made irrelevant and their associated practices were entirely erased. This was achieved by draftsmen, such as those who worked for naturalist Banks on Cook's first voyage. They treated man-made objects as natural specimens, portraying them as they would portray specimens of fish and birds, often combining artificial and natural objects in the same engravings. In short, they became specimens because they were treated as such, which helped to support the professions of Banks and Forster (Thomas 1994:118, 120, 130, & 133).

Another way in which the engravings contributed to the awareness and the significance of the new sciences, such as ethnography, ethnology, and anthropology, was through the depictions of Cook's landings which exhibited differences between natives and Europeans, thus contributing to the later attitude of the "other." Additionally, the objectification of the items in the engravings led to subsequent attitudes that the specimens were "expressions of a savage condition, a barbaric stage founded in the order of social development rather than in the responses and pleasure or displeasure of a particular civilized person" (Thomas 1997:119 & 122).

Scientists were able to further distance and legitimize themselves through their journal entries. Forster wrote that it was difficult for him to collect natural curiosities for the government because the sailors were competing for the same articles, which they offered to sell to him later.

He also complained that the sailors did not provide a boat to go ashore to collect more items because they were envious of him and hindered his pursuit of natural history. He added: “But it cannot be otherwise expected from the people who have not sense enough to think reasonably & beyond the Sphere of their mean grovelling (sic) Passions” (qtd. in Thomas 1994:135). Forster reinforced the importance of his activities by contrasting his sanctioned noble pursuits to the debased actions of the uneducated sailors.

Following the natural sciences, the human sciences, such as ethnography, ethnology, and anthropology, reinforced this terminology in the nineteenth century. Ethnographic specimens are usually non-Western objects gathered by explorers, missionaries, merchants, anthropologists, or other curious individuals who obtained the items through gift, barter, seizure, or purchase for various reasons: because they were beautiful, odd, difficult to get, or available; the objects are usually housed in ethnographic museums far from the locations in which the objects were created (Kaeppler 1992:460). Furthermore, ethnographic specimens are often regarded as documents or evidence—pristine examples of cultures—from the past. Their physicality suggests stability and objectivity from a stable, unambiguous world (Lidchi 1997:162).

These sciences distinguished dissimilarities among western and non-European peoples and nations by representing the objects as those created by the “other.” In a Foucauldian context, anthropology is described as a discipline whose primary discourse is developed by the members of an imperialist culture about peoples who are culturally or racially despised. Anthropology codified knowledge to justify imperial expansion in its name. The human sciences do not advance the progressive views of the human condition but more properly unite in their desire to regulate human subjects, such as indigenous peoples, women, the insane, infirm, and criminal classes

(Lidchi 1997:186).

The rise of anthropology as an academic discipline in the late nineteenth century contributed to the rise of ethnographic departments in museums (Lidchi 1997:161).

[I]n the context of late nineteenth century imperialism, it was arguably the employment of anthropology within the exhibitionary complex which proved most central to its ideological functioning. For it played the crucial role of connecting the histories of Western nations and civilizations to those of other peoples, but only by separating the two in providing for an interrupted continuity in the order of peoples and races—one in which “primitive peoples” dropped out of history altogether in order to occupy a twilight zone between nature and culture. (Bennett 1995:77).

These contexts, in turn, reclassified the nineteen Hawaiian statues as ethnographic specimens important to scientific examination, or to the “delusions of scientific objectivity,” of material culture in ethnographic, natural history, and anthropology museums (Bennett 1995:167; Levin 1989:205).

An ethnographic museum is an institution which features the material culture of peoples—the ethnographic specimens—which have been considered, since the mid-nineteenth century, to be “‘exotic,’ ‘pre-literate,’ ‘primitive,’ ‘simple,’ ‘savage,’ or ‘vanishing races.’” These were peoples whose man-made objects were contrasted historically with Western countries and other non-European societies like China, the Middle East, and Egypt and who, at various moments in their history, encountered explorers, traders, missionaries, colonizers, and western

anthropologists (Lidchi 1997:161). In many cases, the objects made by the ancestors of indigenous or aboriginal peoples continue to be categorized in this context. Hence, ethnographic museums contributed to the belief that the peoples from which the objects were collected had not evolved as had Europeans and Euro-Americans.

“In thus providing a normalizing function via the construction of a radically different Other, the exhibition of other peoples served as a vehicle for the edification of a national public and the confirmation of its imperial superiority” (Bennett 1995:79). A contributor to this discourse was Augustus Henry Lane Fox. He later took the name Pitt-Rivers after inheriting a fortune and founded the Pitt-Rivers Museum of which he was a patron. He developed an interest in collecting after visiting the Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace in 1851. At first he collected weapons, then broadened his interests to include archaeological and ethnographic items. Pitt-Rivers was particularly interested in the theory of evolution, human antiquity, and “racial” theories. He set out to establish historical sequences that embodied the technological developments and small changes in form over time by comparing everyday manufactured objects from different periods and places. He arranged these objects in sequences that allowed comparative analysis to reflect his perception of mankind’s evolution from other animals. He believed that the sequences provided conclusive evidence of ethnological and evolutionary connections (Lidchi 1997:187–188).

Pitt-Rivers was dedicated to displaying these connections in a museum. He began searching for a wider audience for his collection in the early 1860s. In 1883 he offered the entire collection to Oxford on the condition that it was exhibited in the manner he determined. His systematic approach, which owed more to a Linnean natural historical classification, of arranging

objects distinguished itself from other collections, such as the Leverian Museum which was criticized by scientists for its lack of arrangement (Lidchi 1997:188). Pitt-River's classifications and evaluations were perceived as scientific, the representation of the objects via his methods of display reinforced and derived from the evolutionary discourse that framed it (Lidchi 1997:190).

Additionally, the objects were encased in glass cases which established a distance between the viewer and the objects by placing them in sterile and ordered environments: places for which they were not created. The sequencing of similar objects also distances the object from the peoples and cultures that created it, thereby further decontextualizing it into the realm of science. This decontextualization and recontextualization of objects into the museum sphere lies at the root of collecting and exhibiting. In effect, the museum promoted and legitimized the reduction of cultures to objects, so that they could be judged and ranked hierarchically with each other. It did not exhibit cultures in their actual states, rather it promoted the power relationship between itself and those subjected to classification (Lidchi 1997:173 & 191).

Many objects from private collections were purchased or gifted to ethnographic museums, such as Pitt-Rivers Museum which acquired statue T7 from the Blackmore Museum in 1931; it was formerly part of the Beasley Collection (see fig. 7). They also received statue K21 from C. M. Laing in 1936. It was collected by Captain Edward Lawson, an owner of whaling ships in South Pacific around 1800–1820 (see fig. 7). Other examples include statue T8 in the British Museum which was acquired by ethnographic collector Henry Christy (see fig. 7). The statue became part of the museum's collection between 1860–1869. Statue T2 came from the A.W.F. Fuller Collection and is now in the Chicago Natural History Museum in Illinois (see fig. 7). Finally, statue T4 (see fig. 2) was gifted to the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts



Fig. 7. Statues T7, K21, T8, and T2 as ethnographic specimens

in 1846 by collector John T. Prince (see Appendix One for more information and sources).

Museums began to play a role in culturally educating the public, who Pitt-Rivers judged as ignorant of human evolution and history. The hegemonic upper-classes believed museums had a civilizing effect on the masses, hoping they would shape intellects and transform social conduct (Lidchi 1997:191). In a discourse regarding Hawaiian objects, Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., former Curator of Collections at Bernice P. Bishop Museum; anthropologist Kenneth P. Emory; and ethnologist E. S. Craighill Handy delivered a lecture at The Kamehameha Schools, entitled “Can Hawaiian Culture be Preserved?” in which they stressed the importance of ethnology because “If a culture is really to be preserved, it must be preserved *in the life of people*, as well as in the cases of a museum or within the covers of a book” (Bryan, et al 1974:307; my emphasis). They defined ethnology as a science concerned with the culture and life of a people. The discipline encompasses religion and its practices and rituals, food and its preparations and utensils, and clothing and ornamentation. It also includes domiciles and its furnishings—with its

accompanying customs and ceremonies— warfare and weapons, transportation and navigation, leisure activities (sports, music, and dance), and customs and practices connected with death and burial. Ethnologists learn these subjects from native informants and their objects, then, describe and record the material in manuscripts and printed books. Specifically for Hawai‘i, they stated that art was linked to religion, mana, and kapu, and that the subjects of ethnological studies are intimately related to social organization (Bryan et al 1974:307–308). Ethnologists of Hawaiian culture felt their work was significant as they preserved what they perceived as a dying culture. (The Hawaiian cultural renaissance of the 1970s was still a long way off.)

Statue as Artifact.

An artifact is defined as “any object made by man, especially with a view to subsequent use” (Webster’s Encyclopedic Unabridged Dictionary of the English Language 1989:85). This word is used consistently in the sources I have researched primarily to describe objects made in the past. However, I have not learned its origins, therefore I cannot present the specific discourse surrounding it. The connotation of this word to me is that artifacts are objects made by peoples of dead cultures. It is often used to describe the works of indigenous people who were colonized. To paraphrase Henrietta Lidchi, whose research forms much of this section on ethnographic specimens, objects do not become artifacts by accident, but by virtue of colonial appropriation (Lidchi 1997:194).

“Artifact” is rarely used to describe Western objects. For example, I have never seen the word “artifact” used to describe religious statues from non-Oceanic cultures, such as Christianity, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Therefore, I would argue that the nineteen notched-ridged statues are

not artifacts, as they were created under similar circumstances as the statues for mainstream religions just mentioned and during the same time periods as other statues.

While Kaeppler stated that exhibitions in Hawai‘i are more culturally sensitive than those across the oceans, and objects are generally placed in historical or cultural perspective, she maintained that “artifacts” are exhibited as objects of the past and more or less as representations of an historical “other” (Kaeppler 1992:467). Bishop Museum classifies its objects as “artifacts” from the pre- and post-European contact period: “The artifacts selected reflect the excellence achieved in Hawaiian workmanship” (Hilton Hawaiian Village n. pag.). The arrangement of Hawaiian Hall represents not only a progression in time, but also a progression in culture and affluence. The first floor of Hawaiian Hall emphasizes a pre-European “other,” not relevant to present day Hawai‘i. The second floor highlights the “Victorian” monarchy period (Hilton Hawaiian Village n. pag.) or a “nineteenth-century monarchical historical ‘other’” (Kaeppler 1992:470). The third level showcases the various ethnic groups that came to Hawai‘i as contract laborers, which indirectly points to the wealthy plantation owners who comprise the local haole elite.

The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum was designated the State Museum on Natural and Cultural History in 1988 (Bishop Museum brochure 2003:n. pag.). Although museums which depict Hawaiian culture use similar objects, primarily from the nineteenth century, museums in Hawai‘i which depict Hawaiian culture emphasize a nineteenth-century monarchical historical “other” while museums overseas emphasize a pre-European “other.” Museums continue to deceive their visitors by separating objects, culture, history, and politics and focusing on outmoded ideas of the primacy of the uncontaminated “other” (Kaeppler 1992:470 & 472).

Generally, museums in Hawai‘i perpetuate the myth that ancient Hawaiian culture is not reflected in contemporary Hawaiian culture. Fortunately, exhibitions are changing. The new exhibitions in the Vestibule Gallery at Bishop Museum are relevant to Hawaiians who continue to practice the culture and the religion and who do not regard statues T1 and T3 as idols of the past (compare fig. 6 which features T1 in a glass case in Hawaiian Hall and fig. 8 featuring T3 in the Vestibule Gallery in an exhibition that celebrates Kū). The section entitled “Statue as Akua Ki‘i (for Contemporary Hawaiians)” will show this contrasting view.



Fig. 8. Statue T3 as artifact on display in Bishop Museum’s Vestibule Gallery (Wanda Anaehonihewa).

Statue as Primitive Art and “The Kona Style”

Western art, like western science, has constructed the language of this discourse, which is based on the perception of people and cultures outside the West as the “other.” Hence, “primitive

art” is a term given to art by people outside of the culture that produced the work and who have little understanding of that culture or its people (Kaepler 1979:77). In other words, Oceanic and African art are often deemed primitive when compared with Western and Eastern fine or high art.

The appreciation of Oceanic art outside the region began in the late nineteenth century with artists such as Paul Gauguin who moved to Tahiti in 1891, and depicted the culture in his paintings and sculpture, albeit from a Western perspective. Later, other artists like Pablo Picasso would reject the European notion of ideal beauty and was influenced by African and Oceanic sculpture through the other artists and their works including the images created by Paul Gauguin and the Fauvist artists. By 1910, Picasso even owned an anthropomorphic carving from the Marquesas (Kirsten 2000:26; Preble and Preble 1994:402, 416, 422, & 505). Thus, much Oceanic art, considered works by “primitive peoples,” became known through these famous artists.

One of the first art historians to write about Oceanic art as art was Paul S. Wingert. In his book, Art of the South Seas—first published in 1946, and co-written by anthropologist Ralph Linton—he claimed that “only a few artists and art lovers, most of them associated with advanced movements, have recognized its full esthetic (sic) value.” However, he continued with the acknowledgment that the appreciation of “foreign art forms” was always connected with the group’s own “preoccupations” (Arno Press 1972:7). In other words, they were gazing at the work through a Western lens. Wingert explained that he appreciated Oceanic art on its own cultural terms. However, he also identified it and the “men” who produced it as “primitive.” Thus, he was unable to separate the work he admired from the discursive language in use at the time which implicitly relegated the work to the beginning stages of cultural evolution.

Additionally, he linked the awareness of the “Magic art” of this region to the later phases of Expressionism, thus supporting and praising the influential nature of the art (Wingert 1972:7). The fact that he only mentioned men as producers of art and that he refers to the work as “magic” reinforced his biased judgment and somewhat limited knowledge. Women produced art in these societies as well. And, while Hawaiians worshiped their gods and goddesses to produced desired results (like other religions), magic has the connotation of make-believe, superstition, and hocus-pocus witchcraft (Wicca or witchcraft is also a religion that receives little respect.). Adrienne Kaeppler had this to say about Wingert:

He essentially replaced the science of art (represented in the Pacific by such individuals as [anthropologists A. C.] Haddon and [H. D.] Skinner) with an appreciation of art from an outsider’s point of view. He attempted to distinguish the arts by area and culture, discussing them in terms of formal elements in order to aid understanding and appreciation... His lack of fieldwork and anthropological perspective, however, is evident in that the Polynesians themselves have little place in his analysis and that works of art seem to exist independent of people.

(Kaeppler 1989:218)

Despite Wingert’s admiration of the artwork and the cultures that created it, he disconnected the work from the creators, thus misunderstanding its social and cultural significance.

Another writer on Oceanic art was Alfred Bühler. In The Art of the South Sea Islands—along with Terry Barrow and Charles P. Mountford—the word “primitive” appears throughout the book in reference to the art and the people who made it (Bühler et al, 1962). In his introduction entitled “Oceania,” he did not explain why he considered the artwork primitive, it

simply was—probably because it had been called primitive by other scholars before him. In the glossary, “Primitive peoples” are defined as “Peoples who have made little technical, economic and political progress, and who have to adapt themselves more to their natural environment than do civilized peoples. But they also possess a culture, for there are no human societies devoid of culture” (Bühler et al 1962:232). Like Wingert, Bühler further reinforced a “primitive discourse” (through words like “civilized” and “little . . . progress”) still used today by people who view Western and Eastern art as superior to the art of Oceania. And, as far as Oceanic peoples adapting themselves to their natural environment, I would argue that Europeans and those of European descent living outside of Europe have also conformed to their natural surroundings, whether they are eking out a living or expressing their culture.

However, Bühler acknowledged that the interpretation of Oceanic art was difficult because the work was studied from “lifeless” museum collections: “Far removed from their natural location, and divorced from their original context, they stand in total isolation, without any relationship to the community from which they sprang” (Bühler 1962:13–14). As most of the art and art-making communities disappeared, he was aware that misconceptions were inevitable given the “lifeless” displays encountered by visitors to museums. Yet, his study supported the perception of Oceania as a backward region. The comparison tended to be between primarily pre-twentieth-century Oceanic and twentieth-century Western cultures.

Also in the “Introduction,” he referred to the work as “exotic art” by “exotic peoples,” which categorized the art and peoples as foreign as did Wingert (Bühler 1962:13). While the art and peoples were definitely foreign to these outsiders and their readers, it maintained the Western-centric view that Oceania was outside the mainstream.

Furthermore, Bühler claimed that painters and sculptors were the first, and not the Pacific Islanders who made the art and their audiences who viewed it, to be fascinated with the art of the South Seas which led to the general public's awareness and appreciation of it. Although he stated that carvings and paintings from this region are "no longer mere curiosities displayed in museums of ethnology," he reinforced the anthropological discourse of Western man's evolution over other peoples through Oceanic art, which he felt were "important documents that help us to understand and appreciate the art of mankind as a whole" (Bühler 1962:13).

Bühler, Barrow, and Mountford stylistically analyzed Hawaiian sculpture. I include their contributions here rather than in the style chapter to exemplify stylistic analyses generated by the Western discourse of art history. All three men distinguished two main styles. The first applied to the nineteen notched-ridged statues in which the body is squat, and the legs are stout and bent. The arms are bent but they do not hold the abdomen. The head is excessively large with the hair parted, shaped like a cap, and hung down far from the nape of the neck. They stated that the figures communicate an "impression of extreme vitality." The "ferocious" facial expression includes a large mouth which is often in a horizontal figure eight, "gnashing" teeth, and a visible tongue. The nose is short with large curved nostrils. The "great" eyes are pointed and oval-shaped, turn down and outwards, and are enclosed within curved segments (Bühler et al 1962:175). Another reason for its inclusion is it leads to J. Halley Cox, who coined the term "Kona Style."

An "intellectual descendant" of Wingert, artist and professor J. Halley Cox also analyzed Hawaiian sculpture from an art historical perspective (Kaepler 1989:218). "Primitive" also appears in his book, Hawaiian Sculpture (University of Hawai'i Press 1988). For example, in his

“Introduction,” Hawai‘i is primitive: “In Hawai‘i, as in the rest of the primitive world, sculpture was constructed for important magical, religious, and social uses” (Cox 1988:5). The art and sculpture are also described as primitive. Although he mentioned this in conjunction with Hawaiian statues appearing in several “primitive and Pacific art” books and being judged as outstanding examples of “primitive sculpture,” he concurred that “they certainly are” primitive although a broader view of the tradition was needed which he attempted to do with his study (Cox 1988:5). Cox is similar to Wingert and Bühler et al, and set out to do the same thing by explaining the culture in order to understand the art.

However, artist Huc-Mazelet Luquiens, whose stylistic analysis of the wooden statues appears in the first chapter, appeared to be uncomfortable with this terminology.³⁷ He delivered a lecture on carving at Kamehameha Schools, which was first published in 1965 in a book entitled, Ancient Hawaiian Civilization (Luquiens, 1974). Luquiens followed the trend of describing the art as “primitive,” yet he also stated, “We use the word ‘primitive’ pretty freely in speaking of the old Hawaiian culture. It may easily become an exaggeration” (Luquiens 1974:225–226). Another common term he acknowledged as inappropriate was calling the statues “idols.” Although he referred to them as idols, he reminded the listening and reading audiences: “The word ‘idol’ is commonly used, but we must remember that the Hawaiians probably did not worship their idols, any more than the Catholics worship statues of the Virgin Mary” (Luquiens 1974:229).

³⁷ Luquiens claimed to be the first person to write about Hawaiian material culture as art—rather than ethnographic specimens—in his book, Hawaiian Art (Bishop Museum 1931). His work pre-dates Wingert and Linton by fifteen years.

The phrase “primitive art” continues to distinguish works created by indigenous peoples around the world. The use of the phrase began with “cultural authorities” such as art historians, artists, and aesthetes from places other than the regions where the work originated to describe art that was made—in their opinions—in simple places by simple minds. Like the scientists—among them anthropologists and ethnologists—who saw the material culture as evidence of human evolution, so did the art world. By placing indigenous peoples in categories outside their own, the artists and scientists created a realm of the “other” where many indigenous peoples are still relegated to the primitive beginnings of the evolutionary chain. A contemporary method of separation is achieved through the commodification of cultures, as featured in the following section.

Statue as Tiki (Airport Art, Kitsch, or Hawaiiana)

“All cultural producers—advertisers, designers, curators, authors—are involved in the creation of ‘myths’” (Lidchi 1997:179). The mass-production of the tiki has transported Hawaiian culture and its “primitivist” associations around the world. The Polynesian word “tiki” is a cognate of the Hawaiian word “ki’i,” meaning—in this context—image, statue, picture, doll, petroglyph, etc. (Pūku’i and Elbert 1971:136).³⁸ In this section, “tiki” refers to figurines or two-dimensional versions of these figurines available as souvenirs in tourist venues, or on other types of decorative items—lamps or statues that adorn rooms and hotel lobbies—or as marketing symbols for companies. Like taboo (adapted from the Polynesian word tapu) and tattoo (adapted

³⁸ Other meanings include to fetch, send for, go after, attack, etc. It is also a gesture and a step in hula, and a type of tree (Pūku’i and Elbert 1971:136–137).

from the Samoan word tātau), the tiki has been absorbed into the English language.

As noted in previous chapters, Hawaiian wood carving was achieved in many different styles; the notched-ridged hair style is just one of them. Yet, this style was chosen to represent Hawaiian culture through the tiki. The possible reason, as Cox noted in his “Introduction,” is that numerous books depicted the “more spectacular examples” of Hawaiian sculpture (Cox 1988:3). It does not surprise me that this style is featured repeatedly in books, given the dynamism conveyed in the carving, through the notched-ridged treatment of the hair, the grimace, and the posture. Cox’s original publication of Hawaiian Sculpture in 1974, provided a comprehensive view of Hawaiian wooden sculpture via the extant statues. This particular style of carving may have been chosen because it was most seen prior to Cox’s book and through it as well.

The awareness of Polynesian art began with the growing appreciation of “Primitive Art” in Europe and the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, which spawned “Polynesian Americana” in California. Women, as seductive hula girls, comprised the first images of this movement. The birth of the tiki began in 1934 with the Hollywood restaurant “Don the Beachcomber,” owned and operated by Ernest Beaumont-Gantt, who later changed his name to Don Beach and is credited with being the “Founder of Polynesian Pop.” In 1950 he opened two shops in the International Market Place in Waikīkī, O‘ahu, in conjunction with his “Don the Beachcomber” restaurant. Another restaurant to adopt the trend was Victor Bergeron’s “Trader Vic’s” in Oakland. A notched-ridged hair statue is displayed on the premises (Grant 1996:86; Kirsten 2000:17–18, 28, 37, 69, & 81–82).

The tiki became associated with an “artistic, bohemian lifestyle and a whimsical, playful attitude.” An alternative world—based on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century journals of

explorers, sailors, and missionaries—was created where one could be free from societal restraints. The popularity of Polynesian-themed restaurants and hotels gained momentum in the United States in the 1950s as baby boomers began to enjoy their prosperous lifestyles.³⁹ Polynesian-themed parties provided outlets from the mundane work-week and the homogenized lifestyles in suburbia. By the late 1950s it was imperative that the tiki become part of the home decor (Kirsten 2000:28, 39, 189, 191).

The tiki was first used as a logo for Tiki Bob's bar in San Francisco, designed by Alec Yuill-Thornton. The tiki was also used as a marketing symbol for Warner Brothers TV series "Hawaiian Eye," thus subliminally implanting the image into the public's minds (Kirsten 2000:44 & 47). Tiki styles were not limited to the notched-ridged hair type; they ran the gamut of Polynesia: from the Rapanui moai (the famous, large stone statues) to Marquesan, Maori, and Hawaiian statues, and included Melanesian styles as well.

Like all fads, the tiki craze came to a brief end in the early 1960s with the children of the initial baby boomers who sought their own identities in the Hippie era: the "British Invasion" of the Beatles in 1964, and other Pop bands from the United Kingdom, and the Vietnam War. By the 1980s, Polynesian venues virtually disappeared from pop culture. One group to adopt the tiki as a talisman was the surf sub-culture of California in the mid-1960s. Because Hawai'i is the birthplace of surfing, the notched-ridged style inspired surfers to recontextualize the statue as a "hip good-luck fetish" (Kirsten 2000:47, 52–53, & 237–238). Contemporary tiki luck charms are mentioned later in this chapter.

While the birth of the tiki in California is well-documented, it is not clear whether

³⁹ Hawaii's admission to the Union must have played a role too, although Kirsten does not mention this.

Polynesia Americana influenced the tiki trend in Hawai‘i. While organized tourism in Hawai‘i coincided with the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, and picked up steam with the creation of the Merchants Association in 1901, and the Hawaiian Promotion Committee in 1903, the tiki as commodified Hawaiiana may have begun as a way for tourists to experience “authentic” Hawaiian culture while on vacation and take home an important memento (Desmond 1999:35 & 39). The tourist advertisements from the 1920s promised prospective vacationers relaxation and reinvigoration with “authentic primitives,” depicted as sexy “hula girls” and virile “beach boys”—who, in reality, were often adolescents and adults, and not children: “Native Hawaiians represented a pre-urban, pre-industrialized, pastoral vision of harmony with nature” (Desmond 1999:40). Designating Hawaiians as girls and boys contributed to the discourse of racial inequality (Desmond 1999:38–40 & 83–84).

The practice of collecting Hawaiian objects ran parallel with the tourism industry, beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth. Non-Hawaiian kama‘āina (native born) decorated their homes with Hawaiian objects, such as bowls and statues, representing “authentic and fascinating reminders of Hawaii’s colorful historical past” (qtd. in Wood 1999:45). The inclusion of the tiki into the tourist realm reintroduced the cultural practices of wood carving minus Hawaiian religion. In its original context, religious statues with notched-ridged hair were probably created for luakini worship which involved human sacrificial offerings. These practices ended a century ago with the abolition of the kapu system. As many Hawaiians were converted to Christianity, the tiki represented a reminder to them of a “dead” culture. Yet, the aspect of human sacrifice may have tantalized anyone unfamiliar with it, much like a haunted house at an amusement park provides the visitor with a scary, but safe, adventure.

Thereby, the tiki offered a safe, “authentic” experience for travelers.

The tiki’s origins—in Hawai‘i and the United States—are related to European and Euro-Americans’ fascination with the “exotic,” stemming from the “aestheticization of imperialist expansion” via the “ethnographic gaze,” and included the development of organized tourism in Hawai‘i. Hawai‘i, as the “primitive other,” and its tourist industry were drawn into this discourse from the science field: “Tourism, as aestheticized ethnographic travel, brought these discourses (of modernity, primitivism, visualism, anthropology) together with the commodification of new colonial possessions as pleasure zones” (Desmond 1999:37). Facsimiles of ethnographic specimens—like those locked away in ethnographic museums—became available, providing travelers with similar experiences as earlier collectors of Hawaiian statues.

Although art for the tourist trade is often associated with the rise of tourism in Hawai‘i in the twentieth century, the commercialization of Hawaiian objects began with Western contact. As Adrienne Kaeppler explains, some of the objects attributed to Hale-o-Keawe acquired by the Blonde shipmates, were actually made by carvers who passed them off as “authentic” images from the mausoleum to unsuspecting collectors (Kaeppler 1979a:6–7). However, this is not what she meant by “airport art.” “Airport art” refers to works which are produced primarily for non-Polynesians and can be appreciated by someone who lacks knowledge of Polynesian culture. It may not have traditional precedents, or when it does, the lost precedents are reintroduced by outsiders or interpreted for outsiders. Airport art is produced to generate sales, not for aesthetic, religious, or traditional reasons (Kaeppler 1979b:185–186).

Airport art is not limited to the airport or Waikīkī and other tourist venues. This type of art is cheaply manufactured in Asia with non-Hawaiian interpretations, such as a replica made in

China, but designed in Hawai‘i, of a portable statue with a mesial spike renamed “God of Winner” (see fig. 9). The replica is transformed into a key chain, thereby making it useful and practical. Another “Good Luck Key Chain” from the same company is of the “Hawaiian God ‘Ku”” (sic). The statue is described on the back of the display card as “This is the classic God Statue of Hawaii (sic). Very large heads, big nostrils, flexed knees, the eyes in the hair are port (sic) of what is called the Kona style. Provenance: Hawaii (sic). Original: Bishop Museum. Original Heigh (sic): 6. Designed in Hawaii. Made in China.”



Fig. 9. Tiki as good luck charm and key ring (Wanda Anae-Onishi).

Earlier productions of tiki souvenirs took place in Hawai‘i. This advertisement from a Blair Ltd. brochure from the 1950s shows the temple image often associated with Kūkā‘ilimoku, but identified it as “Akua Lono” (see fig. 10):

The ancient Hawaiian People worshiped many Gods, using one for each individual craft or profession. Akua Lono, the God shown here was the only Hawaiian God worshiped by King or Beggar, Fisherman or Farmer. On special Feast Days all the

people would go to the Temple and worship Akua Lono only. He was the God of all the lesser Gods numbering some 70,000.

Carved milo wood. (Blair Ltd. brochure, n. pag.)

Prices ranged from \$7.50 for a five-inch statue to \$38.00 for a sixteen-inch statue. Blair Ltd., located on Ward Avenue, was the self-proclaimed “largest designer, manufacturer, wholesaler and retailer of carved wood in Hawaii (sic)” and promoted a selection of wood carvings by “Hawaiian artists.” It is not clear if the artists were actually of Hawaiian ancestry, or were “local” (born in Hawai‘i, but not Hawaiian). Local people who are not of Hawaiian ancestry are often misrepresented as or mistaken for Hawaiians.

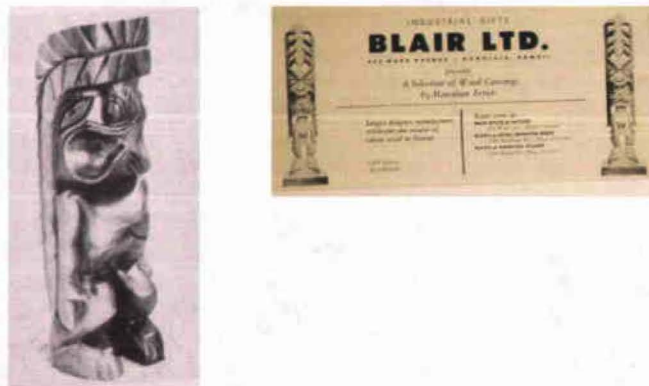


Fig. 10. Blair Ltd.’s “Akua Lono” and brochure (Wanda Anae-Onishi).

The tiki stereotype is perpetuated in Hawai‘i at venues such as “ARTafterDARK, a dynamic group of young adults dedicated to exploring the visual arts” sponsored by the Honolulu Academy of Arts to increase museum membership by attracting a younger demographic. ARTafterDARK hosts theme parties every last Friday of the month. The theme for September

2004 was “Tiki Night,” co-sponsored by Tori Richards, a clothing manufacturer of Aloha attire.

The invitation invites people to:

Get out of the kitchen and put on some kitsch—it’s time to get down to the Tiki lounge! Purchase some appetizers and drinks, pick up a lei or some gifts, then get your groove on with Don Tiki’s exotica DJ and the sultry Don Tiki dancers.

Whether you kick back in The Doris Duke Theatre to watch ‘Blue Hawaii,’ (sic) or walk the galleries, you’ll have a blast at the height of Tiki Night!

The invitation features various styles of Polynesian art—Maori, Hawaiian, and Rarotongan—probably downloaded for free from the Internet as clip art (see fig. 11).



Fig. 11. Invitation to ARTafterDARK’s “Tiki Night” (Wanda Anae-Onishi).

Are these positive, lighthearted representations of an extinct Hawaiian culture conveyed with a sense of humor appropriate? (After all, the planners of this event are calling it “kitsch.”) Given the seriousness of the representations in the original context as gods in the form of statues, I think not. The commodified tiki perpetuates a stereotype of a cannibalistic, idol-worshipping, virgin-sacrificing society which was subsequently liberated and enlightened (physically, morally,

intellectually, and spiritually) by European or Euro-Americans foreigners.

I have attended two events hosted by ARTafterDARK. The first theme was “Hollywood” which was held during the month the Academy Awards were held. The guests were encouraged to wear “Hollywood” attire. The entertainment was provided by a Marilyn Monroe impersonator and various short movies nominated for awards were screened in the Doris Duke Theatre. ARTafterDARK provided a pleasant way, via this event, to enjoy positive American culture.

The second event that I attended was called “Fellini Night.” The guests were encouraged to wear black, a Fellini staple. We were entertained by a group of mimes enacting different characters from Federico Fellini movies and a tenor singing various arias from Italian operas. Again, the hosts planned another positive cultural evening, this time the culture was, of course, Italian via one of their cultural treasures, the renowned Fellini. Other themes featured Chinese culture with martial artists demonstrating their skills, and a French theme night followed by a Japanese theme the next month to highlight the Impressionist exhibition held in the museum’s galleries. Although I did not attend those events, the invitations held these cultures in high esteem. None of these events or cultures were presented in a tongue-in-cheek fashion. If ARTafterDARK truly does have a sense of humor and “Tiki Night” is not meant to offend the Hawaiian community, then they would host events entitled “Trailer Park White-Trash Night,” or more fitting for the origins of the Honolulu Academy of Arts’ benefactors, “Missionary Descendant Night.” However, I do not foresee these parties happening anytime sooner or later.

Therefore, how can a cultural institution, the keeper of culture, in Hawai‘i sponsor “Tiki Night” on its premises? This event does not celebrate Hawaiian culture, but rather denigrates it in several ways including an Elvis Presley movie and sultry dancers which continue to misrepresent

and sexualize Hawaiians as willing prostitutes like the tourist advertisements of the previous century and the explorers' journals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Desmond 1999:88). Does the Honolulu Academy of Arts have a responsibility toward the host culture and its responsible representations of the latter? One may argue that the Academy is run and staffed by mainly Euro-Americans and foreigners of European and Asian descent. Hence, the institution does not have the same knowledge or cultural background as Bishop Museum, therefore they are absolved of any responsibility. However, the Academy has Hawaiian objects in its collections. Statue K13 is currently on display in the John Dominis Holt and Patches Holt Gallery in an exhibition entitled "The Art of Hawai'i," an exhibit that features the art of Hawaii's past, more often termed "artifact" and contemporary works by non-Hawaiians, at least when I viewed it in June (see Appendix One). They are in possession of the Louis Choris' watercolors featured in Chapter One of this thesis. In other words, they have a basic knowledge of Hawaiian art and culture.

"Tiki Night" represents a patronizing attitude first established by western missionaries, western human sciences, and western art represents many non-western cultures as different, foreign, exotic, primitive, tribal, in short, the "other." The manufacture and selling of tiki perpetuates this cultural divide. "Hawaiiana," the name given to collectibles of Hawaiian-influenced products, has gained popularity in recent years. These items were once regarded as cheap tourist "curios," which was the actual intent of these products when they were produced: they were made for tourists and they were affordable. Formerly, to own tourist art imparted the owner's bad taste and lack of culture. "Hawaiiana" is now appreciated on its own terms. Rather than cheap versions of "authentic" Hawaiian cultural objects only seen in ethnographic displays in

museums, kitsch is “cool” and “hip” using “retro” language in the today’s slang.

New versions of “Hawaiiana” are made, like the lamp for sale at Hilo Hatties, a clothing and souvenir shop (see fig. 12). Their newly acquired value is evident in the lamp’s price: \$119.99. But this new appreciation does not improve the way Hawaiian culture is viewed. The tiki represents a decontextualized (i.e. wood carving without religion), then recontextualized (i.e. tiki are “cool” or “lucky”), version of Hawaiian culture, one that does not encompass the transformations and variations that actually occurred in the culture. Furthermore, in the process of making money, Hawaiians and Hawaiian culture do not benefit because we are often not the recipients of the proceeds from sales of tiki or products embellished with tiki.



Fig. 12. Tiki lamp on sale at Hilo Hatties on O‘ahu (Wanda Anae-Onishi).

In an article entitled “And the Beat goes on! Or the Continues (sic) burden of Cultural Insensitivity” by artist and writer Lucia Tarallo-Jensen in an article in the The ‘Ōiwi Files (Tarallo-Jensen, 2004) requested of anyone who participates in the perpetuation of the negative stereotyping of Kū and tiki culture to “think who this might offend. Step away! Do not purchase the product! Do not participate in its continued exploitation. Complain. Perhaps if enough

individuals complain, someone will eventually listen and something done about it” (Tarallo-Jensen 2004:3). The Jensens have advocated these sentiments for over thirty years and create new symbols that foster Hawaiian culture, such as the images of Kū in front of the Army Museum at Fort DeRussy in Waikīkī, O‘ahu entitled Nā Lehua Helelei at the Kūkālepa Circle (Tarallo-Jensen 2004:3).

Wood carvings by Hawaiian artists knowledgeable in Hawaiian culture can help to reverse this history of misunderstanding and misrepresentation. Carvings that celebrate the nuances of Hawaiian culture and educate the uninitiated in the culture are created today. In a current exhibit, entitled “Ho‘oilina, Birthright” in the Bishop Museum’s Vestibule Gallery, the art of Rocky Ka‘iouiokahihikolo‘Ehu Jensen and his children, Nathalie Mahina (photography) and Frank (pen and ink drawings) are showcased until November 28, 2004, depicting different aspects of Hawaiian culture with informative labels explaining the art and culture, alongside older statues, such as T3. Jensen’s carvings are not reproductions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century statues. Instead, he carves his interpretations of the gods, using native and foreign woods and traditional embellishments, such as hair and shark’s teeth (see fig. 13). Kaepler noted fifteen years ago that:

Many Polynesian artists have no desire to copy old processes or products. Rather, they wish to create new forms based on their own individual background and experience. Rocky Ka‘iouiokahihikolo‘Ehu Jensen and the other members of the Hale Nauā III Society of Hawaiian artists consider their products to be fine art that have made Hawaiian themes understandable in today’s world. (Kaepler 1989:235)

Jensen, and other Hawaiian artists, cultivate a positive image of Hawaiian art and culture. Furthermore, he is passing on his artistic traditions to his children which is the theme of this exhibition. With more awareness of Kanaka Maoli art, the representation of the tiki will hopefully become obsolete.



Fig. 13. Akua Ki'i by Rocky K. Jensen on display in Bishop Museum's Vestibule Gallery (Wanda Anae-Onishi).

Statue as Akua Ki'i (for Contemporary Hawaiians)

"Native Hawaiian identity is not static, but is fluid and reflective of its cultural practices and relationship to its historical parts and present" (Neller 2002:126). While contemporary Hawaiian art may possibly change the way Hawaiian culture is viewed by those unfamiliar with it, the understanding of Kanaka Maoli objects made prior to the abolition of the Kapu system of 1819 have changed as well. In recent years, Hawaiian practitioners are regarding these images as

akua ki‘i, their original identity.

Wānana O Hewahewa

E auhulihia an kēia hope aku,

‘A‘ole he auhulihia nui e like me kēia ma kēia hope iho,

E lilo ana nā wahi ‘āpu‘upu‘u on nā ‘āina i mau awāwa hohonu,

A o nā pali ho‘i i wahi papa like,

E lilo ana nā wahi lumania o nā pali nihinihi i mau kaulu.

—Kahuna Nui Hewahewa⁴⁰

“Prophecy of Hewahewa:

There will be an overthrow in the future,

No greater reverse will ever occur than the one forthcoming,

Hillocks places in the land will become ravines,

The smooth faces of the steep precipices will become settlements.”

—Translation by Thomas G. Thrum

(Tarallo-Jensen and Jensen 1985:72)

While the Prophecy of Hewahewa referred to the abolition by Kamehameha II, it could also have foretold the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893. This event is protested by late twentieth-century Hawaiian activists who fight for political, economic, and cultural authority.

The repatriation of human remains and objects stored in museums are included in this

⁴⁰ Hewahewa, a high priest of Kamehameha and Liholiho (Kamehameha II), advised Liholiho after he broke the eating restriction to destroy the statues and temples and participated in their destruction (Silverman 68).

contemporary battle: “Objects become inalienable wealth with immense symbolic power that brings the past into the present and defines a group’s social history and identity” (Neller 2002:130, 134, & 137). The objects themselves have become symbols for these disputes.

Neller’s article, “From Utilitarian to Sacred: The Transformation of a Traditional Hawaiian Object” (Neller, 2002), mentioned that the connotation of a “support image” in the collection of the Museum of Natural History at Roger Williams Park in Providence, Rhode Island was transformed from a secular statue to a sacred one (see fig. 14). Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai‘i Nei (Hui Mālama) and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA)—two Native Hawaiian organizations that are consulted in matters of repatriation of Hawaiian objects as stipulated by Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) regulations—gave testimony that the statue is relevant to contemporary cultural battles. Therefore, they claimed the statue should be repatriated under NAGPRA’s rules. NAGPRA’s purpose is “to provide a process for the return of human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony to the indigenous people of the United States” (Neller 2002:126, 131, & 138). Their representatives, Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahale and Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, furnished these statements:

Kanahale: [W]e need today to interpret our connection to these particular objects.

This particular ki‘i was used a long time ago. However, it still has the same function for us today. And the function is that we’re still fighting the battle of maintaining a very high level of being connected to our land.

Kame‘eleihiwa: [W]e Hawaiians who live at home, and who are trying to settle our land rights, who are trying to settle our cultural rights, we need to have ancestors

and our sacred things returned to us in order to fight that battle.

(Neller 2002:134)



Fig. 14. “Support Image” repatriated to Hawai‘i via NAGPRA (Cox 1988:189).

Both women are practitioners of traditional Hawaiian religion, who feel that the statue, or any other Hawaiian object, provides inspiration to Hawaiians concerned with the proper cultivation and perpetuation of Hawaiian culture and the rights to practice the culture. Their reference to battle has imbued this particular statue with the status of war god. Hui Mālama and OHA were somewhat successful in their bid for repatriation. While NAGPRA found the image to be a sacred object and recommended repatriation, The Providence Museum ignored the recommendation because they felt they were denied due process during the review-committee meetings. Both sides negotiated a settlement and the statue returned to Hawai‘i as a donation. In return, OHA donated

\$125,000. The statue is on temporary loan to the Bishop Museum (Neller 2002:136).

“Traditional objects become markers of validation for contemporary Native Hawaiians in their struggle for legal, political, and cultural authority. The transformation of the object parallels the transformation of Native Hawaiian identity” (Neller 2002:126). The nineteen notched-ridged statues already have this war god connotation; therefore, they are recognized as sacred objects. As such, they are possible subjects for future repatriation beyond and above the NAGPRA law. Additionally, they could be regarded as visual symbols of the protests for sovereignty, gathering rights, indigenous religious practices, and against lease-to-fee conversion regarding condominiums on ali‘i lands, the increase of the United States military in Hawai‘i, and the challenges to Hawaiian Home Lands and Kamehameha Schools regarding preferential treatment of Hawaiians.

The statues have come full circle for some Hawaiians, beginning and ending as akua ki‘i, in addition to their many other identities and changing meanings. The latter was the result of a significant shift in cultural contexts—from Hawaiian to Western to a recovery of the Hawaiian. As the earlier section entitled “The Changing Contexts surrounding a Notched-Ridged Hair Statue at Heiau Ahu‘ena” has illustrated, one statue experienced its own set of transformations within a Hawaiian context. A similar history could well apply to others if their specific histories were known.

Conclusion

The power in a belief system—whether it be religious—Hawaiian or Christian—scientific, artistic, or capitalistic—affected the perception of the nineteen statues. This paper examines the

shifts in identities and meanings attributed to the nineteen notched-ridged statues. They began their existence as vessels into which gods were invoked. Then they became akua. After the dissolution of the national religion they were disregarded by the very people who once worshiped them as Hawaiians were politically and economically colonized. The introduction of Christianity contributed to their loss of indigenous power. They managed to escape destruction and were given away or were collected by people who thought them to be pagan idols or curiosities from a faraway land. Later, they were placed in museums, where they became ethnographic specimens or artifacts of a “vanishing” culture. They were reinterpreted as “primitive art” by artists, art historians, and aesthetes. They were commodified by people entranced with Hawaiian culture in the United States and the tourist industry in Hawai‘i. Finally, they are viewed as gods of war for present-day battles over social and political issues fought by Hawaiian activists and religious practitioners.

CONCLUSION

In the “Introduction,” I asked if “The Kona Style” is an appropriate term for the group of notched-ridged hair images. Chapter One reviewed Cox’s stylistic analysis and outlined the characteristics he ascribed to the style. As Chapter Two illustrated, Cox’s stylistic analysis did not stand up to subsequent criticism. Furthermore, it did not include the notched-ridged hair treatment, a unifying feature on the entire grouping. I have re-named the group “The Notched-Ridged Hair Style.” Although I hypothesized that the notched-ridged hair treatment may have produced the desired success in ceremonies for which the images were created, it is merely another formal and conceptual identity that I imposed on these images. Style really does not adequately reveal the culture which gave life to these images.

Chapters Three and Four, however, centered on a Hawaiian cultural foundation from which one can gain a better understanding and appreciation of these images and the culture that produced them through the kaona (hidden meanings) and religion that gave the images their identities. Chapter Five examined the Hawaiian and Western discourses behind the acquired identities. Together, these chapters reveal the conflicting effects of two different perspectives on the images. The Hawaiian context empowers the images. The Western contexts emasculate the images, both literally (T3’s penis was cut off) and figuratively.

I promote a Hawaiian context from which to learn about these images because they were created in Hawai‘i. I would advocate any original context in which an object was made, and not only because I am Hawaiian. This is the only way to understand and fully appreciate the object and its transformations. In a Hawaiian context, the images and who and what they represent—both past and present—retain mana and in some sense, kapu as well. For example,

both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians who practice Hawaiian culture or are knowledgeable about it and these images, regard the images with respect and acknowledge their place in society—again, both past and present. These images deserve this respect, in the same way that icons and cultural symbols made in the past from other cultures are revered (e.g., Christian, Buddhist, Taoist, etc.). A Hawaiian context allows for this reverence to be perpetuated, cultivated, and understood.

APPENDIX ONE: “THE NOTCHED-RIDGED HAIR STYLE” IMAGES

The organization of this appendix is as follows. The nineteen images have been categorized initially under their current locations:

Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai‘i: T1, T3, K12

British Museum, London, England: T5, T6, T8

Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago, Illinois: T2

Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu, Hawai‘i: K13

Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts: T4

Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, England: T7, K8, K21

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, Scotland: K46

Private Collections: K48, T32, K59

Repatriated Images: K2, K3

Whereabouts unknown: G

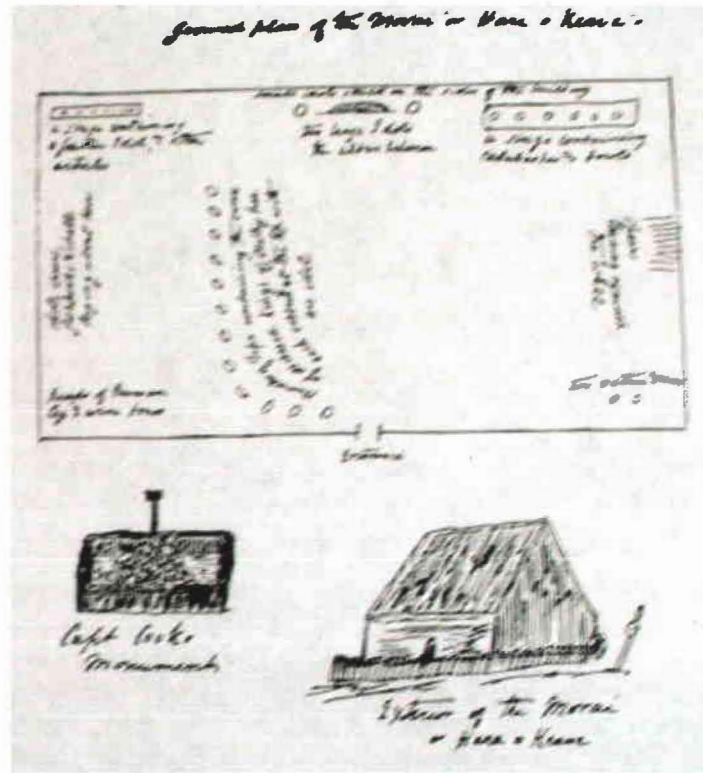
The information on each of the nineteen images has been listed by: Cox’s catalog number, the museum’s registration number (if applicable), acquisition information (when available), height, provenance, wood from which it was carved, miscellaneous information, and sources.

Bernice P. Bishop Museum



- T1
- (B.7883)
- Presented to Bishop Museum by Miss Bloxam of Leanington Station, England on persuasion of her brother A. R. Bloxam of Christchurch, New Zealand. Miss Bloxam sent the image to her brother who kept it in the Canterbury Museum in Christchurch until he could arrange a free passage to Honolulu. However, Mr. Bloxam died and his son, H. R. Bloxam of New Plymouth sent it. The image was received by the museum on January 26, 1924.
- Height: 63 ½ inches; height of image: 52 inches
- Provenance: Collected by Andrew Bloxam, naturalist aboard H.M.S. Blonde, from Hale-o-Keawe, Hōnaunau, Kona, Hawai'i in 1825. Bloxam was given permission to remove the image by Kalanimoku, a chief and prime minister of Kamehameha I and II's court.
- Wood: Eugenia Sp.; either 'ōhi'a 'ai or mountain apple (Eugenia malaccensis) or nīoi (Eugenia Sp. or Eugenia koolauensis)

- Misc: A section of unspecified size was cut from the image in March 1920. Formerly in the possession of Sir H. Berney (1896).
- (Cox 1988:119; Bishop Museum information; Diary of Andrew Bloxam: Naturalist of the "Blonde" on her Trip from England to the Hawaiian Islands 1824-1825 1925:75-76; Kaeppler 1993:43; Pūku'i & Elbert 1971:246)



Bloxam's sketch of Hale-o-Keawe. The rectangle represents the interior of the mausoleum. The two circles within the rectangle (top center) represent the placement of T1 and possibly, T2, within the mausoleum.

Bernice P. Bishop Museum



- T3
- (7654)
- Acquired from the American Board Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, Massachusetts in 1850. It was on permanent loan to Bishop Museum in 1895. The museum purchased it in 1896.
- Height: 77 inches
- Provenance: This image is said to have been hidden in a cave in Kona, Hawai'i Island
- Wood: 'ulu or breadfruit (Artocarpus altilis)
- Misc: The image is on display in the Vestibule Gallery in a recurrent exhibition, entitled "E Kū Mau Mau."
- (Anae-Onishi 2003:35; Cox 1988:120–121; Kaeppler 1993:42; Wagner, Herbst, & Sohmer 1999:14)

Bernice P. Bishop Museum



- K12
- (L887)
- Received from George O. Cooper, son of Henry Cooper, on January 13, 1914
- Height of figure: 5 3/4 inches. Lower portion of head missing.
- Provenance: Collected at Keaupuka, Kainalu, North Kona, Kona, Hawai'i
- Wood: undetermined
- The image was found in a cave at or near the home of Henry Cooper, when the house was being built.
- (Bishop Museum information; Cox 1988:141)

British Museum



- T5
- (1839, 4-26.8)
- Presented by W. Howard in 1839. It is possible that Liholiho, Kamehameha II, brought it to England as a gift for King George IV in 1824, however, the evidence is inconclusive (text from a British Museum label by Lissant Bolton).
- Height: approximately 93 inches; height of figure: 79 inches
- Provenance: undetermined
- Wood: 'ulu or breadfruit (Artocarpus altilis)
- Misc: At the time the electronic mail was received, April 16, 2004, this image was on loan in a traveling exhibit in Japan.
- (Cox 1988:122; Newell, e-mail to Wanda Anae-Onishi 4 Apr. 2004; Kaeppler 1993:42; Wagner, Herbst, & Sohmer 1999:14)

British Museum



- T6
- (LMS 223)
- From the London Missionary Society
- Height: 50 inches; height of figure: 29 3/4 inches
- Provenance: Collected by Reverend Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett, Esquire from a heiau at Kawaihae, Kohala, Hawai'i. They were deputies of the London Missionary Society to the missions in the South Pacific from 1821 to 1829. They accompanied the Reverend William Ellis to Hawai'i in 1823.
- Wood: 'ōhi'a lehua (Metrosideros polymorpha)
- Misc: From the catalogue of the London Missionary Society's museum: "Taken with permission of the Governor Kuakene [Kuakini] from the walls of an ancient marae [heiau] at Kairua, Hawaii . . . one of the idols which adorned Kailis [Kuka'ilimoku's] marae at Kawaihae at Hawaii."
- (Cox 1988:123; Newell, e-mail to Wanda Anae-Onishi 4 Apr. 2004; Ellis 1963:v-vi; Kaeppler 1982:103–104; British Museum web site, 16 Apr. 2004)



- T8
- (1656)
- From the Christy Collection between 1860–1869. Acquired by ethnographic collector Henry Christy, possibly from the United Service Museum.
- Height: 54 inches.
- Provenance: undetermined
- Wood: undetermined; remains of red paint on face
- Misc: The red paint, either red ochre or western paint, may indicate that this image was related to the 'alaea god who was carried in the processional to collect tribute and to its priestly class of Lono, Kūhī'alaea, who marked land boundaries with 'alaea, red ochre. It was also used in purification ceremonies called hi'uwai. Two priests who participated in the consecration of temples were Kualaea (possibly Kū-'alaea) "he who oversees the colored earth basin" and Kūhalaalaea (possibly Kū-hala-'alaea) "one with face marked with colored earth" (K. Kamakau 1919–1920:8 & 10; Pūku'i & Elbert 1971:16).
- (Cox 1988:124; Newell, e-mail to Wanda Anae-Onishi 4 Apr. 2004)

Chicago Natural History Museum



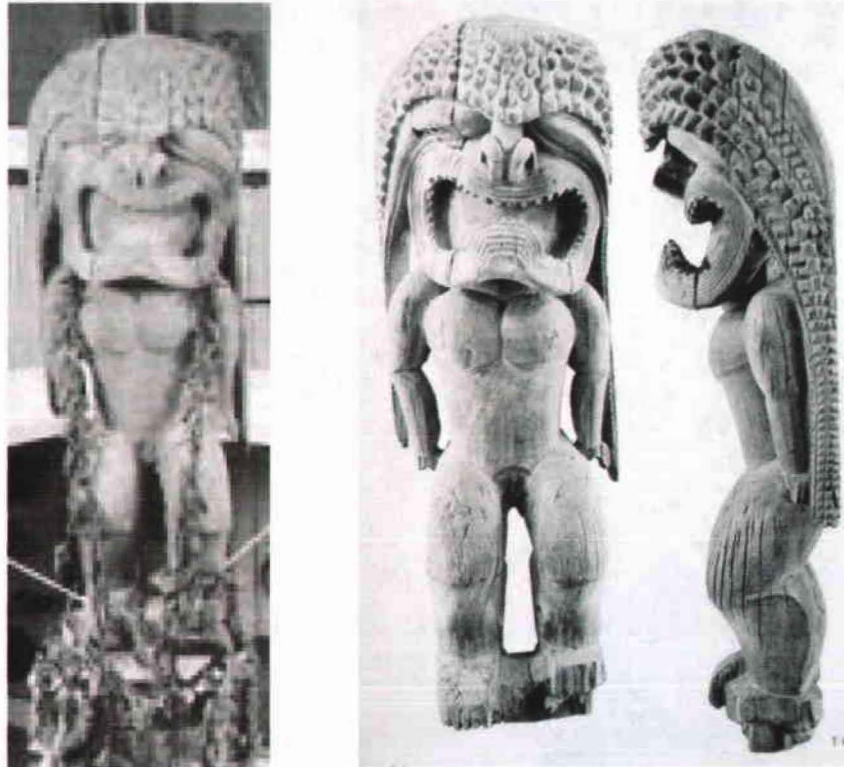
- T2
- (272689)
- From the A.W.F. Fuller Collection. Fuller received the image in 1911 from Mr. F.G. Springer of Springerhill Court, Southampton. Springer obtained it from an “old family” who owned it for three generations.
- Height: approximately 60 inches; height of figure: 49 1/4 inches
- Provenance: Probably collected by Andrew Bloxam of H.M.S. Blonde, from Hale-o-Keawe, Hōnaunau, Kona, Hawai‘i in 1825 along with T1
- Wood: Eugenia Sp.; either ‘ōhi‘a ‘ai or mountain apple (Eugenia malaccensis) or nīoi (Eugenia Sp. or Eugenia koolauensis)
- (Cox 1988:120–121; Diary of Andrew Bloxam: Naturalist of the “Blonde” on her Trip from England to the Hawaiian Islands 1824–1825 1925:75–76; Force and Force 1971: 96; Kaeppler 1993:43; Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:246)

Honolulu Academy of Arts



- K13
- (3075.1)
- Height: 22 inches; height of figure: 9 inches
- Provenance: Collected from Hale-o-Keawe, Hōnaunau, Kona, Hawai‘i, by midshipman John N. Knowles of H.M.S. Blonde in 1825
- Wood: undetermined
- Misc: The image is currently on display in the John Dominis Holt and Patches Holt Gallery at the Honolulu Academy of Arts.
- (Cox 1988:142)

Peabody Essex Museum



- T4
- (E12071)
- Gift of John T. Prince in 1846
- Height: 82 inches
- Provenance: undetermined
- Wood: 'ulu or breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*)
- Misc: An excerpt from a letter to John White Treadwell, Esquire from the donor, John T. Prince of Boston: "I am in possession of a South Sea Idol, sent to me from the Sandwich Islands, by a friend resident there...As he is actually, 'the last of the gods' on these Islands, I deem him worthy of preservation...Knowing no institution to which it so appropriately belongs as the EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY, of your City, in whose halls the curiosities of distant seas, are so admirably arranged, I beg you would, in their behalf, accept 'his godship,' and give him an abiding place in their Museum." According to Prince, the image was obtained from a Hawaiian chief who intended to destroy the image after converting to Christianity. Prince also stated that the ship's carpenter sawed the image from its eighteen-foot post (Hellmich Scarangelo 1996:73).

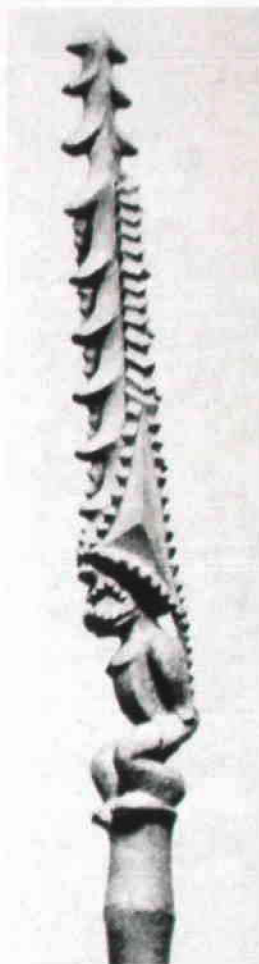
- Hawaiian chiefs often gave ceremonial objects to early explorers and ship captains in trade or as tokens of esteem, which may explain how the Peabody Essex Museum acquired their image (Kaepler 1992:461). The image was included in a special exhibition, dated August–November 1920. The catalogue lists it as an “Idol of ohia (sic) wood (Eugenia malaccensis) from a heiau or temple. Height 6 ft. 7 in. (12071). Gift of John T. Prince in 1846. Frontispiece. Said by donor to be ‘Koila Moku,’ god of medicine” (The Hawaiian Portion of the Polynesian Collections in the Peabody Museum of Salem 1920:12). Much of the Polynesian Collection in the Peabody Essex Museum was given by members of the East India Marine Society and whalers. Prince may have been either one (The Hawaiian Portion of the Polynesian Collections in the Peabody Museum of Salem 1920:7–8).
- This image has been continuously displayed at the Peabody Essex Museum for more than 150 years, with the exception of two loan periods in 1979 and 1997. It is currently on display in the new wing of the museum, opened on June 21, 2003.
- (Cox 1988:121; Kaepler 1993:42; Sipe 2003:18 & 21; (The Hawaiian Portion of the Polynesian Collections in the Peabody Museum of Salem 1920:7–8 & 12; Wagner, Herbst, & Sohmer 1999:14)

Pitt-Rivers Museum



- T7
- (PRXV138)
- From the Beasley Collection
- Acquired from the Blackmore Museum in 1931
- Height: 29 inches
- Provenance: undetermined
- Wood: undetermined; painted or stained black
- (Cox 1988:124)

Pitt-Rivers Museum



- **K8**
- **(PR69.L.36)**
- **Height: 14 inches; height of figure: 8 ½ inches**
- **Provenance: undetermined**
- **Wood: undetermined**
- **(Cox 1988:140–141)**



- K21
- (1936.26.10)
- From C. M. Laing, 1936
- Height: 14 ½ inches; height of figure: 5 ½ inches
- Provenance: undetermined. Collected by Capt. Edward Lawson, owner of whaling ships in South Pacific c. 1800–1820
- Wood: undetermined light-colored wood stained black and polished
- (Cox 1988:147)



- K46
- (A.1891.26)
- Acquired and registered in 1891
- Height: 11 3/8 inches; height of figure: approximately 7 inches
- Provenance: undetermined
- Wood: Eugenia Sp.; either 'ōhi'a 'ai or mountain apple (Eugenia malaccensis) or nīoi (Eugenia Sp. or Eugenia koolauensis), painted or stained black; image is wearing kapa loincloth
- Misc: The image is on display in the permanent gallery of ethnographic art in the Royal Scottish Museum.
- (Cox 1988:158–159; electronic mail from Chantal Knowles and Lesley-Anne Liddiard of the Royal Scottish Museum to Wanda Anae-Onishi 4/28/04; Idiens 1982:17: Pūku'i & Elbert 1971:246)

Private Collections



- K48
- Collection of Alfred J. Ostheimer, Honolulu, Hawai‘i
- Height: 23 3/4 inches; height of figure: 14 3/4 inches
- Provenance: undetermined
- Wood: dark brown wood. Cox surmised that the wood is probably kaula (Alphitonia ponderosa).
- (Cox 1988:159; Pūku‘i & Elbert 1971:112)

Private Collections



- T32
- Collection of Alvin Abrahms, Greenwich, Connecticut.
- Formerly in the collection of Henri Kramer; earlier history unknown
- Height: 51 ½ inches.
- Provenance: undetermined
- Wood: undetermined
- (Cox 1988:196)

Private Collections



- **K59**
- **Collection of Peter Adler, London. Reputed to have been brought to Europe between 1820 and 1830; in possession of a family in Ireland until about 1972. Currently, the image is in the Ulster Museum in Belfast, Ireland.**
- **Height: 20 1/4 inches; height of figure: 13 inches**
- **Provenance: undetermined**
- **Wood: undetermined**
- **(Cox 1988:200; Glover 1994:45))**

Repatriated Images



- K2
- Formerly located at Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i (9067)
- Height: 42 ½ inches; height of figure: 27 1/4 inches
- Provenance: Collected from a burial cave at Honokoa Gulch, Kawaihae, Kohala, Hawai'i, in 1904
- Wood: ‘ōhi‘a lehua (*Metrosideros polymorpha*)
- Misc: The image was included with other objects repatriated to Kanupa burial cave on Hawai'i Island between 1997 and 2003 by Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai'i Nei. Recently, the cave has been looted and presumably, the image was removed as well. (Cox 1988:136–137; Kaeppler 1993:45; Pūku‘i and Elbert 1971:389; Viotti 26, Aug. 2004: B1–B2; Wagner, Herbst, & Sohmer 1999:967)

Repatriated Images



- K3
- Formerly located at Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i (9068)
- Height: 44 inches; height of figure: 27 ½ inches
- Provenance: Collected from Kanupa burial cave at Honokoa Gulch, Kawaihae, Kohala, Hawai'i, in 1904
- Wood: ʻōhiʻa lehua (*Metrosideros polymorpha*)
- The image was included with other objects repatriated to Kanupa burial cave on Hawai'i Island between 1997 and 2003 by Hui Mālama I Nā Kūpuna O Hawai'i Nei. Recently, the cave has been looted and presumably, the image was removed as well.
- (Cox 1988:136–137; Kaeppler 1993:45; Pūku'i and Elbert 1971:389; Viotti 26, Aug. 2004: B1–B2; Wagner, Herbst, & Sohmer 1999:967)

Whereabouts unknown



- **G**
- It was with the Leverian Museum Collection, London, in 1783
- Height: not recorded
- Provenance: undetermined
- Wood: undetermined
- Misc: "... this appears to be a small image of the Kona style, with a high towering and notched crest. Eyes are triangular and within the hair pattern. Similar to K8" (Cox 1988:192).
- Probably collected during the Cook expedition, which was in Hawai'i in 1778 and returned in 1779.
- (Cox 1988:192)

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