



TE WHARE WĀNANGA O
AWANUIĀRANGI

HANGING BY A THREAD
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF KŌKŌ
PU‘UPU‘U ACROSS TIME
AND SPACE

ŌHAI DANIELS
2020

For the Doctor of Philosophy in Indigenous Studies

Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, Whakatāne

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Date: 10 December 2020

Abstract

Often overlooked in a modern world held together with chemical adhesives and mechanical fasteners, cordage making and knot tying is pre-historic knowledge that was critical to all human survival and expansion across the globe. The significance of fiber technology is often overshadowed by the remarkable feats and incredible achievements that humans have accomplished; however, the fact remains, none of it would have been possible without this ancient technology. Indeed, Te Rangi Hīroa's (1930) claim that coconut fiber cord "is the most important single article in Samoan material culture" (p. 236) should include Hawai'i, if not all of Polynesia.

For Kānaka or Native Hawaiians, cordage represented more than just a means of harnessing and navigating the natural world. Knotted nets, and the cord used to tie them, were essential for sustaining life and embodied the virtues of mighty akua (gods), powerful ali'i (chiefs), and a strong society. In addition to the use of cord as a divine symbol of supreme authority, ali'i or chiefs of the highest rank possessed kōkō pu'upu'u or especially tied carry nets which conveyed the kapu or sacred prohibition of the owner.

Considering that these unique objects are found nowhere else in the world, it comes as no surprise that very little has been recorded about their existence. As a valuable contribution to knowledge, this thesis seeks to address this deficiency. The absence of a systematic study examining the social significance of kōkō pu'upu'u is noteworthy, especially in light of the social, political, and religious importance of cordage and knot-work in traditional Hawaiian culture. While the primary rationale for this study is the reclamation and preservation of intangible cultural knowledge, this study also seeks to identify possible origins of kōkō pu'upu'u, as well as the resilience of this practice in the face of widespread cultural loss.

The argument that kōkō pu'upu'u are obsolete fails to explain the primary research question: What is the contemporary relevance of kōkō pu'upu'u? Accordingly, this ethnohistorical examination delves into 'ike kūpuna (ancient knowledge) to better understand the symbolic significance of fiber cordage in traditional Hawaiian society. It further explores the revival and perpetuation of kōkō pu'upu'u by contemporary practitioners in opposition to Western cultural imperialism and the systematic loss of cultural practices and beliefs.

Acknowledgments

‘O ka lau, ‘o ka mano, ‘o ke kini, a me ka lehu... this work reflects the collective efforts of many, for whom I am eternally grateful and deeply indebted. In the process of envisioning this journey, which originated many generations ago, I acknowledge my kūpuna and the ancient knot tiers, whose work continues to honor Kana and inspire pukaula of today. The cord lives in the hands of my fellow kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners, whose endless commitment to reclaim and perpetuate this art was the inspiration for this project. Equally, their generous hospitality and willingness to share their remarkable experiences, steadfast beliefs, and profound philosophies ultimately brought this endeavor to fruition.

For my parents, Paul and Noreen, who never wavered in supporting their youngest child. For instilling the values of education, hard work, and perseverance, which are the foundation and the core of who I am today. For Sheri, my partner, best friend, and trusted companion, always standing alongside me, whatever the endeavor. Without expectation or judgment, you have always encouraged me to pursue my dreams. You are my lifeline, ready to pull me to safety when I am lost or in trouble. I am infinitely grateful to you for your endless love and support.

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Pelā iho a hala a‘e ka ua ka mea maka‘u.

Wait until the thing that is feared, the rain, has gone its way.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 288, #2624)

Dedication

For those who perhaps sacrificed more than anyone else, so that I could realize this accomplishment, I dedicate this thesis to my beloved keiki, Otis Kaleikoaku‘umakanaohā, Angus Kuike‘akipāmaikalā (‘Āpiki), Julia Ohaikawiliula, and Lydia Ilisapeti. You are the future, and I hope to inspire you to treasure knowledge, seek wisdom, and ask questions in pursuit of the truth, and above all else, always kūlia i ka nu‘u!

I mua e nā pōki‘i a inu i ka wai ‘awa‘awa, ‘a‘ole hope e ho‘i aku ai.

Forward, young ones, until you drink the bitter waters, there is no retreat.

(Desha, 2000, p. 255; Pukui, 1983, p. 134, #1237)

Preface

This preface is to situate myself in the theses. From the outset, it also serves to state the context from which I work and why I have undertaken this research. Given the obscure nature of the practice and the scarcity of literature regarding kōkō pu‘upu‘u, I have chosen this space to familiarize the reader with these captivating objects. It also describes what has been my journey to reconnect with the wisdom of my kūpuna (ancestors). Finally, this thesis explores one of the world’s most ancient technologies, the simple union between fiber and friction; knowledge that has evolved into one of the most unique and aesthetically fascinating objects in the Hawaiian culture.

Figure 1:

Traditional Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u



Note. Gourd suspended by traditional kōkō pu‘upu‘u of natural fiber cord. On display at B. P. Bishop Museum. Unknown maker or year of manufacture. Photo taken by the author in 2014.

Figure 2:

Contemporary Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u



Note. Gourd suspended by contemporary kōkō pu‘upu‘u made of cotton fiber cord, gifted to Pūnana Leo o Maui in 2014. Created by ‘Ōhai Daniels in 2014. Photo taken by the author in 2014.

Above are images of two kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Although similar in appearance, these two objects are separated by more than one hundred years of history. The net depicted in Figure 1 is located in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, which houses the most extensive collection of kōkō pu‘upu‘u in existence. Formerly belonging to the highest-ranked chiefs of the kingdom and

intended for their exclusive use, the 107 specimens in the Bishop Museum collection represent the finest and most complex net making skills of ancient Hawai‘i. The kōkō pu‘upu‘u shown in Figure 2 was made in 2014, as a gift to Pūnana Leo o Maui, a Hawaiian language immersion preschool, and is an example of traditional knowledge that, like the Hawaiian language taught at the preschool, was once considered lost and forgotten. Fortunately, both have been reawakened and are embraced as symbols of reclamation and unification.

Further comparison between these kōkō pu‘upu‘u is unnecessary since the focus of this thesis is less about construction techniques and more about their significance to our kūpuna (ancestors). While these objects are a connection to our past, they also represent resilience and resistance. This “lost art” has managed to survive more than 125 years after our last Queen was imprisoned, and the sovereign kingdom Hawai‘i was illegally taken (Sai, 2008; Trask, 1999). Nevertheless, my knowledge as a kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioner is also relevant, as it plays a significant role in the introduction of this topic and my position relative to this research. It is through the lens of a Kanaka¹ practitioner that I approach this thesis and as a way to honor ‘ike kūpuna (ancestral knowledge).

Eia Ka‘u Mo‘olelo.

Here is my story.

Just as a thesis starts before the first word is written, a net begins before the first knot is tied. My first introduction to, and awareness of the existence of kōkō pu‘upu‘u, takes me to a particular time and place. In the summer of 2010, while sitting on an inter-island flight from Maui to O‘ahu, I happened upon the inflight magazine and a short, one-page article entitled *Networker*. In the span of four paragraphs, Roland Gilmore (2010) summed one man’s lifelong love of knots and his 40-year quest to reawaken an ancient craft, that was deemed lost more than one hundred years prior. I vividly recall thinking to myself, “I wouldn’t mind learning how to do that!” However, as I read the last line of the article, I was snapped back to reality.

¹ Kanaka (singular) and Kānaka (plural) is used throughout this document to refer to the Indigenous people who resided in the archipelago of Hawai‘i before 1778 and their descendants today. While the term “Hawaiian” does appear in this document, I have intentionally chosen to use it sparingly, as it is a non-native term that can be misconstrued to include residence by geographic location; in the same way that Californian is used to describe a person residing in the state of California (Kauanui, 2008).

Regarding Hawaiian diacritical marks: Every effort has been made to accurately present Hawaiian words according to conventional spelling rules for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, which include the appropriate use of ‘okina (glottal stop) and kahakō (macron). In some instances, as above, the absence of the kahakō reflects a noun’s singular form; however, on many occasions within this document, the reader will find that diacritical marks have been intentionally omitted, with respect to their appearance in primary source materials or as the original author intended them to appear.

A quote from Valentine Ching Jr., the practitioner being highlighted, “I’ve tried over the last six or eight years to pass this on, but it’s so difficult. There are only lashes and hitches, but it’s very hard teaching knots to people” (Gilmore, 2010, p. 22).

Almost two years later, in the spring of 2012, I would be invited to participate in an invitation-only, three-day net-tying workshop. Only after arriving at our meeting place did I realized that our kumu (teacher) for the weekend was, in fact, the “Networker.” Over the weekend, “Uncle Val” would guide us through the process of cleaning and preparing a variety of ipu (*Lagenaria siceraria*) and the accompanying lashing for each. Kānaka commonly used ipu such as the ‘olo (long gourd) and pōhue (round/bottle gourd) as containers to hold and transport water and were referred to as ‘olowai or huewai (Abbott, 1992). Ipu nui (large gourds) were also cultivated and utilized but primarily as containers for food or other precious belongings (Handy & Handy, 1972). As the weekend passed, it became clear that we would not have time for much more than the basics. Uncle Val had much more to share, and we were enthused to learn, so a second weekend was set.

When our group reconvened two months later, it was clear that not everyone had the same interest in these practices. Uncle Val’s quote concerning the challenge of “teaching knots to others” was evident. Our group had already begun to dwindle, but we moved forward. It was here that we proceeded to learn the foundations of kōkō and how to manipulate the cord. The movement is assisted by the hi‘a kā ‘upena or netting needle, while the hāhā kā ‘upena (net gauge or net spacer) is used to achieve consistent maka ‘upena (net mesh/mesh size).

I ka hale no pau ke a‘o ana.

#1175²

Instructions are completed at home.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 128)

Nothing more than a long string and a series of repetitive knots, the brilliant simplicity of the kōkō pū‘alu conveys an idea that tying these common carry nets is reasonably straightforward. For the most part, this notion is accurate since the most substantial portion of the net involves

² ‘Ōlelo no‘eau or proverbs and poetical sayings are used throughout this document to acknowledge and highlight the depth of ‘ike kūpuna. Unless otherwise noted, ‘ōlelo no‘eau are drawn from the text authored by Mary Kawena Pūku‘i (1983) and include the numerical listing that the author originally used during her cataloging process. While their inclusion throughout this document might be considered unique, if not unconventional, their placement and appearance should not be misconstrued to represent section titles or headings. Instead, they should be regarded as signposts that further inform the reader regarding important themes and ideas, while also adding clarity to parts and stakes of the argument.

somewhat mechanical movements to manipulate the string and form each individual knot. For many, this rudimentary process can be grasped relatively quickly with some explanation, demonstration, and practice. As promising as this sounds, I have yet to meet a novice cord-worker that has not experienced confusion, frustration, or aggravation while learning kā kōkō or tying a kōkō. While dexterity and endurance can develop over time, the reparative motion of consistently tying each knot can be monotonous, especially when the simplest kōkō might require hundreds of individual knots.

Encouraged by everyone's progress, Uncle Val began to introduce us to kā kōkō pu'upu'u³. The remainder of the weekend was spent practicing these new techniques until we were comfortable enough to start our first kōkō pu'upu'u. With only a few hours of the weekend remaining, we all set out to make as much progress as possible. It was our final opportunity to absorb as much information as we could, and before we knew it, our time was up. We finished the workshop with partially completed projects, and as we were cleaning up, Uncle Val suggested that we join him for breakfast before his departure in two days. As I drove home, I committed myself to try and finish my first kōkō pu'upu'u before his departure. Considering my novice skills and the extremely short deadline, it was an ambitious undertaking.

Confident from Uncle Val's instruction, my optimism was also boosted by the writing and illustrations of John F. G. Stokes. The curator of Polynesian Ethnology at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in the early 1900s, one of Stokes' many contributions during that time would be the only Western academic literature about kōkō pu'upu'u. His chapter in William Brigham's (1906) *Mat and basket weaving of the ancient Hawaiians, described and compared with the basketry of the other Pacific Islanders*, includes a detailed account of Hawaiian nets and netting based on the many kōkō in the Museum's collection. Though it does not explain or illustrate how to construct an entire kōkō pu'upu'u, the narrative gives some detail regarding the manufacture, traditional use, and significance of the chiefly nets. I was hopeful that I could complete my task with Uncle Val's teaching and the Stokes document.

Within the first hour, I came to an impasse and was unsure how to proceed. After reviewing my notes and photos from the workshop, I was still unable to find a solution, so I turned to

³ While kā kōkō is the general term for net tying, kā kōkō pu'upu'u refers to the unique techniques and process for tying an embellished carry net reserved for the ali'i.

Stokes. Though his document includes several detailed illustrations and a handful of photographs, none of the images provided a solution. The narrative was of little help as well, and frustration turned to bewilderment as I read, “this essay is intended to place on record this part of the natives’ art now forgotten, and the usefulness of which has entirely ceased” (Stokes, 1906, p. 112).

Focusing on the task, I continued the work of connecting each successive knot, closing each loop, and binding it with the distinctive pu‘upu‘u knot. Throughout the process, my thoughts lingered on Stokes’ words. Claims of “forgotten” and “useless” are labels that Natives have heard since European arrival. Not only affixed to the practices of Kānaka, but these ill-informed labels have been long used to dismiss all aspects of Native culture. Minimizing, condescending, and often degrading, these descriptions would serve as the tools that would ultimately oppress Kānaka, as well as Native, Indigenous, and Aboriginal people.

Clearly, Kānaka had not forgotten and still recognize that there is value in many other Hawaiian practices. Beyond the revitalization of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) and hula, other hana no‘eau (arts and skilled practices) have persisted or been revitalized. From celestial navigation to traditional medicine and healing, woodcarvers, feather workers, and kapa (bark cloth) makers had all managed to find a way to reclaim, reawaken, and perpetuate their arts. Perhaps kōkō pu‘upu‘u should be added to the list? Forty hours and almost 400 knots later, my first kōkō pu‘upu‘u was complete and would push me to consider what Stokes’ narrative would look like if it had been written by one of my kūpuna? What ‘ike did they have that a haole might not be privy to, or even understand? Finishing that first kōkō pu‘upu‘u is not the end of the mo‘olelo (story/narrative). It marked the beginning of a much longer personal journey to explore and understand the relationship between the practice of kōkō pu‘upu‘u and the intangible cultural knowledge that is embedded in these unique cultural objects.

In the years that followed, I continued working alone, honing my mechanical skill as a practitioner. Besides tying thousands of pu‘upu‘u knots and experimenting with different ways of manipulating the cord, I worked to replicate many of the knots illustrated in Stokes’ document. When the opportunity presented itself, I looked for evidence of kōkō pu‘upu‘u and the unique knot that is synonymous with the practice. This involved exploring places like Scotland, Ireland, and England; Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan; Guam, Palau, and Fiji, as

well as Aotearoa, Tahiti, and Rapa Nui. While the search continues, I have not found any evidence of the pu‘upu‘u knot outside of Hawai‘i.

While it has been fulfilling to consider that kōkō pu‘upu‘u may not exist anywhere else in the world, I also began to question the appropriateness of this ancient craft in the face of significant cultural changes. If these chiefly objects were only reserved for ali‘i of the highest rank, was I disrespecting my kūpuna by giving them to someone not of ali‘i class? What is my responsibility to a kōkō pu‘upu‘u that I make, and to those that might receive one? And finally, how should I respond if someone offers to purchase one from me? Though none of my kōkō pu‘upu‘u were made for personal profit, I have always felt a profound responsibility to ensure that whoever receives a kōkō pu‘upu‘u, would honor and care for it. For the few that I have gifted, I have only done so under exceptional circumstances and when my na‘au (intuition) felt that it was appropriate.

Unfortunately, most Kānaka are unaware that kōkō pu‘upu‘u ever existed. Through no fault of their own, it is especially frustrating when first impressions privilege macramé and other Western fiber arts. However, it is intriguing that once these misconceptions are corrected, genuine curiosity and interest are expressed toward this obscure part of Kānaka culture. Many express a desire to learn kā kōkō for themselves. It is in these teachable moments that I realized that beyond the object, kōkō pu‘upu‘u are profoundly connected to a wealth of history, culture, and knowledge.

‘A‘ohe pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho‘okāhi.

#203

All knowledge is not taught in the same school.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 24)

My cultural awareness and personal growth would be further catapulted in the spring of 2017. ‘Aha Kāne⁴ had organized a project to study ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) acquisition through hana no‘eau. Their intentions were to assemble a small cohort of Kānaka on Kaua‘i, O‘ahu, and Maui; where each group would make a year-long commitment to learning ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i through traditional practice.

⁴ ‘Aha Kāne is a foundation whose mission is to strengthen the the Native Hawaiian community through nurturing and perpetuating the traditional male roles and responsibilities that contribute to the physical, mental, spiritual, and social well-being of Native Hawaiian males, their families, and communities.

Whereas ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i has already been a part of our household, it was the hana no‘eau that prompted me to apply to be a part of the Maui cohort. Hawaiian knowledge holder, Kumu Hula, and award-winning entertainer, Keali‘i Reichel, would be teaching the group kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u. While Keali‘i and I were familiar with each other’s work, this was a unique opportunity to engage with a prominent cultural authority, and I could not let it pass. I would be one of eight kāne (men) accepted into the cohort, which would not only grow into an eighteen-month project but lifelong friendships. Although only five haumāna (students) were able to see it through to completion, the experience transformed my understanding of kōkō pu‘upu‘u while also providing me an opportunity to gain a deeper understanding of the sacred relationship our kūpuna had with these remarkable objects.

Beyond providing a starting point and some background, there are several reasons for retelling this mo‘olelo. First, I am a product of many people, places, relationships, and experiences. Each encounter influences and shapes me as a person, Kanaka, practitioner, and researcher. This mo‘olelo also reveals a personal and theoretical connection to the research. Fundamentally kā kōkō is the application of hīpu‘upu‘u or tying one thing to another (Andrews, 1922).

The Value of Mo‘olelo

Ho‘omoe wai kāhi ke kāo‘o.

#1102

Let all travel together like water flowing in one direction.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 118)

All Native⁵ people store and transfer knowledge through their stories. We are storytellers, whose mo‘olelo is woven into the continuous and inter-connected narrative of all humankind. The mo‘olelo of my kūpuna is a composition that has formed over millennia. Each time one of their stories is recalled and retold, it becomes further entwined into the twisted fibers that connect and tie each and every one of us together. As each new story takes shape, another strand is twisted into the ever-lengthening kaula⁶ that continues to grow stronger. Firmly anchored by the secure grip of each one of my ancestors, I hear them chanting in unison. Softly

⁵ The use of this term is meant to be inclusive of all Indigenous, Aboriginal, Indian, Canadian Indian, Inuit, Native American, Status, non-status, Metis, and First nations groups, tribes, nations, and people.

⁶ Kaula is the general term for cordage and rope of all types and commonly refers to any kind of cord, string, line, and strap (Malo, 1951). While Western terminology commonly distinguishes cord and rope based on diameter or circumference, Kānaka make this distinction based on fiber material. ‘Aha typically refers to twisted (hilo) or braided (hili) cord made with coconut fiber, human hair, or animal intestine. Aho refers to cord made with all other fibers (Pukui & Elbert, 1986a; Summers, 1990).

at first, then louder, as I am slowly pulled from doubt and uncertainty. Grounded by the ‘ike of my kūpuna, I take my place, retelling their mo‘olelo, while writing my own. Pulling and chanting in unison...

I ku mau mau!	One:	Stand together!
I ku wa!	All:	Stand and shout!
 I ku mau mau!	 One:	 Stand together!
I ku hulu hulu!		Haul with all your might!
I ka lanawao!		Under the mighty trees!
 I ku wa!	 All:	 Stand and Shout!
I ku lanawao!	One:	Stand among the tall forest trees!
 Iku wa!	 All:	 Stand, Shout!
Iku wa! huki!		Shout, Shout, Pull!
Iku wa! ko!		Shout, Shout, Push!
Iku wa a mau!		Stand in place push!
A mau ka eulu!		Push branches and all
E Huki, e!		Pull!
Kulia!		Strive!

(Adapted from Emerson in Malo, 1951, p. 186)

He ‘o ‘ia ka mea hāwāwā e ka he‘e nalu.

#855

The unskilled surfrider falls back into the water.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 93)

In the same way that many knotted intersections can change a single length of cord into a skillfully tied net, the interlacing of many experiences and interactions form this mo‘olelo (story/narrative). In a metaphorical sense, this collective network of relationships is a kōkō pu‘upu‘u, which has become the research framework. Not only does this process frame the research space, but it also establishes how this research is undertaken, by whom, and for what purpose. While kōkō pu‘upu‘u might define, and frame the research paradigm, it is also grounded by Kanaka ‘Ōiwi⁷ methodologies and theory.

As the author and storyteller of this thesis, I have deliberately chosen to begin this narrative with a brief introduction of myself and my motivation. Though I feel that the preceding pages meet this objective, this thesis is also intended to tell the mo‘olelo of others. While their journeys are revealed in future chapters, I have elected to use the next chapter to formally introduce the topic of this thesis and outline the chapters.

⁷ The terms “Kanaka,” “Kanaka ‘Ōiwi,” “Kanaka Maoli,” “‘Ōiwi Maoli,” “Hawaiian,” and “Native Hawaiian” are used interchangeably to describe the Indigenous people of Kō Hawaii Pae ‘Aina or the Hawaiian Archipelago (Wright & Balutski, 2015).

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Section One: Ho‘opō‘ai ka Pō‘aha

Encircle the Base

Noho ana ke Akua i ka nāhelehele
I ālai ‘ia e ke kī‘ohu‘ohu e ka uakoko,
‘O nā kino malu i ka lani, malu ē hō ē.
E ho‘oulu ana ke Akua i kona mau kahu.
‘O mākou nō, mākou nō, mākou nō ē ā ē
Ua ‘ikea!

This traditional oli or chant is a request for permission to enter where the god of the forest resides. It is also where plants flourish, many of which provide the fibers for making cordage. An appeal for inspiration and protection, it also reveals the intentions of those that frequent the forest; that we will gather with respect and care for the source that nourishes our craft. Like the plants that give life to the craft, they provide a stable pō‘aha (foundation, base), and as such, it is aptly placed here at the beginning of this thesis journey.

Chapter One

He Ho‘olauna — An Introduction to the Thesis

I Kahiki no ka hao, o ke ki‘o ana i Hawai‘i nei.

#1179

In Kahiki was the iron; in Hawai‘i the rusting.

Perhaps the foreigner was a good person while he was at home,
but here he grows careless with his behavior.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 128)

Tragically, the arrival of the first European Explorers to Hawai‘i in 1778 had overwhelmingly negative consequences. An unfortunate reality shared by most, if not all Native people, who were caught in the path of enlightened discovery and righteous conquest. Characteristic of foreign contact, introduced disease lead to massive depopulation. Following the tragic loss of life came religious indoctrination and economic exploitation, all of which would ultimately lead to conquest and oppression through cultural imperialism and illegal occupation⁸. All would contribute to the systematic loss of language, cultural beliefs, and traditional practices. For Kānaka, each of these devastating events would contribute to the eventual collapse and abandonment of the kapu (religious) system in 1819, and ultimately bring an end to the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893.

Disconnected Narrative

While Kānaka worked to counteract the cultural genocide that was occurring, haole interests placed great urgency on collecting and preserving evidence of the dying culture (Stokes, 1906). Ironically, in the span of one hundred years, the “artificial curiosities” that were once proof of a thriving society were now “artifacts” of a vanishing people. Founded in 1889, The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum became the principal repository for many of the Hawaiian Kingdom’s most significant treasures (Kamehiro, 2009). Beyond collecting artifacts, the Museum’s mission of cultural preservation also fostered ethnographic and anthropological field research.

⁸ Consistent with Kānaka scholars Kamanamaikalani Beamer, Keanu Sai (2008), and Kanalu Young (1998), the writer agrees with their suggestion that “occupation” is the preferred term to describe post-1893 Hawai‘i, where the political circumstances have been interpreted as vastly different from those of colonization. Governed by the principles of international law, occupation describes a situation where one independent state has seized control or governance within the territory of another state, and perhaps most importantly, occupations are regarded as not permanent.

The research narratives of the time reflect the Eurocentric worldview characterized by the notion of European superiority over non-Europeans and placing Europe at the center of invention, history, and progress (Battiste & Henderson, 2017; Little Bear, 2011; Norris, 2014).

As a Kanaka and practitioner, I felt that it is my kuleana (responsibility) to validate truths, address unsubstantiated assumptions, and refute unfounded conclusions in these narratives. At present, there are fewer than a dozen individuals who can tie kōkō pu‘upu‘u and even fewer actively applying their skill. With few practitioners and even less documentation, this unique Indigenous art-form has faced the constant threat of vanishing for over one hundred years. The research described in this thesis also focuses on the dilemma facing the preservation of cultural knowledge and the advancement of Indigenous cultural practices.

Aim and Research Questions

This research examined ‘ike kūpuna (ancestral knowledge) in an attempt to identify the relationships between kōkō pu‘upu‘u and the intangible cultural knowledge of pre-contact Hawaiian society. This thesis also explores the role of kōkō pu‘upu‘u in contemporary Hawaiian culture, which, in the face of significant social changes, has impacted current beliefs and practices. The overall aim of this study is, therefore, two-fold. The first was to gain a better understanding of ancient kōkō pu‘upu‘u construction. This objective was accomplished by locating and examining kōkō pu‘upu‘u outside of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum collection. In addition to compiling origin and acquisition history, physical examinations provided an opportunity to further photograph and catalog each kōkō pu‘upu‘u for later analysis. The second aim of this study was to examine the relationship that exists between contemporary kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners and the product of their labor. One-on-one interviews explored each practitioner’s understanding of kōkō pu‘upu‘u and their assessment of preservation and perpetuation of the practice.

To achieve the aims described above, this researcher sought to answer the following questions:

1. What kōkō pu‘upu‘u artifacts exist outside of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Collection, and to what degree of variation in size, style, and materials?
2. What intangible cultural knowledge is preserved and perpetuated through the contemporary practice of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u or tying kōkō pu‘upu‘u?

Approach to the Research Question

A thesis is essentially the presentation of a question that can be addressed in several ways. While Western research methods prefer linear logic that seeks to identify a problem, compare and contrast sets of data or collected ideas, and offer solutions, Indigenous research methods, in general, favor a more organic and relational approach (Kovach, 2005, 2009; Oliveira & Wright, 2015; L. T. Smith, 2013). The sharing of mo‘olelo and gathering of ideas occurs through kūkākūkā (conversation, talk-story) and alo i ke alo (face to face) interaction. This process foregrounds relationships and experiences, allowing open engagement between the researcher and the researched on equal terms. The honoring of the relationships that develop allows the knowledge to happen more organically, as opposed to being predetermined and spelled out explicitly (J. N. Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua & Ka‘ōpua, 2007; Lee-Morgan, 2019).

As a novice researcher, this has become an opportunity to examine cultural reclamation through exceptional objects as well as the unique journey of kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners. Kōkō pu‘upu‘u themselves are a rich source of ‘ike Hawai‘i that not only tell us about how our kūpuna lived, but give great insight about their thoughts, beliefs, and values. On the other hand, practitioners possess a passion for their culture, and this is an opportunity to understand how this knowledge has transformed their understanding of what it means to be a Kanaka in modern-day Hawai‘i. This research is both a valuable contribution to knowledge and a unique opportunity to explore what it means to live as a kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioner. Although there are only a few of these unique practitioners, five contribute to this research and share what it means to them to be a cultural knowledge holder. They offer a way to think about reclamation and restoration of cultural knowledge, alongside the complexities and challenges faced by Kanaka in contemporary society. Their ‘ike affirms that Kānaka can connect and interact with cultural knowledge, while at the same time protecting it from the demands of capitalism and commodification.

It is not the intention of this research to define, identify, problematize, or solve what it means to be a Kanaka or contemporary kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioner. If a problem exists, it is the conflict between traditional beliefs and practices in the face of foreign occupation, oppression, and capitalism. This research seeks to address the reclamation of a narrative that simultaneously exploits and dismisses Kānaka by romanticizing our culture and trivializing our beliefs. Before we can resolve the conflict, we must reflect on the problem of privileging the

non-Native perspective. As critical theorist and educator Paulo Freire, discusses in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2018):

Functionally, oppression is domesticating. To no longer prey on its force, one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it. (Freire, 2018, p. 51)

By allowing the colonizer's voice to dominate the narrative, that perspective becomes accepted as truth, and domination becomes the accepted reality. In emerging from this reality, Freire (1993) furthers the notion that the transformative process that results from thinking and doing, not only changes our perception of reality but impacts our tangible reality as well:

We learn things about the world by acting and changing the world around us. It is this process of change, of transforming the material world from which we emerged, where the creation of the cultural and historical world takes place. This transformation of the world was done by us while it makes and remakes us... (pp. 107–108)

In essence, Freire's transformative praxis seeks a shift in consciousness. In as much as we manipulate our physical world, we transform ourselves and our perceived realities. In the case of kōkō pu'upu'u, each successive knot changes the cord and imparts mana or spiritual energy into the physical object. It is this intangible mana that connects us to the mo'olelo and the 'ike of our kūpuna. Additionally, kōkō pu'upu'u often become receptacles for the cherished mea makamae or treasures, and as these heirlooms pass from one generation to the next, more mana accumulates. It is through this process that the mo'okū'auhau (genealogy) and mo'olelo are preserved and perpetuated.

Ancestral Knots: Contextualizing the Research

Knot tying is ancient knowledge that more than likely predates the making of fiber cordage and rope. It is intuitive knowledge that is demonstrated by weaver birds, primates, and even young children who, without instruction, can form basic knots (Herzfeld & Lestel, 2005, 2016). Animals like the ball python (*Python Regius*), the hagfish (*Myxini*), and the moray (*Muraenidae*) eel can manipulate their bodies into overhand and figure-eight knots. It is often done to help them shed old skin, for self-defense, or to escape from predators (Barley et al., 2016; Pennisi, 2017; J. C. Turner & Van DeGriend, 1996).

The earliest humans would have tied vines and sinew to create tools and shelter. Those simple tasks grew indispensable knowledge that allowed the human race to accomplish many, if not all, of our most outstanding achievements. Beyond binding and lashing, all cultures and

civilizations have relied on cords and knots for many practical functions. Pre-dating written language, knotted cords served as tools for measuring, teaching, and storytelling. As mnemonic memory devices, they recorded significant personal and historical events and ensured accuracy when the information needed to be recalled (J. C. Turner & Van DeGriend, 1996). Perhaps the best-known example of these “talking knots” are the quipu (khipu, kipu), developed and used by the ancient Inca of Peru. Comprised of multiple knotted and colored threads, it is theorized that each elaborate cord systematically recorded statistical and accounting data. Secured to a central horizontal rope, the knotted threads preserved the information in chronological sequence from season to season. Once collected and archived, the generation-spanning narratives could be recalled at any time (Salomon, 2013).

The practice of using knots for record-keeping was not exclusive to the Indigenous Inca of South America. One account by Daniel Tyerman (1832), an early Christian missionary who visited Hawai‘i between 1821 and 1829, describes an event where he observed a Kanaka tie knots onto a rope, which was estimated to be four hundred fathoms long. Witnessed during the season that taxes were being collected, Tyerman reckoned that each sequence of knots recorded what was collected from the individual. He further speculated that it was then feasible for the revenue agent to distinguish and identify the tax collected from district to district (Jacobson, 1983).

Cultures around the world have long associated knots with sacred symbolism attached to religious practices, medicine, magic, and mythology. Decorative knots developed in ancient China are said to symbolize longevity and eternity and continue to be used to symbolize luck, bring good fortune, and ward off evil (Guangdan, 2012). In Korea, knots at weddings represent aristocratic success and are said to bring wealth to the newlyweds (Lee & Yi, 2005). In Japan, mizuhiki artists spin rice paper into cord. The cord is then used to embellish and impart special meaning on stationary and given away at weddings, births, and funerals (Kawauchi & Yanagimoto, 2012; Nagata, 2015).

In the West, images of braided cord and knots are found throughout Europe, Russia, and Ethiopia. Believed to have originated as ancient religious symbols from pagan traditions, the entwined elements would eventually make their way into Roman mosaics, which, in turn, are said to have inspired Irish Celtic knots (Trilling, 2003). European sailors, whose livelihood greatly depended on knots, would pass the time on long voyages, tying, splicing, and weaving

rope and string. Perfecting their craft of fancy cord work, the articles produced would serve as resumes of their skill (Ashley, 1993). Additionally, many seafarers had strong-held beliefs that specially tied knots were good luck charms that could ward off evil spirits. Still, others would collect specially tied knots from soothsayers, believing that when the knot was untied, it could call the winds to fill their empty sails (Day, 1957).

In the Pacific, survival, and expansion would have been impossible without this knowledge. A fact that becomes remarkably evident when we consider that traditional Polynesian groups relied on plant fibers for more than eighty percent of material culture items they produced (Kirch & Green, 2001). Meaning that just about every aspect of ancient Polynesian life was made possible, more efficient, or more convenient with cord and knots. To illustrate this, consider the seemingly simple act of getting a fish for a meal. Without any string, cord, or rope at your disposal, a single fish can still be *killed* by piercing it with a sharpened stick, striking it with a skillfully thrown stone, or crushed by hitting it with a rock or similar heavy object. This practice would need to be repeated until the desired number of fish are acquired. However, for each failed attempt, the individual must retrieve the spear, select another stone, or reset rock-fall for another attempt, a process that might require multiple attempts for each individual fish. The time and energy exerted could be counter-productive to the amount of protein obtained, especially if an entire day's work has left the hunter with nothing to show for their effort. This scenario changes dramatically when the hunter has access to some kind of cordage. A simple snare or a rudimentary trap can be tied with a reasonable length of cord, and a net can be fashioned if cordage of significant length is available. The addition of a rudimentary hook creates an opportunity to catch a fish without having to get wet. More efficient and less wasteful, it then becomes possible to *catch* fish individually or net several fish with much less effort. Even the novice angler can elect to release an undesirable catch or opt to use it as live bait, bettering the chances of landing a more substantial meal.

Finally, let us not forget the simple reality that crossing thousands of miles of open ocean would be virtually impossible without cord, regardless of the means of oceanic travel. Even if we were to take a moment and entertain Heyerdahl's drift theory, the construction of Kon Tiki required large amounts of lashing material to stabilize the craft and keep it afloat. Likewise, all ocean-going sailing vessels, including the Hawaiian wa'a (canoe), require rope to trim their sails. As Hawaiian artist, craftsman and philosopher, Sam Kaha'i Ka'ai states:

“Except that a man make cordage, the lā‘au [wood] would not be pa‘a [secure] to the ko‘i [adz] and the canoe could never be born.

Except a man make cordage, the ‘iako [outrigger] could not be tied to the wa‘a and the canoe would huli [overturn] and we would never have come.

Except that a man make cordage, the women would have to sleep under trees and in the caves, and so, in a land where there are no nuts and bolts, screws and nails, the world is tied together with cordage.” (Lander & Lander, 1987)

Ka‘ai’s quote highlights the fundamental importance of cordage not only to Kānaka but to all human civilization. Unfortunately, most archaeological evidence of early cord manufacturing and use is speculative. Naturally perishable over time, the plant fibers used to make cord and rope have a high rate of decay, and decomposition is only accelerated when the fibers are exposed to moisture and other environmental elements (Cameron, 2012). Under these circumstances, archeologists have had to rely on clues left on harder, more stable materials in trying to determine how our ancient ancestors worked and used the fibers. Unnatural perforations found in ancient stone, tooth, bone, and shell artifacts suggest these items were strung or tied together. On the other hand, abrasion and wear marks often suggest lashing and reveal where the cord had repeatedly passed over the hard surface. A piece of mammoth ivory excavated from Hohle Fels Cave in southwestern Germany in 2015 is one such example. Researchers suggest that perforations in the ivory, along with wear patterns and concentric marks on the inner surface of the holes, are evidence of rope-making having been practiced 40,000 years ago (de Lazaro, 2016). In another cave in southern France, fragments of unnaturally twisted fibers suggest that Neanderthal inhabitants of Abri du Maras, manufactured string more than 90,000 years ago (Hardy et al., 2013). Considering that experts believe the wheel came into existence about 5500 years ago (Bellis, 2019), these twisted fibers predate the earliest evidence of the wheel by over 84,000 years.

Even in the absence of direct archeological evidence, the influence that cord and knots have on our social world becomes more apparent when considering how frequently we reference fiber materials in everyday language. Often appearing as idioms or used metaphorically, we regularly take for granted phrases that reflect how cord ties our mundane and social worlds together. Phrases like: the world on a string, pulling some strings, no strings attached, spin a yarn, hanging by a thread, threading the needle, showing and learning the ropes, at the end of one’s rope, getting roped in, on the ropes, tow a line, hand a line, drop a line, end of the line,

cut their line, cut the cord, tying up loose ends, fit to be tied, my hands are tied, tying the knot, tied up in knots, cast a wide net, slipped through the net, networking, and the internet are embedded reminders of the significance of rope, knots and nets. The Gordian knot is another historical reference that was claimed to be impossible to untie. It is said that Alexander the Great untied it with his sword and has come to represent an appreciation for simple solutions that can resolve seemingly impossible challenges (Devlin, 2001). Today we have Knot Theory, which examines knots in a theoretical sense. The theory is used to conceptualize and understand the topology and the particular relation of structures and formative properties of knots formed by closed loops (Crowell & Fox, 2012).

Figurative, abstract, and intangible knots aside, the practical use of ropes, knots, and nets continue to play a primary role in infinite ways throughout worldwide industries and occupations today. Sailors, stevedores, and any person associated with boats and watercraft are high on the list, but also consider the knots used in construction, transportation, manufacturing, and service trades. Many of these professions have existed for hundreds of years. In that time, many specialized knots and methods for tying them were developed. Unique to these industries, the knots and tying techniques are an efficient way to accomplish the work while also serving as emblems of their industry that are still recognized today (Ashley, 1993).

As morbid as it might be, perhaps the best example of the association between knot and vocation is the relationship between the executioner and the noose. While the American states of New Hampshire and Washington still have provisions for execution by gallows (NH Rev Stat § 630:1, 2014; RCW 10.95, 2019), we are fortunate that the vast majority of knots have more practical applications for the preservation of life. Whether we are discussing safety lines or locking stitches, knots permeate our physical world. While knots continue to evolve, new tying techniques for tying them are being developed. Arthroscopic surgery is just one example of surgeons continuing to develop new techniques to tie microscopic sutures on veins and nerves deep within the body. Amazingly, the stitches and knots are not tied with their fingers but remotely with the help of technology and specially designed instruments (Parada et al., 2017).

It is hard to dismiss the fact that advancements in exploration, construction, and mastery of the environment, would not have been achieved if not for the knowledge of cord making and knot tying. Setting the stage for this thesis, the reader should be acquainted with some fundamental

terminology relating to cordage and knot tying. Essentially, cordage can be produced from just about any fibrous material with medium to long strands that are malleable enough to be manipulated without breaking. Regardless of the source, natural or synthetic fibers are typically twisted or spun until a strand, thread, or yarn is formed. When multiple strands are combined and further twisted, or twinned, a cord is formed; further twisting of multiple cords produces rope (Turner & Griend, 1996).

While identifying cord and rope by diameter or thickness is most common, cordage is also distinguishable by the direction of twist imparted during the manufacturing process. When twinning, distinctive patterns are formed by the fiber strands, which appear to slope or travel either to the left or right. When oriented vertically, strands that appear to descend diagonally from right to left, are known right-hand or “Z” twisted cord. In contrast, left-hand or “S” twisted cord is produced when twisted fibers are oriented in the opposite direction, descending from left to right (Summers, 1990). Although superficial to most, it is necessary to distinguish these characteristics since a cord’s size and twist can impact the strength, stiffness, and other physical qualities of the rope and knot while being tied (Milne & J. McLaren, 2006).

In addition to twisted cord, braiding produces useable cord and rope, typically described by the number of “ply” or strands intertwined through the braiding process. Three is the fewest number of strands to accomplish this and produces a characteristically flat braid. With the interweaving of a greater number of strands, cord and rope of varying thicknesses and profiles is produced. Furthermore, while cord and rope of varying diameters and lengths can be obtained, its usefulness is limited without a means of harnessing its virtues and inherent qualities. Ultimately, for string, cord, and rope to reach its full potential, a certain amount of manipulation must occur. Borrowing the analogy from Kris DeDecker (2010) of the online magazine *Low-Tech*: “if ropes are considered the hardware, knots would be the software.” While a computer might work with just a few lines of code, its usefulness grows exponentially as the programmer adds more lines or more complex code. The same can be said for cord and knots.

Basic nets appear to have developed in antiquity and have been used throughout most of human history. Whether for hunting and gathering, or transport and storage of goods, basic net construction appears in every culture and continues to be used today; a fact that is especially evident in Oceanic cultures, where dependence on the ocean is critical for survival. Knotted

cord and nets have also served numerous other utilitarian purposes. In Hawai‘i, for example, Kānaka used knotted nets as educational tools for teaching celestial navigation, and special cords served important functions in religious ceremonies while also gave meaning to myths and proverbs (Malo, 1951).

Kānaka typically classified nets into two categories. ‘Upena, depicted in Figure 3, are snaring nets used to capture fish or birds for food or feathers. ‘Upena are typically classified by their use, size, and shape, as well as what they are designed to capture. The second type of net, as seen in Figure 4, are kōkō which are carrying nets, made of a variety of natural fiber cord. These “bag” nets fulfilled a multitude of practical functions and allowed items to be carried and moved efficiently while also providing a level of protection and cleanliness when suspended off the ground.

Figure 3

‘Upena kiloi for fishing



Note. Unknown photographer (ca.1912). Kanaka using throw net to catch fish at Pa‘ia, Maui.
Courtesy: Kamehameha Schools
Bishop Estate Archives.

Figure 4

Transporting gourds suspended by kōkō pū‘alu



Note. Bryan, W.A. (ca.1915). Traditional way of transporting goods using gourds suspended by loose nets.
Source:<http://www.donch.com/images/LULH/Nhist/nh12.jpg>

Kōkō are further divided and distinguished by the social status of the owner. Kōkō pū‘alu

(slack/loose net) are plain meshed carrier nets, tied with simple knots and had a bare appearance, as seen in Figures 4 and 5. Essentially, a modification of the ‘upena, these nets were used by all segments of society and shared among the maka‘āinana (general citizens) who made up the working class within traditional Hawaiian society. In contrast, kōkō pu‘upu‘u were specialty nets, exclusive to ruling class ali‘i (chiefs) of the highest-ranked. This particular class of nets are constructed with various natural fiber cords. As seen in Figure 6, these nets were also embellished with complicated knots, further setting them apart from all other nets in Hawai‘i and throughout Polynesia (Stokes, 1906).

Figure 5

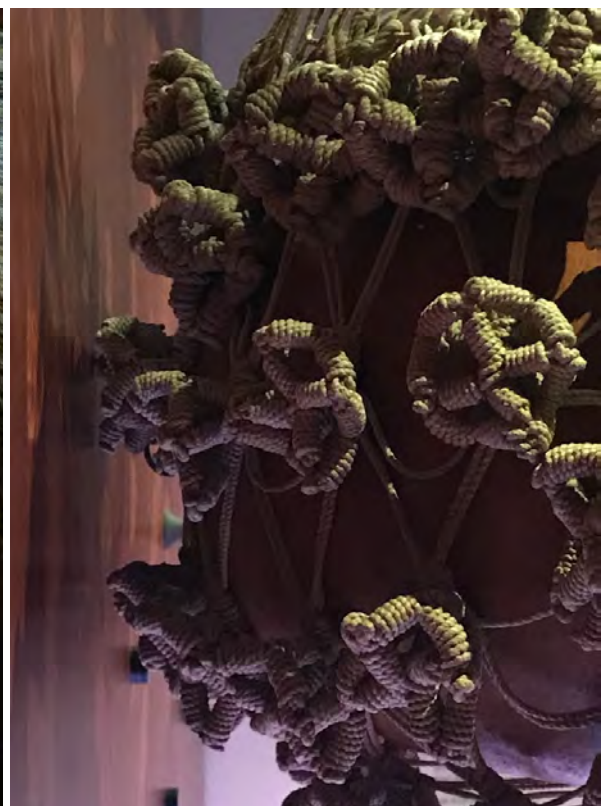
Gourds suspended by kōkō pū‘alu



Note. Unknown maker or date of manufacture. Traditional storage with gourds suspended by kōkō pū‘alu on display at the B. P. Bishop Museum, O‘ahu. Photo taken by the author in 2014.

Figure 6

Elaborate kōkō pu‘upu‘u reserved for ali‘i



Note. Unknown maker, date of manufacture. Detail of elaborately knotted kōkō pu‘upu‘u on display at the B. P. Bishop Museum, O‘ahu. Photo taken by the author in 2014.

Construction of kōkō pu‘upu‘u required proficient aptitude in net making, as well as specialized knot-tying skill. These nets were created and cared for by trusted kahu (honored attendants), whose final product was highly distinctive and signified the property of the ali‘i. Kōkō pu‘upu‘u are unique to the Hawaiian archipelago. Neither the archeological or ethnographic record has yet to identify comparable nets anywhere else in the Pacific or the

world (Stokes, 1906). While uniqueness and rarity make kōkō pu‘upu‘u a prime topic for study, the lack of literature, minimal documentation, and scarcity of practitioners, amplifies both its significance and urgency.

Overview of the Thesis

The rationale behind this thesis is grounded in preserving specific traditional cultural knowledge while challenging the common Western belief that Indigenous beliefs are irrelevant and dismissible. The reclamation and preservation of Indigenous knowledge is an opportunity to know one’s culture and to perpetuate the values and traditions that contribute to our unique worldview. Therefore, in this first chapter, I introduce kōkō pu‘upu‘u as an object that is uniquely Hawaiian in both its construction and practical function. The assertion that these nets are no longer significant does not take into account that kōkō pu‘upu‘u continue to be produced by a small number of practitioners today. This chapter frames this thesis through my mo‘olelo of learning kōkō pu‘upu‘u and questions raised in light of Western perspectives. Though the primary rationale for this study is the preservation of Indigenous cultural knowledge, my experiences have led me to theorize a relationship between practitioner and kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

Chapter two discusses and validates na‘auao Hawai‘i (Hawaiian enlightenment) and all processes and practices that are, without compromise, positive expressions of Kānaka. This research seeks to distinguish Western scholarship from ‘ike Kānaka or Hawaiian ways of knowing, and is a positive approach to promoting cultural identity while reversing the negative effects of colonization⁹ and cultural imperialism. With this foundation in place, I detail the unique methodology developed and employed in this research. Specifically, I illuminate Kā ‘A‘aha research methodology as a Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodology that is more than merely looking at research from an Indigenous perspective, but is grounded in an Indigenous paradigm.

⁹ While the terms “colonization” and “colonized” and are used within this document, their use is consistent with the writings of Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (1986), who describes “colonization of the mind,” as the process by which people become disconnected from their own language, worldview, and epistemologies, and regard their traditions in a negative sense. When traditional values are replaced with the beliefs and ideologies most valued by the colonizer, a dialectic relationship is formed between the colonizer and the colonized. Similar social processes may have occurred after the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i in 1893; however, the writer is hesitant to rely on colonial discourse due to political implications for the Hawaiian Kingdom under international law (Beamer, 2014; Sai, 2008; Young, 1998).

To best answer the research questions, this study employed qualitative research methods which align and respect Indigenous perspectives and beliefs. The Kā ‘A‘aha research methodology incorporated semi-structured interviews, observations, and historical research. Examination and physical comparisons of kōkō pu‘upu‘u are also included in this research. However, since much of the quantitative data has already been recorded, the primary focus of these examinations was to gather aesthetical information and to clarify mechanical techniques used at the time of their manufacture. The approach was inductive and based on the overarching theory that despite the impact of Western cultural imperialism, this tradition has persisted and remained relatively unchanged.

Chapter Three, Ku‘u Ēwe is the first of four literature chapters and honors the ēwe or origins of Kānaka and ultimately the sources of their ‘ike. The chapter briefly familiarizes the reader with leading theories regarding the migratory history of the Hawaiian people and traditional epistemological concepts of knowledge held by Kānaka. Central to Kānaka philosophies of knowledge is the fusion of ancestral practices and understanding in a modern context (Oliveira, 2015). While Western perspectives strive to separate tangible from intangible and empirical from theoretical, Hawaiian cosmogony acknowledges the connection and interrelation between the physical and non-physical realms as well as spiritual and secular. From this perspective, terms like ‘ohana (family) include physical and spiritual family, mo‘olelo acknowledge mythology as non-fiction, and nā akua (gods), kupua (deities), and ‘aumākua (deified ancestors) as having many kino lau (many physical and spiritual forms). This Kanaka epistemology sets the framework for a uniquely Indigenous study. It presents an understanding of kōkō pu‘upu‘u and its cultural significance through the paradigm and lens of practitioners. ‘Ike Kānaka privileges Hawaiian in all aspects of this study and is examined through the lens of Indigenous cosmogony and mo‘okū‘auhau, mana, and mo‘olelo.

Chapter Four surveys cultural literature that pertains to the second migratory period in Kānaka history with a focus on the advancement of cordage through historical events. Entitled Ku‘u Piko (Beloved Navel), this chapter examines the greater mo‘okū‘auhau of ‘aha (cordage) by exploring the role that ‘aha plays in mo‘olelo, mele, pule, and ‘ōlelo no‘eau. From this mo‘okū‘auhau, we develop a clearer understanding of the elevated status of cordage as a piko (focal point) in Hawaiian society.

Chapter Five examines the traditional relationships between ‘aha and mana (power); that is,

how the physical attributes of cordage became an expression of power for the ali'i class. Entitled Ku'u Iwi (Beloved Bones), this chapter examines the cord as a physical representation of divine power by Hawaiian elite. While 'aha is essential to almost every aspect of Hawaiian material culture, it also represents one of the most powerful metaphors for political and religious strength, thus binding society together (Kikiloi, 2012). This chapter demonstrates how ali'i transformed 'aha from a mundane article into a sacred object that embodied the divine.

Chapter Six is the final literature chapter and focuses on Western accounts and narratives regarding kōkō pu'upu'u. A portion of this chapter discusses the impact of cultural imperialism and its contribution to the abandonment of Native practices, religious and political beliefs. Modern archeological evidence discovered during the contemporary period is briefly considered as well as a discussion regarding the persistent practice of kā kōkō pu'upu'u into the modern-day.

Chapter Seven is the first of three empirical chapters, which reports findings from artifact examinations at five separate institutions in the United Kingdom, North America, and Hawai'i. Physical examination and comparisons of kōkō pu'upu'u were conducted, focusing on aesthetic and other qualitative information. The approach was inductive, based on the overarching theory that this Hawaiian tradition has persisted despite Western influences and remained relatively unchanged.

To better understand the perpetuation of kōkō pu'upu'u as a unique Hawaiian cultural art-form, Chapter Eight highlights the mo'olelo (stories) from qualitative interviews with two kumu or teachers of this practice. Privileging their first-hand knowledge and experience in reawakening kā kōkō pu'upu'u, these key informants are considered legitimate authorities on the topic. Their introductions, experiences, and motivation to perpetuate kōkō pu'upu'u as a practice, are relevant to understanding the persistence and resilience of this craft. This chapter honors the leo (voice) of two kumu who could very well be considered the last two Kānaka to prevent kā kōkō pu'upu'u from falling into obscurity.

Chapter Nine continues to explore knowledge and personal experience by examining the mo'olelo of three haumāna (students) who have committed themselves to learning and sustaining these traditions. The sentiments of these haumāna represent the ongoing progression

of kōkō pu'upu'u from obscure object to respected Hawaiian practice. Like their kumu, the individual efforts of these students have contributed to a collective understanding that kōkō pu'upu'u continue to be culturally relevant in contemporary times.

Chapter Ten discusses the implications of this research and recommendations for further inquiry by cultural practitioners and contemporary researchers. Using the mo'olelo and the traditional values that resonate with kōkō pu'upu'u practitioners, recommendations are presented for the continued perpetuation of kōkō pu'upu'u. These Strategies could potentially be applied to the reawakening and restoration of other cultural practices.

Chapter Summary

From the Kanaka practitioner's lens, there is a strong spiritual, cultural, and physical connection to the objects we produce as an extension of our mo'okū'auhau. The dismissal of ancestral knowledge and pressure to conform to Western ideologies has impacted our perception and understanding of what it means to be a Kanaka. This research seeks to correct the dominant Western view of Indigenous practices and develop a Kānaka framework to promote the responsible perpetuation of cultural identity through traditional practices. Secondly, it provides an opportunity to both validate and refute statements made by non-Native researchers, whose subjective examination of kōkō pu'upu'u was little more than classification based on construction materials.

In summary, this chapter has articulated the mo'olelo of this thesis while also helping the author express and connect the central ideas of this thesis. The chapter has also introduced theoretical tools that are used to create and tell the unique and valuable mo'olelo of this study. Of particular significance to this thesis, this chapter has positioned this research and linked it to the reclamation and perpetuation of Indigenous cultural knowledge. The chapter that follows will further detail Indigenous theories and discuss appropriate research paradigms that align with this unique research while detailing the unique methodological framework created and used in this research.

Chapter Two

Ki'ina Noi'i — Intentional Methodology

The purpose of this study was to explore the persistence and evolution of this Hawaiian cultural practice in light of significant cultural, social, and political upheaval caused by European contact and American occupation. Through such exploration, the researcher aspired to explore the more profound significance of the practice, perhaps shedding light on how it has persevered in the face of the abandonment of traditional beliefs and practices. Specifically, this research sought to better understand the experiences of practitioners who have engaged in the learning, adapting, and perpetuating this art. This chapter discusses the research framework and methodologies within which this research is grounded. It begins with a discussion of Indigenous theories, and research paradigms, followed by a comprehensive explanation of the unique methodology developed and methods employed for this thesis.

Challenging the Conventional Narrative

The essence of this work is an ethno-historical comparison between the contemporary Western narrative and traditional practices of our kūpuna. In this pursuit, the findings of this research are presented as an alternative narrative to reclaim kōkō pu'upu'u from the Western realm of the “artificial curiosities” (Mitchell, 1978). As this writer worked to determine an appropriate Indigenous methodology, it was realized that the practitioner's perspective is only one part of the greater Native Hawaiian paradigm. Therefore, it was necessary to illuminate the broader criterion that provides the foundation for the researcher's strategy of inquiry.

Viewing Paradigm Through an Indigenous Lens

According to *The Greenwood Dictionary of Education* (J. W. I. Collins & O'Brian, 2003), ‘paradigm’ is defined as “a set of beliefs accepted without question and used as a frame for seeing the world” (p. 256). A common theme found in dominant Western paradigms is that knowledge is a commodity that can be owned, possessed, and controlled by an individual. In contrast, Indigenous researcher and educator Shawn Wilson (2008), contends that Indigenous paradigms view knowledge as part of a shared collective, belonging to everyone and everything. He makes the further distinction that Indigenous research must be more than merely looking at research from an Indigenous perspective. It is “research that follows an ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology that is Indigenous” (p. 38).

Kānaka Mindfulness

I ka ‘ōlelo no ke ola, i ka ‘ōlelo no ka make.

#1191

Life is in speech; death is in speech.

Words can heal, words can destroy.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 129)

The question then becomes, how to validate the various paradigmatic philosophies as Indigenous, or in this case, Hawaiian? Some might suggest assigning an Indigenous word or name to a paradigm is an effective way to claim it as Indigenous. While this method has been used in the past, merely assigning a Hawaiian term neither legitimizes the philosophy nor validates its authenticity. This type of language manipulation is nothing more than cultural misappropriation, which causes further damage and perpetuates a long history of language being used as a tool of further oppression (Mead, 1994; Penehira, 2011; Pihama, 2001). As historian Houston Wood (1999) describes in the appropriation of the term kama‘āina (child of the land, Native-born) by missionary and foreign elite in Hawai‘i to describe themselves and claim Hawai‘i as their home:

“Kama‘āina was thus transformed from a concept denoting native-born into a term meaning ‘island-born,’ or even merely ‘well-acquainted with the islands.’ By adopting a native word to describe themselves, Euro-Americans obscured both their origins and the devastating effects their presence was having on the native-born” (p. 41).

Furthermore, Kānaka believe that words have mana (power) which can carry dire consequences if misused (Pukui et al., 1983). Not only is this belief expressed in the ‘ōlelo no‘eau that opens this section, it is especially true in naming practices which take on even greater significance. By giving someone or something a name, a relationship is acknowledged, which necessitates certain kuleana (responsibility) between the giver and receiver of that name (Handy & Pukui, 1972). As such, naming is a deliberate choice that should always be done to respect and honor ‘ike kūpuna.

‘Ike Kūpuna, a Kānaka Axiology

Ho‘i hou i ka mole.

#1025

Return to the taproot.

The return to love and loyalty for kith and kin.

(Pukui, 1983, p.142)

Ultimately, the researcher engaged the traditional repositories of knowledge that the kūpuna amassed over many generations. This wealth of ‘ike kūpuna is rooted in the mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogies), mo‘olelo (narratives, stories, and myths), mele (songs and chants), ‘ōlelo no‘eau

(proverbs and poetic sayings), wahi pana (storied places), and nane or riddles (Kikiloi, 2010; K. G. T. Young, 1998). Originally committed to memory and transmitted verbally, this knowledge was eventually transcribed into the written record and published in numerous books and newspapers. These sources have become a rich pool of collective memories and contribute to the continuity and reproduction of traditional society.

The ethical foundation of this Kanaka Researcher's Indigenous paradigm is an axiology that privileges 'ike kūpuna and the wisdom embedded in all layers of 'ike ku'una (traditional knowledge). Though some might question the accuracy of these sources due to their reliance on memory and oral tradition, the passing of this information occurred with incredible accuracy utilizing repetition, recitation, and mnemonic devices. Frequently, the accuracy of these oral histories was reinforced by including detailed accounts of lived events, significant objects, and identifiable locations and landscapes. These oral traditions are a historical truth that is culture-specific. These accounts intend to communicate statements and cultural beliefs about higher and more essential truths. Therefore, it would be a mistake to disregard them as false or fabricated as they also explain the how and why of present-day conditions (G. S. Kanahēle, 1986a).

This partiality also extends to translations of these works from 'ōlelo Hawai'i into English. As a second language learner and novice speaker of 'ōlelo Hawai'i, the researcher relied on documents translated by others. Wherever possible, preference was given to first-hand accounts and testimonies that were written in 'ōlelo Hawai'i or transcribed and translated by mānaleo or native-speakers. Mānaleo would be in the best possible position to provide accurate interpretations that, as closely as possible, honor the meaning and intent of the original author (Kikiloi, 2010).

With an ethical foundation established, a discussion regarding Hawaiian ontologies and epistemologies is appropriate; and is based on the view that traditional philosophies are relevant and can be applied theoretically in contemporary times. From this relativist ontology, it is then permissible to reframe the academic language to include broader forms of knowledge. This epistemology is inclusive of, and indeed centers on Kānaka perspectives and beliefs. In this way, the paradigm is no longer affixed exclusively to Western academic language and writing, but includes Hawaiian cultural values as an essential part of "living life every day according to certain values" (Kovach, 2009, p.62). This value-based framework then provides

the direction for appropriate methodologies and methods that respect Kānaka relationships and philosophies.

Mana as a Kānaka Ontology

Ka hao a ka wai nui, piha ‘ā o kai.

#1299

*When a great flood washes down,
the shore is littered with stoned and debris from the upland.
When one is careless with speech, trouble results.
(Pukui, 1983, p.142)*

Our kūpuna had a clear understanding of mana and its importance to Hawaiian identity, and the existence of all things (Crabbe, 2017, p. xii). This Hawaiian ontological view sees physical and non-physical objects as intrinsically interconnected and continuously interacting. Mana possessed by a person, place, or thing also impacts the sacred relationships with all other things. It is this philosophy that gives power to all relationships, both active and passive. It is the totality of these relationships that encompasses innumerable truths and transcends infinite realities. From this philosophy, we acknowledge a relationship to all things; thus, even stones are sacred. They are not a commodity that can be easily dismissed, discarded, or destroyed without consequences.

On September 13, 2016, following heavy rains, a massive flood washed through ‘Iao Valley State Monument. A celebrated birthplace of ali‘i, this wahi pana (storied place) is regarded as a sacred space for spiritual guidance. Not only a sacred place where the bones of the ali‘i were prepared but the secret burial cave at Kapela is also where chiefs of the highest rank and power are interred (Beckwith, 1972; Ford, 1912; S. M. Kamakau, 1979, 1992, 1993). Adding to the valley’s historical and spiritual significance, are the many fierce battles that have occurred between Maui and Hawai‘i island chiefs; culminating with the battle of Kepaniwai where the army of Kamehameha I finally conquered Maui in 1790. Two hundred and twenty-six years after Maui chiefs fled from the advancing forces and escaped by fleeing into and through the valley, powerful floodwaters would force ‘Iao families to evacuate or retreat to higher floors and the roofs of their homes. This time, fortunately, all lives were spared, but the streambed of the Wailuku River had been widened significantly, and its course changed dramatically. Government officials were determined to restore the river to its original course; however, during the cleanup, it was deemed necessary to remove 20 tons of excess sediment, debris, and surplus stone, which would be subsequently crushed (Arakawa, 2016).

When Kānaka raised concerns over the importance of the stones and disapproval over their removal and obliteration, then-Mayor Alan Arakawa, justified the action as unavoidable and necessary to help the families affected by the flood (Arakawa, 2016). Four months later, when Kānaka continued to voice their concerns, his response was far less diplomatic: “It’s very simple. There’s no such thing as sacred rocks” (B. Perry, 2017, para. 1). He went on to claim Christianity as the religion of Hawai‘i, citing the Christian doctrine of the ten commandments, and blamed political opportunists for “trying to make an issue out of nothing” (Pignataro, 2017, para. 2). That Mayor Arakawa should use Christianity to hastily dismiss, and carelessly trivialize, the beliefs of Kānaka is ironic, but unfortunately not surprising.

Fundamentally, the stones in question are not venerated relics that Kānaka worshiped as gods.¹⁰ The central concept that connects Kānaka to the ‘āina is the belief that all things in the cosmos possess mana (G. S. Kanahēle, 1986). Commonly understood as spiritual power, Pūku‘i and Elbert (1986) define mana as supernatural, divine or miraculous power, authority, and privilege. It is also acknowledged as power attributed to the gods, spirit, energy of character, and majesty (Andrews, 1922). Mana can be a challenging concept to grasp when there is no single Western definition to describe all that it encompasses. Mana is not something that can be physically possessed, and yet it is possessed by all. Hawaiian cartographer and scholar Renee Pualani Louis (2017) describes mana as an intangible life force that imbues all things. As all things move through their lifecycle, their mana moves with them and is transformed through this life-process. In essence, the life-cycle is the source of mana, which is ascribed and permeates all animate and inanimate things.

The life-cycle of a stone begins when it is “birthed from the earth” (Louis, 2017, p. 21) and over a life-course that may span many millennia, it will transform and be transformed by mana. Just as interaction with the environment shapes a person, over time the power of all elements transform the stone. It is no different that the mana of a skilled carver transforming a piece of wood into a powerful ki‘i (carved image) or wa‘a (canoe) or when a composer infuses their mana into something as intangible as a mele (song); which brings us back to the power of words and their ability to elevates the mana of the person, place or thing for which the mele

¹⁰ Pōhaku o Kāne are particular stones reserved for ku‘ahu (family alters) in the hale mua (men’s house). The kāne (male) would be directed by the akua, through a dream, vision, or other circumstance to the stone, which is then erected in the hale, and offered ritual food and prayers (S. M. Kamakau, 1976a, 1979; Pukui et al., 1979).

was composed (Chun, 2011; Crabbe, 2017). It is in this way that mana as “power” can be acquired or diminish through transformative events and transgressions; or can be perpetuated through names, words, songs, and stories. Even a person’s thoughts possess mana, and as such, children are often taught to be mindful of their attitudes and feelings, since the mana of latent intentions can manifest into actual consequences.

For Mayor Arakawa’s removal of the stones from ‘Iao and his careless words, some Kānaka might point to the outcome of the election that followed as a consequence for his actions. Amassing the largest campaign budget of anyone else in the county and mounting a strong campaign that highlighted his extensive political experience, Arakawa was unable to get elected as a representative on the County Council. Ironically, his defeat that would come at the hands of a Kanaka with no political experience and the smallest of budgets (Beers, 2018).

Mo‘okū‘auhau, a Kānaka Epistemology

‘Ike no i ka lā o ka ‘ike; mana no i ka lā o ka mana.

#1212

Know in the day of knowing, mana in the day of mana.

Knowledge and mana each has its day.

Another day may bring greater knowledge
and greater mana than today.

(Pukui, 1983, pp.131-132)

This ‘ōlelo no‘eau makes clear that kūpuna viewed mana and ‘ike (knowledge) as distinctly different, yet intimately related. While possessing knowledge has value, it is through the application and transferring of that knowledge that both the practitioner and their ‘ike receive mana. This philosophy highlights the fluid, non-linear, and relational nature of Indigenous epistemologies. Acknowledging that knowledge is transmitted through stories, it is the wisdom of the storyteller that shapes, and shifts, the insight in relation to the time of its telling (Kovach, 2005).

This notion is honored by constructing an epistemological framework based on the ancestral succession, in that knowing one’s ancestors which Kānaka identify as mo‘o or kuamo‘o (Handy & Pukui, 1972). Kuamo‘o is the conjunction of kua (back) and mo‘o (lizard) and often refers to the spine, and with the addition of iwi (bone), the backbone or iwikuamo‘o are discernable. Just as many vertebrae support the spine, we are supported by a continuous and unbroken succession of descendants.

Though the terms *ku‘auhau* and *mo‘okū‘auhau* are often used interchangeably to refer to “genealogy,” Hawaiian lexicographers Pūku‘i and Elbert (1986) differentiate *kū‘auhau* to mean genealogy, while *mo‘okū‘auhau* is defined as “genealogical succession” (pp.171, 254). The underlying difference between these Hawaiian terms is the prefix “mo‘o,” which, in addition to meaning succession, series, or lineage, also refers to story, tradition, or legend, for which the term *mo‘olelo* often used. In much the same way that Kanaka geographer and scholar David A. Chang (2016) suggests, this writer has chosen to distinguish *kū‘auhau* to mean ancestry in itself. *Mo‘okū‘auhau* refers to both the ancestry and the accompanying *mo‘olelo* (narratives) that are attached to the ancestry. It is from these *mo‘olelo* (narratives) that the ancestry derives context, meaning, and relevance (Wilson-Hokowhitu, 2019). In essence, while *ku‘auhau* represent genealogical lists of who begot whom, they serve as the mnemonic devices used to recall the greater *mo‘olelo* that relate the origins and exploits of those ancestors (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992).

Metaphorically speaking, if each name within a person’s *ku‘auhau* or *kuamo‘o* represents a fiber that connects those *kupuna* to us, the *mana* attached to generations of great ancestors, powerful events, and significant places, twist these fibers into unbreakable cords of knowledge. Preserved within these cords are the multitude of *mo‘olelo* (stories, myths, legends), *pule* (prayers), *mele* (songs), *‘oli* (chants), and *‘ōlelo no‘eau* (proverbs). Each of these narratives become entwined with each other through the events of our *Akua* (gods), *kupua* (cultural heroes), *‘aumakua* (deified ancestors), *ali‘i* (chiefs), and *kūpuna*. Contained within the resulting net, is an ever-growing repository of knowledge that traces back to the source of all things. As Kame‘eleihiwa (1992) explains: “Genealogies are perceived by Kānaka at unbroken chains that link those alive today to the primeval life forces—to *mana* that first emerged with the beginning of the world” (pp. 19–20).

The *Kumulipo* is one example of a type of *mo‘okū‘auhau* which testifies to our cosmogenic origins, while simultaneously establishing the divine order and familial connection between all life. Originally composed by the prophet Kealulumoku of Ka‘u, Hawai‘i, around the eighteenth century, for the dedication of the *ali‘i nui* (high chief) Ka-‘Ī-i-mamao (also known as Lonoikamakahiki) (Crabbe, 2017; Johnson, 1981), this *mele ko‘i honua* (genesis chant) starts at the beginning of all things, when the hot earth and heavens were spinning in deep, deep, darkness.

The opening prologue establishes time by the synchronized motion of celestial bodies relative to honua (earth). Movement of lā (sun) and mahina (moon) and the transition between ao (day) and pō (night) is the basis for mahina (lunar month), while the appearance of Makali‘i (Pleiades) demarcates the beginning of the annual year, or makahiki cycle (Johnson, 1981). In the span of more than two thousand lines, the divine origin, evolution, and relationship of all things unfold in genealogical sequence. Starting with the ‘ukuko‘ako‘a (coral polyp) and other creatures of the ocean, then to those of the land. The birth of the land leads to the birth of gods and chiefs, and so on until the present time (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. O ke au i kahuli wela ka honua
O ke au i kahuli lole ka lani
O ke au i kuka‘iaka ka la
E ho‘omalalamalama i ka malama | 1. At the time when the earth became hot
At the time when the heavens turned about
At the time when the sun was darkened
To cause the moon to shine |
| 5. O ke au o Makali‘i ka po
O ka walewale ho‘okumu honua ia
O ke kumu o ka lipo, i lipo ai
O ke kumu o ka Po, i po ai
O ka lipolipo, o ka lipolipo | 5. The time of the rise of the Pleiades
The slime, this was the source of the earth
The source of the darkness that made
darkness
The source of the night that made night
The intense darkness, the deep darkness |
| 10. O ka lipo o ka la, o ka lipo o ka po
Po wale ho—‘i
Hanau ka po
Hanau Kumulipo i ka po, he kane
Hanau Po‘ele i ka po, he wahine | 10. Darkness of the sun, darkness of the night
Nothing but night.
The night gave birth
Born was Kumulipo in the night, a male
Born was Po‘ele in the night, a female |
| 15. Hanau ka ‘Uku-ko‘ako‘a, hanau kana, he
‘Ako‘ako‘a, puka... | 15. Born was the coral polyp, born was the
coral, came forth... |

Divided into eighteen wā (period, epoch, age), each of which is marked by the birth of a new order of plant, animal, or being, starting with creatures in the oceans, then to winged animals, followed by crawlers and so forth. The first seven wā occur in the era of darkness or pō, in which each wā ends with pō-nō (still it is night); or an alternate interpretation pono (goodness, uprightness or morality) (Pukui & Elbert, 1986b). Within the lines of the eighth wā, four significant figures emerge.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 612. Hanau La‘ilai he wahine
Hanau Ki‘i he kane
Hanau Kane he akua
Hanau o Kanaloa, o ka he‘ehaunawela ia

Ao... | 612. Born was La‘ilai a woman
Born was Ki‘I a man
Born was Kane a god
Born was Kanaloa, the hot striking
octopus
It was day... |
|---|---|

The first to appear is La‘ila‘i, a human female, followed by Ki‘i, a human male, which are then followed by two gods, Kane and Kanaloa (Beckwith, 1982). Their arrival opens the period of ao (day, light, enlighten, consciousness), and in the wā that follow, various akua, kupua (deities), and Kānaka appear. These successions set the foundation for the social order and stratification of what would become Hawaiian society.

Na ali‘i o ke kuamo‘o o Hāloa.

#2205

Chiefs of the lineage of Hāloa.

Said of a chief whose lineage goes back to ancient times
—to Hāloa, son of Wakea.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 241)

It would be overly simplistic to define a mo‘okū‘auhau like the Kumulipo, as simply a genealogy. Beyond a recollection of ancestral succession, mo‘okū‘auhau contain many other dimensions of information and are invaluable sources of knowledge. Embedded within the lines are linguistic signposts that highlight significant people, places, and events. From these prompts emerge additional mo‘olelo that reveal familial connections and relationships, which then reinforce social beliefs and values. One such example of this appears at the end of the twelfth wā, in line 1734, which recounts: “Wakea i noho ia Haumea, ia Papa, ia Haohokalani, hanau o Hāloa, O Hāloa no” (Beckwith & Luomala, 1972, p. 231). This single line references the mo‘olelo of Hāloa, who is considered the common ancestor of both the ali‘i and kahuna (priest) class, but more importantly, is also the kaikaina (younger sibling) to the first kalo (taro) plant (Kepelino, 1932).

As retold by Kame‘eleihiwa (1992), Papa is the earth mother, and Wākea is the sky father who, together, parent many of the Hawaiian Islands. Additionally, they birth a human daughter, Ho‘ohōkūkalani (Haohokalani). A later union between Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani produces a premature child, Hāloanakalaukapalili, who does not survive and is buried. At the burial site, the first kalo plant grows, the primary staple food of the Hawaiian people. Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani eventually birth a second child, named Hāloa after his older brother, who becomes the first chief and common ancestor of all Kānaka.

Beyond these spiritual ancestries, the Kumulipo also connects us with our Polynesian roots and migratory origins. As David Malo (2006) points out in his work *Ka Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*:

Ekolu nae mookuauhau i manao nui e ia, o Kumulipo, o Palukī, Ololo. O keia mau mookuauhau kai manao ia nolaila mai ko Hawai‘i nei Lahui Kanaka me na [a]lii pu, a

me ko Tahiki paha, Nuuhiwa paha, no ka mea, ua like pu na mookuauhau me ko lakou.
(p. 2)

There are three genealogies considered to be of importance. The Kumulipo, Palikū, and Lolo. These genealogies are the ones by which the Hawaiian people and the chiefs may be related with the Tahitians, and maybe the people of Nu‘uhiwa, because these genealogies are exactly like theirs. (translated from original text by Malcolm Chun in Malo, 2006, pp. 2–3)

In contrast to conventional Western origin narratives, which place nature at the mercy of, and controlled by humans, the Kumulipo serves as a genealogy that establishes familial relationships that are inclusive of nature, in its totality. This emic epistemology acknowledges the dynamic relationship that Kānaka have, with all elements in the natural world, while also acknowledging the elements that are beyond our natural senses. Often dismissed as supernatural, mystical, or magical, Kānaka also believe in domains that are perceptible via the extrasensory and connect us with the natural elements, which Handy and Pūku‘i (1972) describe as “the intimate and sensual perception with nature as family” (p. 197). Commonly referred to as “aloha ‘āina,” this epistemological shift, is more than “love of the land.” It represents a measure of kuleana (accountability and responsibility) that Kānaka have for nature and the environment that we all directly descended from.

Building from this foundation of knowledge, mo‘okū‘auhau becomes the metaphorical piko (navel, center) for all cultural beliefs and social values of Kānaka. It establishes relationships of duality and reciprocity within those values. As an example, a core value represented in the mo‘olelo of Hāloa is kuleana, and the responsibility of Kānaka to care for Hāloanakalaukapalili, as a kaikua‘ana (elder sibling). In reciprocity, the embodiment of our older sibling provides us with nourishment in the form of kalo, the food staple of the Hawaiian people. This relationship underpins the critical elements of ‘ohana, aloha ‘āina, and kuleana.

In addition to responsibility, kuleana also relates to right, privilege, concern, authority, interest, reason, cause, function, justification, and appropriate business (Andrews, 1974; Pukui & Elbert, 1986). As reflected in these definitions, kuleana is not perceived as a burdensome obligation, but rather a privileged opportunity. The phrase “aloha ‘āina” (love of the land) reflects our stewardship of the land coming from a place of caring and compassion while honoring all the elements which are essentially kith and kin to us (Handy & Pukui, 1972). It is

these familial connections, sourced from our ku‘auhau, that not only connect us with the elemental names of our ancestors but also provide pathways to more profound ancestral knowledge and a holistic world view.

Intentional Methodologies

Methodology is defined as, “the application of principles, practices, and procedures to a problem, project, course of study, or given discipline” (Collins III & O‘Brian, 2003). Similarly, Tuhiwai Smith (2012) states, “methodology in its simplest definition generally refers to the theory of method, or the approach or technique being taken, or the reasoning for selecting a set of methods” (p. ix.) Tuhiwai Smith then goes on to clarify:

Indigenous methodologies tend to approach cultural protocols, values, and behaviours as an integral part of methodology. They are ‘factors’ to be built into research explicitly, to be thought about reflexively, to be declared openly as part of the research design, to be discussed as part of the final results of a study and to be disseminated back to the people in culturally appropriate ways and in a language, that can be understood. (pp. 15-16)

Tuhiwai Smith further highlights that Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of Indigenous practices and methodological approaches. In similar ways, Oliveira describes how effortlessly Kānaka scholars combine customary practices with academic scholarship, “demonstrating the germaneness of ancestral knowledge systems in a contemporary context” (Oliveira & Wright, 2015, p. 75).

Taking these definitions and sentiments into account, this writer has considered what methodology means within the context of this Indigenous research paradigm. Also acknowledged and reflected upon is the problematic history of non-Indigenous researchers using their work to justify colonization and foster the oppression of Indigenous peoples (Battiste, 2011; Mead, 1994; Penehira, 2011; Pihama, 2001; L. T. Smith, 2013). Though there are Western research methodologies that appear to align with Indigenous perspectives and values, adopting or adapting them would undermine the established ontology and axiology of this research. Additionally, this would only serve to validate their jurisdiction over Indigenous research (Wilson, 2008). As such, this research intends to honor Kānaka ways of knowing and behaving first and foremost (N. Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, 2015; Kidman, 2007; L. T. Smith, 2013). Clearly, this research seeks to promote cultural identity and reverse cultural misappropriation and oppression. This is accomplished by privileging Kānaka scholarship and distinguishing it

from the dominant Western perspectives. While Western ideology relies on evidence that is tangible and can be validated through scientific and literary research (Deloria and Wildcat, 2001), Indigenous research acknowledges the connection and interrelation between the physical and non-physical realms. Central to Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodologies is the fusion of ancestral practices and understanding, in a modern context (Oliveira & Wright, 2015). This can be seen in Hawaiian cosmogony that acknowledges the connection and interrelation between the physical and non-physical domain, as well as spiritual and secular realms. From this perspective, terms like ‘ohana include physical and spiritual family, while nā akua (gods), kupua (deities), and ‘aumākua (deified ancestors) as having various physical and spiritual forms, also known as kinolau (Pukui et al., 1983). These beliefs are also supported by mo‘olelo which acknowledge that myths and superstitions are based on real events and that mana connects us to all things (Crabbe, 2017; Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; G. S. Kanahēle, 1986a).

An important component of this research is to understand the relationship between Kānaka and kōkō pu‘upu‘u that has transcended significant political change, social disruption, and cultural loss. Recognizing that relationships are also central to this writer’s epistemology, it makes sense that relationships should form the foundation of the research methodology. In simplest terms, the goal of this research is to understand the mo‘okū‘auhau that connects these ancient objects with contemporary practitioners.

As stated earlier, mo‘okū‘auhau refers to both the ancestry and the accompanying narratives that are attached to that ancestry. In essence, this research seeks to understand the genealogical succession of kōkō pu‘upu‘u from its fundamental elements, familial relationships, and evolution to revered object. To this end, the researcher has explored and intentionally sought out authentic Kānaka methodologies that are both framed within an Indigenous paradigm and can be validated by ‘ike kūpuna. The question that follows is: How does one research a subject of this nature, and what are the appropriate methodologies and methods? The unique nature of the topic would eventually inspire the solution to the quandary, in what would come to be called Kā ‘A‘aha, or the appropriate and intentional protocol and methodologies of tying kōkō. Before elaborating further, a short familiarization with the kōkō tying steps and names is necessary.

Kā ‘A‘aha Methodology

Mary Kawena Pūku‘i and Samuel Elbert (1986) list thirteen separate definitions for the term “kā” to include: to hit, strike, curse, bail water as from a canoe, to snare, to pull, make a fishhook, cross-stitching, and container hanger (p.106). How the term relates to kōkō pu‘upu‘u becomes clearer as Lorrin Andrews (1974) also defines kā to mean: to radiate; to go out from the center, as the light from the sun, as a net from a center point, to braid, knit, or make net meshes. The word ‘a‘aha, on the other hand, is a less-common synonym for kōkō.¹¹ As defined by Pūku‘i and Elbert (1986), ‘a‘aha refers to a “netted carrier for a calabash, made of sennit or olonā cord” (p. 2). From these definitions, the literal interpretation of kā ‘a‘aha means, the systematic and intentional process of creating a kōkō, radiating outward, from a central starting point.

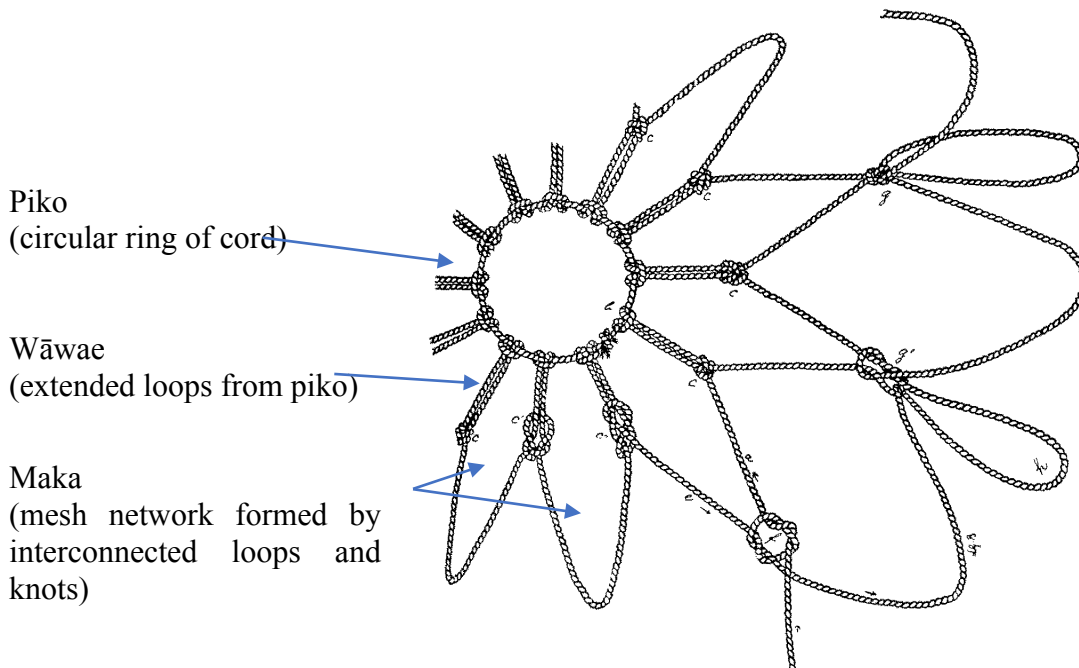
Though kōkō pū‘alu (commoner carry net) and kōkō pu‘upu‘u (chiefly carry net) have distinctly different appearances and require various tools and techniques, the overall process and terminology are essentially the same. Constructing a Hawaiian carry net begins with a single piece of cord, the exact length of which is determined by the intended size and overall dimensions of the completed kōkō. Though Kānaka had a wide variety of natural fiber cords available to them (Abbott, 1992; Summers, 1990), the majority of kōkō pu‘upu‘u in museum collections are tied with ‘aha (coir, coconut fiber cord) and wauke (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). Due to practicality and convenience, most kōkō tied today are constructed with cotton-fiber cord, which is readily available, affordable, and relatively easy to work with.

Once the cord has been selected and prepared, the practitioner begins constructing the kōkō by first tying the net's base, known as the piko (navel/center). Serving as the foundation, the overall size, and final dimensions of the kōkō are determined by the piko. Considerable planning and accurate measurements before commencing, the piko ensures that the net and the corresponding vessel it suspends fit well together. When the piko is completed and securely tied, it forms a circle with measured loops or wāwae (legs) that extend outward, as shown in Figure 7. The wāwae support the base of the container while acting as anchoring points from which the hānai or body of the actual mesh network is tied.

¹¹ While the terms kōkō and ‘a‘aha are interchangeable, use of the term kōkō, within this document, refers to the carrying net. In contrast, ‘a‘aha differentiates these physical objects from the methodological process adapted to this research. This distinction is intended to minimize confusion for the reader and reduce the overuse of the term kōkō.

Figure 7

Detailed illustration of foundational parts of kōkō



Note. Adapted from Blackburn in Stokes (1906) p. 117.

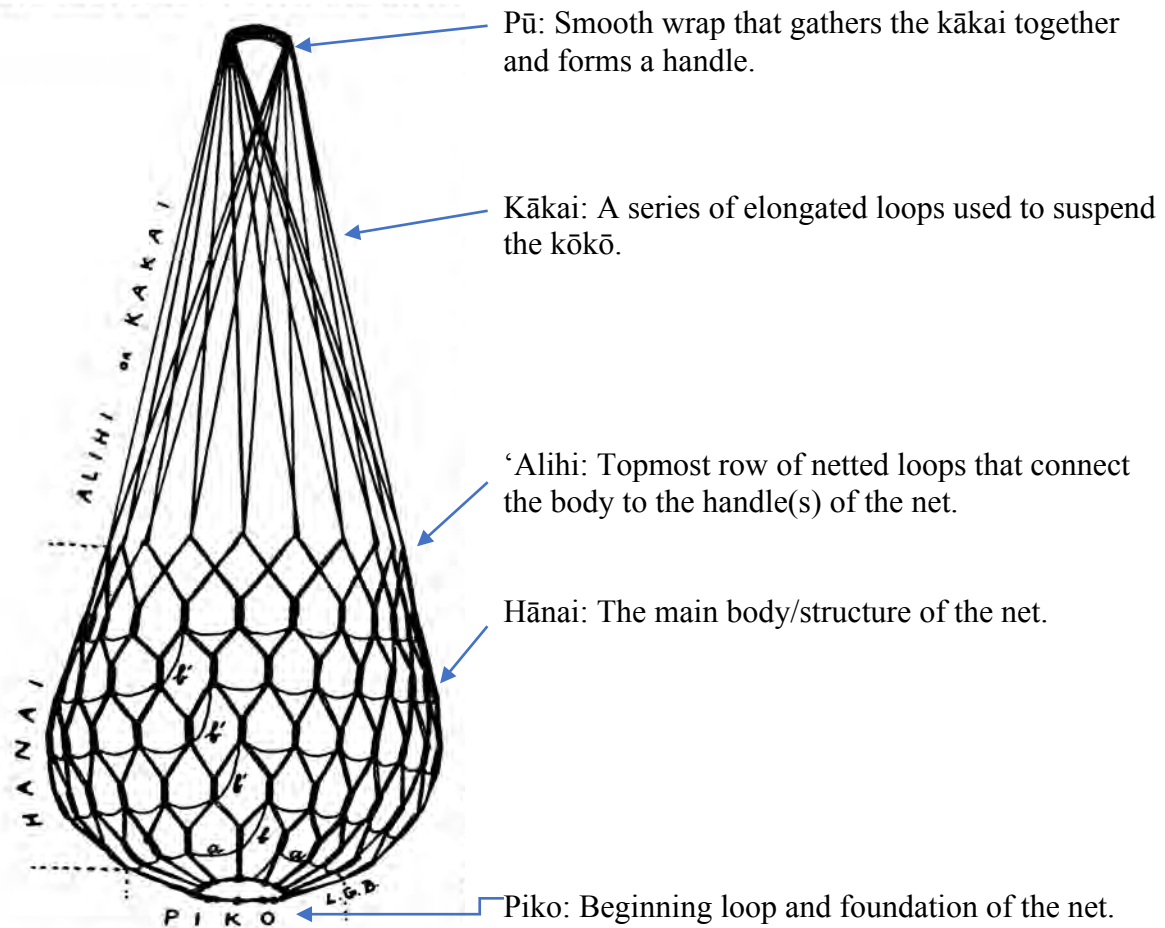
Consistent sizing of all maka (eye of netted mesh) is achieved with the aid of a haka kā ‘upena or net measuring gauge. As identified in Figure 8, the main body or hānai of the kōkō is formed by successive rows of interconnected knots that evenly distribute and hānai (carry) the weight of its contents. The style of kōkō produced is determined by the knots and techniques used in creating the hānai. Simple cross-stitch knots are often used for the kōkō pū‘alu commonly used by maka‘āinana, while complex variations of the pu‘upu‘u knot distinguish the kōkō of the ali‘i (Stokes, 1906). Beyond the knot, a skilled net maker can manipulate the shape, size, and overall dimensions of the kōkō by changing the size of the haka kā ‘upena or by adding or subtracting the number of maka in each successive row.

The top or final row of the main body of the kōkō, as identified in Figure 8, is called the ‘alihi, and consists of maka that are typically larger than those used to tie the hānai. It is through the ‘alihi that the kākai or long handles of the kōkō are laced. Adjustments made to the length and tension of each loop of the kākai ensure that the kōkō hangs naturally, with even distribution of weight. Following these final adjustments, the kākai are gathered together and tightly bound at the apex kākai, forming a handle. The wrapped handle or pū serves to protect the kākai from abrasion when suspended. Once the pū is lashed and secure,

the mechanical process of tying the kōkō is complete. The excess cord is then cut, and the ipu or ‘umeke calabash is placed into the kōkō.

Figure 8

Illustration of kōkō pu‘upu‘u, detailing named parts of the kōkō.



Note. Adapted from Blackburn in Stokes (1906) p. 117.

Fundamental to creating a kōkō pu‘upu‘u is the deliberate and systematic sequence that the practitioner must make in creating the net. It is from these intentional and purposeful decisions that a mo‘olelo forms and becomes an extension of the practitioner’s mo‘okū‘auhau. Quintessential to Kā ‘A‘aha methodology is the methodical examination of fundamental elements based on familial relationships. The analysis of each segment reveals intersecting relationships from which a narrative emerges. As stated earlier, mo‘okū‘auhau refers to both ancestry and the narratives that accompany each ancestor, or in this case, revered object. This Indigenous paradigm is further validated by ‘ike kūpuna, in the form of an ‘ōlelo no‘eau that mirrors the linear methodological process of creating kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

Kā ‘A‘aha Methodological Structure

Ku‘u ēwe, ku‘u piko, ku‘u iwi, ku‘u koko.

#1932

My umbilical cord, my navel, my bones, my blood.

Said of a very close relative.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 207)

Reflected in its translation, the symbolic structure of this ‘ōlelo no‘eau speaks to the relationship and connection between the speaker and another. What may not be immediately apparent is the depth of that relationship. The repeated use of the prefix “ku‘u” (cherished, beloved) emphasizes strength and intensity of affection, to the extent that everything in that relationship is sacred, from birth to death. As Kanaka scholar Mary Kawena Pūku‘i (1972) explains another way of expressing it, “He iwi, he i‘o, he koko, or ‘Bone, flesh, blood,’ like the biblical ‘bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh’” (Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 48). Not only a statement of love but a commitment to care and protect. It implies honoring all kuleana, regardless of circumstance, even after death. Beyond a metaphor for kinship, this proverb reflects the linear methodological framework used in this research. The following section provides a brief explanation of this “logic by analogy” (Handy, 1972, p. 123; Louis, 2017, p. 31), by first defining the terms and their general metaphorical connotation, followed by the application within the research and this document.

Ku‘u Ēwe: Fundamental Elements. To begin, the ēwe, or umbilical cord, is both a physical and symbolic connection to our mo‘okū‘auhau via our mākua (parents). For Kānaka, the ēwe represents the primary link to our family and ancestors, while also meaning family characteristics, source, and birthplace (Handy & Pukui, 1972). The ēwe plays a central role in traditional ritual and ceremony and is often represented by ‘aha or cord made of twisted coconut fibers. As described by Kikiloi (2012) and Hommon (2016), the symbolism of the ‘aha and the twisting and binding process in the making of ‘aha (cord) are both metaphors that acknowledge the spiritual and genealogical strength of an ali‘i, as well as their ability to bind the society they governed:

Thus, the twisting coir braided cord was a powerful symbol that evoked the imagery of “binding,” “connecting,” and “linking” people and ancestors and focusing them in common purpose, essentially increasing their strength through collective and cohesive action. The cord was the genealogical connection between past, present, and future and reflected the enormous effort of the chief to garner the support needed towards accomplishing these rituals. (Kikiloi, 2012b, p. 99)

While the physical qualities of ‘aha are essential to creating a kōkō, metaphorically, it also represents cohesion and sustained strength. A kōkō pu‘upu‘u cannot exist until the cord brings it to fruition. Similarly, the umbilical is the source of life for a developing infant; the ēwe simultaneously provides nourishment and binds a child and mother.

As the ēwe pertains to the methodology of this research, it is part of “the work before the work,” and begins with a focused search and in-depth analysis of the primary elements of the kōkō pu‘upu‘u. In many ways, it is an effort to understand the ku‘auhau of these objects, which includes the content found within the preceding contextual chapter and throughout the literature chapters of this thesis. Just as individual fibers give strength to ‘aha, these chapters underpin the importance of the topic and the significance of the thesis. This process begins before the first knot is tied or the first word written. Many calculated questions must be asked, and deliberate choices made about the intended outcome. This inquiry starts with determining who will benefit and what purpose will this serve? Followed by, how will it persist, and who will sustain it?

Ku‘u Piko: Foundational Connections. Just as nourishment to a developing child is delivered via their piko (navel), the piko of the kōkō acts as a cradle that supports the net and its contents. Regardless of the intended result, the foundation of strength and durability for every kōkō starts with the piko. In addition to preventing chafing between the net and the base of the calabash that it holds, the piko serves as a pō‘aha (support) that stabilizes the base of the ‘umeke (wood calabash) or ‘ipu (gourd calabash) container when it is placed on a surface and not suspended within the net (Stokes, 1906).

In the metaphorical sense, Kānaka believe that the piko is a physical reminder and symbolic link to our forbearers and descendants. It is observed, in thought and ritual, that each person is connected, through spiritual metaphor, to the physical and spiritual realms through three piko that every person possesses. The crown of the po‘o (head) is the location of the first piko, where our ‘uhane (spirit) dwells and mingles with our aumākua (spiritually immortalized ancestors). The second piko is the navel, which by way of the ‘iewe (placenta), represents the connection to mākua (parents, and the special relationship between mother and child. This piko is also the source of intuitive knowledge that originates from the na‘au (gut) and guides our instincts towards awareness and understanding. The ma‘i (genitalia) of both kāne and wāhine is identified as the third piko and represents the individual bond and connection with one’s

progeny. Through this piko, we connect and perpetuate the life of both our families and our lāhui (nation) through our children and all future descendants (Crabbe, 2017; Pukui et al., 1983).

In many ways, the piko underpins our identity, our mo‘okū‘auhau, and the kuleana that comes with those familial relationships. It is from this center that we find stability and guidance. In much the same way that the piko lays the foundation and framework of a kōkō pu‘upu‘u, the methodology chapter of this thesis serves as the piko for this research.

Ku‘u Iwi: Tangible Knowledge. Iwi or bones hold deep significance for Kānaka, who believe that they contain the mana of those who have departed and therefore are considered especially sacred. It is also within the bones that our ‘uhane (spirit) continues to remain after death (Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 151). Following death, special care was taken by trusted members of the deceased’s family to ensure that all the bones were accounted for. Vigilance also accompanied the concealing of the bones in either a grave or in the family burial cave. As Pūku‘i (1972) explains the reasoning for secrecy and precaution:

Through a purloined bone, an enemy or a kahuna, even a mere fisherman, could enslave the ‘uhane and make it serve him...for example, a fishhook made from a high chief’s shin bone would have great mana. Hence the necessity of disposing of the bone secretly, in a safe hiding place. (p.152)

Just as iwi provide structure and hānai (sustain) the human form, it is the body of the kōkō pu‘upu‘u that carries the vessel and its contents. Supported and strengthened by the interconnection of numerous knots, it is this network that gives strength and form to the kōkō, and from this function, the body of the kōkō is termed hānai. It is in the space of the hānai that the pu‘upu‘u knot and its variations are found. These wrapped knots act as visual embellishments and signify the importance of its owner and their mana. Just as iwi contain a person’s mana, the mana of every person who has contributed to making the kōkō pu‘upu‘u is bound in every knot. From those who grow, harvest, and twist fibers into cord, to those who skillfully transform it into the intricate network that surrounds and protects the cherished possessions of the ali‘i (chief). Within the thematic structure of this thesis, the literature chapters represent the iwi of this research. Without understanding the long traditions and deep cultural knowledge that gave birth to kōkō pu‘upu‘u, we are left with nothing more than a simple craft of little significance and even less cultural value.

Ku‘u Koko: Lived Experience. Though the terms koko (blood) and kōkō (net) may have a similar appearance, their literal meanings seem unrelated until one considers the symbolic connection between these terms. While koko represents life and the living, it is also the core of ‘ohana (family) as the term pili koko, literally means blood ties or adhering to relationships based on blood (Handy & Pukui, 1972; Pukui et al., 1983). Honoring those familial blood relationships is of paramount importance throughout one’s life and even after death. Unwavering commitment to these relationships provides comfort in knowing that family also honors kuleana. This philosophy is reflected in the pule (prayer) for long life, which is included below. The honor in taking on the kuleana of caring for the kūpuna gives no reason to fear old age. No matter how old or feeble, there is comfort in knowing that one’s ‘ohana would, if necessary, carry the kupuna in a kōkō.

Nā Akua o ka pō, nā Akua o ke ao,	Gods of the night, gods of the day,
E ho‘omau i ke ola o kā ‘oukou pulapula,	Continue the life of all your descendants,
a kolopupū, a haumaka‘iole,	until infirm, eyesight blurry,
kaniko‘oko‘o, palalauhala,	walking with a cane, weak and frail,
a kā i ke kōkō.	until <i>carried in a net</i> [emphasis added].
Eō!	Indeed!
‘Āmama, ua noa, a lele wale akula.	The prayer is said, and taboo lifted.

(O. P. Emerson, 1901, p. 134)

As a component of the Kā ‘A‘aha research methodology, Ku‘u Koko corresponds with data collection and its active analysis for significant themes and important conclusions. More specifically, this research sourced data from two types of mo‘olelo. The first source of data is drawn from the mo‘olelo of kūpuna practitioners from ancient times. Though their voices have been silent for many generations, a mo‘olelo is conveyed in each kōkō pu‘upu‘u that has been preserved. Through artifact examination and comparison, insight was gotten about the materials, processes, and techniques used by kūpuna to create these enduring artifacts.

The second source of data came from interviews with kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners. The researcher intended to interview practitioners who demonstrated a commitment to learn, understand and perpetuate kōkō pu‘upu‘u within the greater context of Hawaiian culture. However, the reader should be acutely aware of the fact that there are only a handful of individuals who are proficient and currently practice the art of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Though the term “expert” would be appropriate in describing the level of proficiency for interview participants, the author intentionally chose not to use that term. Not only were participants

reluctant to use that label to express their skills, mechanical aptitude was not the primary criteria for participant selection. Beyond studying the reclamation of kōkō pu'upu'u as a tangible practice, this research sought to understand the relevance of intangible cultural knowledge as drawn from the personal insights of practitioners who continue to learning and perpetuate kā kōkō pu'upu'u.

As part of this community of scholars, the mo'olelo of the researcher is essential to this thesis. This emic approach creates an access point that allows the researcher to gain access to these objects and practitioners. It would be foolish to expect that the author would be given access, generate meaningful conversation, and make sense of their experiences without a personal understanding of kōkō pu'upu'u and related practices. In much the same way that hiding the bones of a loved one protects their mana, Kānaka do not freely share with others who are not worthy to receive the information. Additionally, due to their association with ali'i, the chief's personal possessions carried the same kapu (prohibitions) afforded to high rank (G. S. Kanahele, 1986a). For this reason, some Kānaka feel that a level of reverence extends to the manufacturing processes, making it hūnā (confidential, secret, deliberately hidden). Through the vetting of the inquirer's skill, knowledge, or mo'okū'auhau, access to the information might be given, but only to the extent that the knowledge holder feels appropriate.

This research might not exist if the researcher did not possess a mo'okū'auhau and mo'olelo connected with kōkō pu'upu'u. While a mo'olelo is essential for providing a cultural perspective, this research also relies on auto-ethnographic experience, which contributes to the interconnectivity of the narratives. The significance of this exchange between collaborative scholars is explained further in Freire's (2018) dialogical process.

In order to understand the meaning of the dialogical practice, we have to put aside the simplistic understanding of dialogue as a mere technique...dialogue characterizes an epistemological relationship...dialogue in this way of knowing and should never be viewed as a mere tactic to involve students in a particular task. We have to make this point very clear...I engage in dialogue not necessarily because I like the person...engage in dialogue because I recognize the social and not merely the individualistic character of the process of knowing. In this sense, dialogue presents itself as an indispensable component of the process of both learning and knowing. (Freire & Macedo, 1995, p. 379)

Therefore, as Freire points out, the interchange of mo‘olelo is vital in the interdependent process of learning, teaching, and knowing that characterizes this methodology and is demonstrated in subsequent chapters.

Mo‘olelo as a Methodology

**E ho‘oulu ana i kini o ke akua,
ka lehu o ke akua,
ka mano o ke akua.**

*Invoke the forty thousand gods,
the four hundred thousand gods,
the four thousand gods.
(Beckwith, 1982, p. 82)*

This invocation calling on the multitude of Hawaiian gods, of which there were “millions upon millions of them” (Kepelino, 2007, p. 10), is an example of how Kānaka perceive the world. This relativist ontology takes into consideration the possibility that an endless number of mo‘olelo (stories, myths, legends) exist. Mo‘olelo which are found in many forms, including pule (prayers), mele (songs), ‘oli (chants), ‘ōlelo no‘eau (proverbs), nane (riddles). Expanded further, an endless amount of knowledge is possible when considering that each mo‘olelo can be interpreted in innumerable ways by both the knowledge holder and each member of the audience.

What may appear excessively complicated, owing to the infinite scope and mana of this pantheon (Valeri, 1985), Kānaka developed methodological processes to organize these relationships, known as kaona (multiple meanings) and kinolau (multiple forms). Kaona refers to a hidden meaning or concealed reference common to Hawaiian poetry (Meyer, 2003; Pukui & Elbert, 1986b). Kānaka are fond of the use of wordplay, innuendo, and veiled language in all aspects of conversation, mele, and mo‘olelo. Just as kuleana possesses layered meanings to convey responsibility, privilege, accountability to a relationship, kaona applies to all aspects of Hawaiian linguistic, and literary, structures, and expressions (Louis, 2017). As demonstrated by the ‘ōlelo no‘eau presented throughout this document, the full meaning of the word or phrase may not be understood if based on a definition or literal translation alone. The play on varied pronunciations, metaphor, and analogy, allow for authors and poets in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i to simultaneously share with the broad audience a superficial meaning while, privileging others who share the deeper insight (Nogelmeier, 2003; Oliveira, 2014). In simplest terms, using the word “lei,” the author or speaker’s reference to a garland of flowers might in-fact actually mean precious gift, beloved child, cherished family member, sweetheart or spouse, esteemed ali‘i, the Hawaiian archipelago, a chanted poem, or another object of symbolic or emotional attachment (Pukui in Nimmo, Kaeppler, & Luomala, 1976).

Kinolau acknowledges relationships through similar characteristics in physical manifestations. Unlike kaona, where the relationship between two objects might be vague or obscure without insider knowledge, kinolau recognizes similarities between characteristics, roles, or responsibilities, and groups them together (Louis, 2017). It is a testament to the observations and the systematic, perceptive practices of our kūpuna, and their ability to classify, categorize and catalog the world. The mele *Ka Wai a Kāne*, is one example of this cataloging process that identifies the characteristics of freshwater, which are also the kinolau of the god Kāne.

He ui, he nīnau	<i>A query, a question</i>
E ui aku ana au iā ‘oe:	<i>An inquiry I put to you:</i>
Aia i hea ka wai a Kāne?	<i>Where is the water of Kāne?</i>
Aia i ka hikina a ka lā puka i Ha‘eha‘e,	<i>At the eastern gate where the sun comes</i>
aia i laila ka wai a Kāne.	<i>in at Ha‘eha‘e, there is the water of Kāne.</i>

E ui aku ana au iā ‘oe:	<i>A question, I ask of you:</i>
Aia i hea ka wai a Kāne?	<i>Where forms, the water of Kāne?</i>
Aia i Kaulanakalā,	<i>Out there at Kaulanakalā,</i>
i ka pae ‘ōpua i ke kai,	<i>where cloud forms rest on the ocean,</i>
ea mai ana ma Nihoa	<i>raising their forms at Nihoa,</i>
ma ka mole mai o Lehua,	<i>this side of the base of Lehua,</i>
aia i laila ka wai a Kāne.	<i>there is the water of Kāne.</i>

E ui aku ana au iā ‘oe:	<i>An appeal I seek from you:</i>
Aia i hea ka wai a Kāne?	<i>Where flows the water of Kāne?</i>
Aia i ke kuahiwi, i ke kualono,	<i>It is on the mountain peak, on the ridges,</i>
i ke awāwa, i ke kahawai,	<i>in the valleys, in the rivers,</i>
aia i laila ka wai Kāne.	<i>there is the water of Kāne.</i>

E ui aku ana au iā ‘oe:	<i>The question I ask of you:</i>
Aia i hea ka wai a Kāne?	<i>Where falls the water of Kāne?</i>
Aia i kai, i ka moana,	<i>It is toward the sea, in the ocean,</i>
i ke kualau, i ke ānuenuē	<i>in the driving rain, in the heavenly bow,</i>
i ka pūnohu, i ka uakoko	<i>in the low bow, in the blood-red rainfall,</i>
i ka ‘ālewalewa,	<i>in the pale floating cloud-form,</i>
aia i laila ka wai a Kāne.	<i>there is the water of Kāne.</i>

E ui aku ana au iā ‘oe:	<i>One question I put to you:</i>
Aia i hea ka wai a Kāne?	<i>Where rests the water of Kāne?</i>
Aia i luna ka wai a Kāne	<i>Up on high is the water of Kāne,</i>
i ke ao ouli, i ke ao ‘ele‘ele	<i>In the dark heavens, in the black cloud,</i>
i ke ao panopano	<i>in the deep-black cloud,</i>
i ke ao pōpolohua mea a Kāne lā ē,	<i>in the purple-blue-red hued place of Kāne,</i>

aia i laila ka wai a Kāne.

there is the water of Kāne.

E ui aku ana au iā ‘oe:

A question I ask of you:

Aia i hea ka wai a Kāne?

Where flows the water of Kāne?

Aia i lalo, i ka honua, i ka wai hū,

Deep in the ground, in the gushing spring,

i ka wai kau a Kāne me Kanaloa

where the waters of Kāne and Kanaloa dwell

he waipuna, he wai e inu

it is the spring, the water to quench,

he wai e mana, he wai e ola!

the water of mana, the water of life!

E ola nō ea!

Long may it live!

(N. B. Emerson, 1982, pp. 257–259)

Beyond listing the body-forms of Kāne, this mele is infused with direction, landmarks, and observations that tell the audience the various kinolau of Kāne. It also explains the hydrological water cycle and demonstrates the depth of Kānaka observations. One of the most striking lines is found in the last verse, which states: “i ka wai kau a Kāne me Kanaloa.” This line describes the unseen water stored underground in the porous rock and is represented by the relationship between Kāne and his akua counterpart Kanaloa, whose kinolau is saltwater. Here, the expansive interpretation of kaona and kinolau manifests that Kānaka understood the properties of water and the complex science of hydrology. Kānaka knew full-well that kai (saltwater) has a higher density than wai (freshwater), and in our aquifers, the freshwater of Kāne is suspended in a lens above Kanaloa.

In much the same way that the multitude of connections in a kōkō can only be fully seen, perceived, and understood when viewing it in its entirety, mo‘olelo is a methodological process, with kaona and kinolau espousing the researcher to cultivate a depth of understanding that considers its relationship to all possible elements. To include the literal and physical, mental and spiritual, while also pondering the figurative, metaphorical, and allegorical contexts. What George Kanahale (1986a) refers to the “ability to tap the subconscious faculty of understanding” (p. 48). Of course, this process is not without its limitations and challenges, as Kanahale goes on to explain:

While the language of myth has a consistency and logic of its own, it transcends rules of logic; while it has common sense, it makes uncommon sense; while it has a technique, it is never technically exact; while it must be definable, it deals with the undefinable—with what ‘surpasseth all human understanding—with the world of the sacred that binds and connects all things to its center. (G. S. Kanahale, 1986a, p. 48)

Kanahale’s poignant explanation of the unfathomable bonds between myth and the sacred world is a subtle reminder that oversight and inaccuracies are inevitable. Regardless of a

researcher's attempts to cultivate a thorough depth of understanding, oversights are certain. Moreover, the shortcoming might not be realized until the endeavor is complete, as is often the case with *kōkō pu'upu'u*. It is only after the net is tied, suspended, and viewed from a distance it can be fully appreciated; however, it is often at this point that flaws are discovered, and the diligent practitioner acknowledges that their work is not done.

Makawalu as an Analytical Methodology

Pe'ape'a maka walu

#2621

Eight-eyed Pe'ape'a

One who is wide awake and very observant; one who is skilled.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 288)

Once the many forms and manifestations become apparent, their relationships can be examined. It is through makawalu that this process becomes possible. A conjunction of two words, *maka* (eye) and *'ewalu* (eight), makawalu figuratively refers to numerous ways of seeing, perceiving, and approaching (Handy & Pukui, 1972; Louis, 2017). According to Hawaiian scholar David Malo (1951), makawalu was employed as a battle formation when fighting on brush-covered plains with irregularly grouped warriors. As a combat tactic, it is an interactive strategy that allows for constant adjustment in an environment with dynamic conditions and circumstances (Malo, 2006; Emory in Pratt 1965; Malo & Emerson, 1951). As a research methodology, it is an approach that appreciates the multitude of relationships and meanings that imbue Hawaiian culture and language. Figuratively, the *kōkō* is an especially fitting metaphor for this methodology, in that the physical and aesthetic effectiveness of all nets relies simultaneously on each individual knot as an integral part of the whole. For *kōkō*, makawalu does not just happen; *maka* are formed after each successive knot is secured, then its relationship to the whole is realized and fully appreciated.

The significance of makawalu methodology for this research is three-fold. First, the *mo'okū'auhau* and *mo'olelo* of *kūpuna*, *kumu*, and *hoaloha* (friends/peers), are a makawalu that provide numerous pairs of eyes and perspectives. Pondering this *'ike*, the researcher is further encouraged to makawalu personal *mo'olelo*, and engage *na'au* (instinct) for guidance, clarity, and understanding. Secondly, makawalu validates the perspective that *mo'olelo* are presented and can be understood in multiple ways. To this end, artifact examination, in-depth interviews, and personal reflections are ways to makawalu the data collection processes and assess its usefulness. Lastly, makawalu is applied during the final analysis and interpretation

of the data. Throughout this process, the researcher must be cognoscente that each data point functions individually and interacts with the aggregate. By viewing the data both individually and as a whole, the significance of these cultural objects can be better appreciated, and their relevance to contemporary Hawai‘i fully understood.

Data Sources and Methods

Qualitative research is an inquiry that helps us understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena (Creswell & Creswell, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). At its core, this research sought to examine and understand the persistence of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u despite significant cultural oppression and loss. Qualitative data was sourced and collected by examining museum-held artifacts and semi-structured interviews with contemporary practitioners. This approach provides a bridge between historical evidence and credible oral histories from key-informants with an extensive cultural knowledge base (Fox, 2017).

Thematic analysis of the data attempted to identify, reclaim, and restore what it means to be a Kanaka practitioner in contemporary Hawai‘i. All of these methods were underpinned by ‘ike Kānaka and incorporate, among other appropriate practices, pule (prayer), makana (gift-giving) and, ho‘olauna (introductions). As introduced earlier, all sources of data and methods of data collection align with the Kā ‘A‘aha research methodology and framework previously explained in this chapter.

Artifact Examinations

I ulu no ka lālā o ke kumu.

#1261

The branches grow because of the trunk.

Without our ancestors, we would not be here.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 137)

The kōkō pu‘upu‘u of kūpuna are the single source, mo‘okū‘auhau, and mo‘olelo that drives this thesis. The researcher would be remiss if the mana of those kūpuna were not included in this work. Like their iwi, these artifacts are the only tangible evidence that remains. Artifact examination began with a search of the ethnographic and photographic catalog to identify and distinguish known examples of kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Though the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum holds the most extensive collection of kōkō pu‘upu‘u in existence, this collection is already well cataloged and accessible via other published documents. That being the case, the decision was made to locate and examine kōkō pu‘upu‘u specimens outside of the Bishop Museum

collection.

Starting with the Directory of Historical Records and Repositories in Hawai‘i, 5th edition (Dunn et al., 2014), institutions were sorted based on their self-identified subject specialization. Institutions that were not directly connected to Hawaiian historical and cultural preservation were removed from the contact list, while other institutions that met the profile were added. In total, forty Hawai‘i based library, museum, or archival institutions were contacted via email. Following an introduction to the research topic, an inquiry was made about the possibility of kōkō pu‘upu‘u housed in their collection. Institutions from all inhabited Hawaiian Islands were contacted, except for Ni‘ihau, which does not have a museum. However, due to proximity and long association with Kaua‘i, it was accepted that possible artifacts from Ni‘ihau would be located in the collection of the Kaua‘i Museum. Of the institutions that responded to the inquiry, Bailey House Museum in Wailuku, Maui; Hānaiakamalama or Queen Emma Summer Palace in Nu‘uanu, O‘ahu; and the Hawai‘i State Archives all responded that their collections contained either actual kōkō pu‘upu‘u or related net specimens, that were available for physical examination.

The initial search for images of kōkō pu‘upu‘u via the internet, books, and in museum catalogs lead to inquiries with British Museum in London England, Berlin Museum in Germany, the Smithsonian Museum in Washington D.C., and the Peabody Essex Museum (PEM) in Salem Massachusetts. No response was received from the Berlin Museum, and the PEM was inaccessible due to significant renovations to their museum and archives. Unfortunately, the PEM was also unable to provide any detailed information specific to their Hawaiian holdings and possible kōkō pu‘upu‘u artifacts in their collection.

In total, thirty-one specimens were examined, of which fifteen were identified as kōkō pu‘upu‘u, twelve kōkō pū‘alu, and four hybrid nets that are described and discussed further in the data collection and analysis section of Chapter Seven. Identification and classification were based on construction material, manufacturing techniques, design aesthetic, and possible origin. The cataloging process included measuring and photographing each kōkō pu‘upu‘u, including the piko, hānai, and pū. Reasonable discretion was used for several kōkō pu‘upu‘u were too fragile to handle. The information compiled may one day be added to the permanent record for accountability and preservation of kōkō pu‘upu‘u knowledge.

Practitioner Interviews

Ma ka hana ka ‘ike.

#2088

In working, one learns.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 227)

The mo‘olelo of five men who have sought to understand the techniques and traditions of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u serve as the largest source of qualitative data for this research. All participants interviewed are regarded as knowledgeable practitioners and leading researchers in the practice of tying kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Their credibility as key-informants has been established through their individual hana (work) and collective efforts to revitalize and perpetuate kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u traditions. All participants come from different backgrounds and experiences, yet they are all connected by a singular focus. Although each of these men developed an independent interest in kōkō pu‘upu‘u, they all shared familiar stories, and perspectives about the significance of kōkō pu‘upu‘u and relevance to contemporary Hawaiian society,

Though their approach to this work varies, each participant has explored and faced similar challenges and rewards. In many ways, it would be possible to view all participants as a single case study; however, this research considers them a community of collaborative scholars who share common lived experiences (Oliveira & Wright, 2015). Through mutual respect of each other’s independent research interests, a multiplicity of interpretations can be explored, and discussions engaged.

Participant Selection. Of primary concern with regards to participant-selection is that fewer than a dozen individuals practice this craft. Although a person might be proficient in the mechanics of tying a kōkō pu‘upu‘u, that may not necessarily correlate with an in-depth understanding of cultural, spiritual, linguistic, and historical perspectives that are integral to the research objectives. After careful consideration, the following criteria were applied when selecting interview participants:

- Proficiency of the fundamental techniques for tying kōkō pu‘upu‘u.
- Possess a rudimentary understanding of historical events and mo‘olelo connected to kōkō pu‘upu‘u.
- The ability to provide meaningful perspectives about traditional kōkō pu‘upu‘u significance and practice, derived from other aspects of cultural knowledge as acquired through relevant training, education, experience, or practice.

Participant gender and ancestry were not factored into participant selection since the current number of proficient practitioners who meet the listed criteria is already limited. Consideration was given that qualified key-informants might opt to not participate in this research, further reducing the number of participants to a less-than-desirable population. Seven practitioners were initially identified as meeting the selection criteria, all of which are permanent residents of the State of Hawai‘i, with three residing on the island of Maui, one participant residing in Hilo on Hawai‘i island, and three remaining participants living on the island of O‘ahu. All were contacted via email or in-person via telephone; of those contacted, six responded and agreed to be interviewed. No response was received from one practitioner and one participant was eventually removed from the study after it was determined that they only met two of the three criteria for participation.

Participants were presented with an explanation of the research topic and allowed to ask clarifying questions. An outline of the interview processes and questions to be asked was provided before the interview. Participant rights were explained, along with clearly identified obligations and responsibilities of the researcher. Every effort was made to put practitioners at ease and minimize their burden of participation, therefore, interviewees were allowed to select the date, time, and location for each interview. Out of respect for their time, each participant was reassured that the interview would not take more than one hour unless they were available or wished to meet longer. A mutually agreeable date, time, and location for each interview was then scheduled.

On the day of each interview, all participants were reminded of their right to withdraw and anonymity. Each freely consented by signing the agreement form and reassured that no other person would have unauthorized access to any information they provided. All participants willingly agreed to be identified in the research. Responses to the interview questions were audio-recorded and then transcribed. Participants were invited to review the transcriptions for corrections and or clarification of their responses.

Kūkākūkā: Semi-Structured Interviews. Kūkākūkā serves as a model for collaborative Kānaka research that celebrates other knowledge holders. This is research through conversation and critical examination (Oliveira, 2015). This approach is also auto-ethnographic in nature and positions the researcher within the research framework. A mutual understanding between the researcher and interviewee supports active discussion and positions

the writer in the most effective position to inquire, analyze, comprehend, and transmit the narrative. In this collaborative approach, knowledge holders become co-researchers in the discovery process. Fueled by mutual interest, conversations can be sustained and can lead to deeper understanding. The outcome is research that is respectful, responsive, and reciprocal (Fraser, 2012). As supported by Smith (1997), these approaches are grounded in the best interest and realities of the group. This type of research brings with it the benefits of the researcher's ability to potentially construct real solutions that bring about real change, as a stakeholder too—thrusting the researcher from the role of an impartial facilitator, to taking responsibility for ensuring the very best outcome for those involved (Smith, 1997).

Not dissimilar to semi-structured interviews, *kūkākūkā*, as a method of data collection, is aimed not only at the elicitation of personal experiences but also their reflections on literature and historical events as well as opinions about Kānaka beliefs and traditional practices. The semi-structured interviews included open-ended questions that followed the linear structure and themes of the Kā 'A'aha methodology:

- What is the participant's *ēwe* (source) of *kōkō pu'upu'u* knowledge?
- How does the participant's *piko* (na'au/intuition) inform them about the history of *kōkō pu'upu'u*?
- How has this practice strengthened the participant's *iwi* (cultural knowledge and contemporary understanding)?
- How does each participant feel about the *koko* (life/perpetuation) of *kā kōkō pu'upu'u*?

Chapter Summary

This chapter explained the conceptual framework that underpins this research and establishes Kā 'A'aha as the methodology that this thesis follows. While there are many valid and practical Indigenous and non-Indigenous research methodologies available, Kanaka 'Ōiwi theory is the most appropriate approach, considering that the topic and subject matter is uniquely Hawaiian; and not to mention that this research is by, with, and for Kānaka. The chapters that follow explore literature pertinent to the evolution and development of *kōkō pu'upu'u*; which begins with an ethnohistorical account of Kānaka origins and cultural development.

Section Two: Hīpu‘upu‘u ka Hānai

Tie the Body

Divided into four main sections, the literature chapters in this section are structured around the themes of the Kā ‘A‘aha methodological framework. Chapter three, Ku‘u Ēwe, explores the literal and metaphorical foundations of kōkō pu‘upu‘u as they relate to the oceanic origins of Kānaka. Accordingly, the chapter also examines the origins of kōkō pu‘upu‘u through a family of fibers and other physical materials that bring these objects into fruition. Chapter four, Ku‘u Piko, explores the greater mo‘okū‘auhau of ‘aha (cordage) by examining the role that ‘aha plays in mo‘olelo, mele, pule, and ‘ōlelo no‘eau. From this mo‘okū‘auhau that we develop a clearer understanding of the elevated status of cordage as a piko (focal point) in Hawaiian society. Chapter five, Ku‘u Iwi, describes the physical representation of cord and nets in traditional social, political, and religious practices. While ‘aha (physical cordage) is essential to almost every aspect of Hawaiian material culture, it also represents one of the most powerful metaphors for political and religious strength, which ultimately binds society together (Kikiloi, 2012a). Chapter six, Ku‘u Koko, examines the persistence of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u and its resurgence in contemporary times. The culmination of this literature chapter also identifies significant periods and highlights current events that demonstrate the resilience of Kānaka in resisting foreign occupation and cultural imperialism.

Literature that directly discusses kōkō pu‘upu‘u is scarce, and no literature has come to light that examines these objects from the practitioner’s perspective. The depth of this review is intended to fill this void and further contribute to an understanding of Kānaka belief systems, practices, and traditions. Pertinent literature is presented from a Kānaka practitioner’s paradigm and intentionally includes Indigenous mythology, cosmogony, and relevant religious and social protocols. While Western perspectives might strive to separate tangible from intangible and empirical from theoretical, Kānaka cosmogony acknowledges the holistic connections between the physical and non-physical and the spiritual and secular realms. This Kanaka epistemology sets the framework for a uniquely Indigenous study where terms like ‘ohana (family) include physical and spiritual family, and mo‘olelo acknowledges mythology as non-fiction based on real Kānaka and actual events. It also acknowledges nā akua (gods), kupua (deities), and ‘aumākua (deified ancestors) as having many physical and spiritual forms and therefore are ever-present.

Without a written language, Kānaka relied on memory to store, and oral tradition to transmit knowledge from one generation to the next (Malo, 1951). Housed in mo‘okū‘auhau

(genealogies), mo‘olelo (story), mele (song), pule (prayers), and ‘ōlelo no‘eau (proverbs) are the collective memories that encompass the history, values, and beliefs of the entire culture (Kikiloi, 2010). These accounts are built on historical truth and cannot be disregarded as false or fabricated since there was a sacred responsibility to accurately recall this oral literature (G. S. Kanahele, 1986a). Consequently, when these collective memories were chronicled in print, they were subject to the further scrutiny of other experts for further correctness (Johnson, 1976). As such, literature drawn from these knowledge sources is considered accurate and truthful; therefore, they are also deemed relevant.

In addition to honoring ‘ike kūpuna, these chapters further familiarize the reader with traditional Kānaka worldviews and philosophies of knowledge. From this position, we are better able to understand the role of ‘aha in ancient Hawai‘i and grasp the depth and breadth of intangible cultural knowledge that kōkō pu‘upu‘u represent.

Chapter Three

Ku‘u Ēwe — Historical Origins

Entitled Ku‘u Ēwe, this chapter explores the oceanic origins of Kānaka and traditional kōkō pu‘upu‘u through the primary materials that Kānaka used to create these unique artifacts. As Mary Kawena Pūku‘i explains: “Ewe...represents a family type. Ewe also means family characteristic and the birthplace of ones people” (Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 47). Appropriately, this chapter examines the family of fibers and other physical materials that bring these objects into fruition. Through this narrative's reclaiming, we honor ‘ike kūpuna (ancestral knowledge) and demonstrate this cultural practice as a vast repository of intangible cultural knowledge.

Hawai‘i: Location and Early Settlement

Situated at the northern apex of the Polynesian triangle, Hawai‘i is geographically located over 6,000 kilometers east of Japan, almost 5,000 kilometers south of Alaska, and almost 4,000 kilometers west of North America. Three thousand seven hundred kilometers to the south, we find our closest neighbor, the Marquesas Islands, making Hawai‘i one of the most isolated archipelagos on Earth (Hommon, 2016; Kepler, 1998; Kirch, 2012). Though the main inhabited islands are located just south of the Tropic of Cancer, the Hawaiian archipelago extends over 2,450 kilometers to the northwest and consists of 132 islands, reefs, and atolls (Kirch, 1985). Most of those islands are no more than rocky pinnacles and shallow sandbars. Nevertheless, with little water and minimal plant life, Kānaka made regular expeditions to these barren islands to exploit abundant marine life and, more importantly, to conduct significant religious protocol on the temples that the ali‘i had erected (Bellwood, 1978; Buck, 1959; Kikiloi, 2012b).

That Kānaka would regularly venture to these isolated and virtually uninhabitable places comes as no surprise when considering what it took to locate and settle in Hawai‘i initially. While the presence of the South American sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) and gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria*) might suggest the Americas as the migratory origins of Polynesians (Heyerdahl, 1952), more persuasive ethnobotanical, anthropological, and archeological evidence suggest otherwise. The evidence of material culture by way of fishhooks and adz forms, and on linguistic grounds, advance the prevailing theory that the first inhabitants of Hawai‘i originated from the Marquesas Islands (Kirch, 1984; Pearce, 2010).

As Western science searches for evidence to explain the origin of our people, Kānaka recall the first-hand accounts from oral literature that have been passed down from those ancient times. Fixed in our mo‘olelo are the names of distant lands that orient us to the south. Names like Polapola¹², Nu‘uhiwa¹³, and Upolu¹⁴ recall the islands where our gods were born, and the ēwe of our kūpuna are buried. They honor the chiefs, priests, and navigators that made the journey while also providing possible explanations of how the pae ‘āina (archipelago) originally got its name.

Some say the name Hawai‘i is a nostalgic reminder of “Hawaiki,” referring to Ra‘iatea and Tahiti, as the original homelands of our kūpuna (Buck, 1959; Porteus, 1945). However, as retold by the Kanaka historian Kepelino Kahō‘āli‘i Keauokalani (2007), “Hawai‘i-nui... was the first man of high standing to come to these islands, and he became the ancestor of the chiefs and people of Hawaii” (p.74). Kepelino further states that Hawai‘i-nui was a fisherman who knew the seas well and came to these islands from a place called Kahiki-Honua-Kele (The land that moved off). First discovering the island of Kaua‘i and then the rest of the island group, he named the largest island after himself and used his children’s names and those who sailed with him for the other islands.

In another version collected by Abraham Fornander (1980, 1985), the name of the ali‘i is Hawai‘i Loa, who is also known as Ke-Kowa-i-Hawai‘i. Coming from Ka-‘āina-kai-melemele-a Kane (Land of the yellow sea of Kane), this chief, noted fisherman and navigator, was on a long fishing excursion with his chief navigator, Makali‘i. Sailing in the direction of ‘Iao (Jupiter), the eastern star, they navigate toward to Hoku ‘ula, the red star (Aldebaran), and then toward another constellation of stars, and then further. Following this path, they arrive at ka moku hikina loa or the eastern-most island (Thrum, 2001). Going ashore, they found a land that was “fertile and pleasant, filled with awa and coconut trees...Hawai‘i Loa, the chief, called the land after his own name” (Fornander, 1985, p. 278). After filling their wa‘a (canoe) with fish and food, they returned to their homeland. For his last voyage, Hawai‘i Loa returned to Hawai‘i with his wife, children, and family, and it is for this reason that some claim “the whole Hawaiian race is descended from the one stock” (Beckwith, 1982, p. 363).

¹² Hawaiian pronunciation for Bora Bora in the Society Islands, retained as the birthplace of Pele (K. Cook, 2018).

¹³ Hawaiian pronunciation for Nukuiwa in the Marquesas Islands (Fornander, 1985).

¹⁴ Southern island in Sāmoa, remembered as the place where a cultivar of ‘ulu (breadfruit) was first sourced (Chang, 2016).

Although these mo‘olelo speak to the origins of Hawai‘i’s first arrivals and the ku‘auhau that follow, these genealogical successions do not easily align with the Western calendar. While Kānaka maintained a calendric system, based on seasons, months, and days, it was not their custom to record events based on the annual solar cycle (Stokes, 1933). References to the past are typically reconciled chronologically with “wā” which refer to specific periods or eras. History is also recalled according to the reign of particular ali‘i or by association with significant events such as famous battles, or celestial¹⁵ and natural events like volcanic eruptions, tidal waves, and floods (S. M. Kamakau, 1992).

Early efforts by Western historians and academics attempted to assign a fixed number of years for each generation; however, this only provides a broad approximation of dates. With the advent of radiocarbon dating by Willard Libby following World War II, more accurate dating became possible (Kirch, 2012). Based on dated evidence from early settlement sites throughout Hawai‘i, it has been suggested that first contact occurred no earlier than 800 CE and no later than 1000 CE (Heyerdahl, 1952; Kirch, 2000, 2010; Marck, 2000). If these dates are correct, Hawaiian civilization would have benefited from almost 1000 years of growth before the first Europeans arrived in 1778.

This timeline has begun to shift after a group of researchers analyzed and dated more than 1400 samples collected throughout the Pacific. Using more accurate radiocarbon dating technology, the research suggests that the initial settlement of the Pacific happened about four centuries later than previously believed and occurred in two distinct phases. The first phase resulted in settlers reaching the Society Islands in central Polynesia between 1025-1120 CE, and then final expansion to Hawai‘i and the rest of eastern Polynesia between 1190 and 1290 CE (Terrell, 2011). If accurate, this would mean that the whole of Hawaiian civilization materialized in less than six hundred years.

While Western technology attempts to reconcile archeological evidence with the Gregorian calendar, the researcher has opted to follow the practice of kūpuna by using genealogical succession as an appropriate method for establishing a chronological timeline. This practice, however, comes with its challenges. It would be naïve to expect that all names and generations

¹⁵ The birth of Kamehameha I is said to have coincided with the first appearance of a star. It is speculated that the star may have been Halley’s Comet which would have been first seen at his birthplace, Kokoiki, Hawai‘i island, on 1, December, 1758 (S. M. Kamakau, 1992).

be cleanly housed in a single unencumbered genealogy. Simultaneously, favoring a single dynasty would only serve to dismiss the lineages of other ali'i that once ruled as sovereigns of their separate individual kingdoms (Kamakau, 1992).

Though many divisions existed between the independent island kingdoms, strategic alliances were honored and maintained through carefully crafted unions and well-established genealogical associations with common ancestors (Handy & Pukui, 1972). For the Papa Ali'i, or ranking body of high chiefs, this means tracing their ancestry to one of two brothers, Nanaulu and Ulu (Beckwith, 1982). As noted by Abraham Fornander (1980) and Edith Kawena McKinzie (1983), in their extensive examinations of Hawaiian chiefly genealogies, it appears that the chiefs from Kaua'i and O'ahu maintained a paired affinity with frequent references to the genealogy of Nanaulu. Likewise, the southern cluster dominated by Maui and Hawai'i Island; and often including Moloka'i, Lāna'i, and Kaho'olawe, show their alignment as a familial group by tracing their genealogies to Ulu (Beckwith, 1982).

Stemming from Papa and Wākea, the fourteen generations leading to Nanaulu and Ulu appear almost identical, which explains why the two-family lines are equally respected; however, also solicits the reason for their division? Fornander (1980) suggests that the probable separation of the two branches occurred with the early settlement of Hawai'i by Nanaulu. He and his descendants would live in isolation "...for a period that may be roughly stated to have extended over ten to twelve generations" (p.206). This period of seclusion for the Nanaulu group would end with the arrival of descendants of Ulu, who would also assert their line of chiefs.

The chronology of this two-stage migration theory is pertinent to this thesis in that it also reflects the evolution of material culture as it pertains to cordage, knots, and net making. Without these critical components and the social shifts that coincided with these migrations, net-tying might have never advanced to the level of innovation exhibited by kōkō pu'upu'u. Consequently, before this ethnohistorical literature review can familiarize the reader with the tangible cultural heritage of this craft, a general understanding of these social dynamics helps frame the significance of kōkō pu'upu'u as a product of this cultural evolution.

Origins, Characteristics and Physical Materials of Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u

**Pa mai, pa mai ka makani nui o Hilo
Ka ipu nui lawe mai
Ka ipu iki waiho aku.**

*Blow, blow, ye wind of Hilo,
Bring the large wind calabash
Leave the small one.*

A prayer said to bring up the winds while sailing.
(Gutmanis, 1983, p. 83)

The arrival in a new land is only one measure of a successful voyage. In preparation for the journey, the ocean-going wa‘a would need to be provisioned for survival, well-beyond the voyage. As Hawaiian Ethnobotanist Isabella Abbot (1992) states:

Apart from species introduced by accident, plants brought by the settlers must have been ones important to them in their previous home. If a plant had not proved its usefulness in the Marquesas, it is extremely unlikely that it would have been given space on canoes laden with people, pigs, dogs, chickens, water, and food stocks to be eaten en route. (p. 5)

Many of the plants making the journey would not have been essential to the voyage but would have been carefully selected for propagation in the new land. The risk of one or more plants being incompatible with the new environment would also necessitate bringing multiple varieties. Though Hawai‘i has numerous species of Indigenous plants for cordage, Abbott (1992) identifies six fiber-producing plants that are common to Polynesia and would have, more than likely, been brought during the earliest migrations. These include hau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), wauke (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), niu (*Cocos nucifera*), hala (*Pandanus odoratissimus*), ‘ahu‘awa (*Cyperus javanicus*), and ko‘ali ‘ai (*Ipomoea cairica*).

The geographic isolation of Hawai‘i would have had significant implications for the earliest Polynesian explorers. The first settlers would have been confronted with flora and fauna that was somewhat unfamiliar to them (Handy & Handy, 1972). Experimentation with endemic plants, vines, and grasses would eventually yield additional resources for cordage and binding materials. The new plants would eventually be identified and given the names, olonā (*Touchardia spp.*), ‘ākia (*Wikstroemia spp.*), Ōpuhe (*Urera spp.*), Mamaki (*Pipturus spp.*), ‘Ie‘ie (*Freycinetia arborea*), huehue (*Cocculus spp.*), and ‘uki‘uki (*Dianella spp.*) (Handy & Handy, 1972; Krauss, 1993).

Raw and unprocessed vines, grasses, and tree barks have been used for tying and basic lashing for most of human history. The advantages of collecting and isolating specific plant fibers was

realized by our earliest ancestors, even before they ventured into the Pacific. Recognizing that processed fibers are more manageable and have higher durability than fibers in their raw form, Kānaka began to experiment with making kaula,¹⁶ capitalizing on these desirable qualities (Abbott, 1992). Once the techniques for binding, splicing, and tying those fibers were mastered, kaula of variable size, strength, and infinite length became a reality (Summers, 1990).

Since the focus of this research centers on kōkō pu‘upu‘u, an examination of all cordage fibers and kaula types is unnecessary. Building on artifact examinations by Brigham, Stokes, and Summers, and the ethnobotanical works of Abbott, Handy and Handy, Kepler, and Krauss, the discussion focuses on the three most prevalent types of kaula found in traditional kōkō pu‘upu‘u. While there is a strong possibility that additional fibers may have been used to produce these objects, this discussion centers on the artifacts cataloged in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum collection. In addition to the nets themselves, the ipu (gourd) and ‘umeke (wood calabash) vessels typically suspend in kōkō pu‘upu‘u are also described.

Calabash Containers of Gourd and Wood

‘A‘ohe ipu ‘ōpio e ‘ole ka mimino i ka lā.

#155

*No immature gourd can withstand
withering in the sun [without care].*

No child can get along without adult supervision.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 20)

The traditional practice of judging the cultural advancement of primitive people, based on the existence of pottery, presents a heavy bias, especially when considering the lack of clay on volcanic and coral islands (Dodge, 1978). Without the primary geological material to produce earthenware containers, Polynesians turning to their biological environment for a solution. The shell of the niu (coconut, *Cocos nucifera*) and the chambers of the ‘ohe (bamboo, *Schizostachyum glaucifolium*) are efficient for holding small items and low volumes of liquid; however, their limited capacity becomes all the more pronounced when growth time is factored. Although ‘ohe is relatively fast-growing, in most cases, bamboo requires several years of growth before reaching a size or height that is practical and useful. The same applies

¹⁶ Kaula is the general term for cordage and rope of all types and commonly refers to any kind of cord, string, line, and strap (Malo, 1951). While Western terminology commonly distinguishes cord and rope based on diameter or circumference, Kānaka make this distinction based on the fiber material. ‘Aha typically refers to twisted (hilo) or braided (hili) cord made with coconut fiber, human hair, or animal intestine. Aho refers to cord made with all other fibers (Pukui & Elbert, 1986a; Summers, 1990).

to the niu, which does not produce any fruit for the first four or five years of growth (Handy & Handy, 1972). Fruit of the fast-growing pōhue vine (*Lagenaria siceraria*), on the other hand, is a natural alternative that addresses all shortcomings presented in other plants. Typically requiring less than a year to produce suitable vessels in various sizes and shapes, the ipu¹⁷ (gourd) is a melon in the same family as squash and cucumbers, which is widely distributed throughout most of the tropical and semi-tropical regions of the world (Dodge, 1978). Native to Africa, it was naturally assumed that the gourd was introduced to Polynesia by way of human migration through Melanesia. However, since there is no record of the ipu in Fiji nor Western Polynesia, the ipu likely arrived in Eastern Polynesia by way of tropical America (Whistler, 1990).

One of the few plants grown from seed, Kānaka, cultivated two varieties of ipu, which thrive in Hawai‘i’s warm climate and fertile volcanic soil. The smaller ipu mānalo (sweet gourd) is a non-poisonous gourd with edible pulp, while the poisonous ipu ‘awa‘awa (bitter gourd) was used for containers and medicine (Westervelt, 1922). Skilled horticulturalists, Kānaka hybridized the ipu ‘awa‘awa to produce at least twelve different types of ipu (G. S. Kanahale, 1986). One such variety was the ipu nui (large gourd), a designation applied to enormous gourds that were unique to Hawai‘i (Abbott, 1992). Now considered extinct, these gourds were grown to extreme proportions, some as large as “eighteen feet in circumference” (S. M. Kamakau, 1976b, p. 46), and reported to be capable of holding up to 40 liters of liquid (Whistler, 2009).

Great care was taken at every stage of growing all ipu, but especially when the ipu ‘awa‘awa bore fruit; then it “was cared for like a baby” (Alu Like, 2002, p. 175; Handy & Handy, 1972, p. 215). The ideal time to plant gourds is during the rainy season, allowing six to eight months for the fruit to grow, mature, and then benefit from the heat of summer to dry (Abbott, 1992; S. M. Kamakau, 1976b). Kānaka believed that planting on the thirteenth day of the lunar month, during the Hua moon, is optimal for any plant that bears fruit. Hua, meaning fruit or egg, is the moon that appears three or four days before the full moon, and its rounded shape is considered a good omen for large, plump, and abundant crops (Handy & Handy, 1972).

¹⁷ Ipu is a general term for any gourd, melon, or pumpkin, but also describes any receptacle, container, calabash, basin, pot, or bowl, regardless of the material that it is made of. Generally, the bottle gourd possessing two chambers is an ipu, whereas any narrow-necked water gourd is a hue, while the long gourd container commonly used for water or awa (*Piper methysticum*) is termed ‘olo (Pukui & Elbert, 1986).

Leaving nothing to chance, Kānaka thoroughly considered the infinite connections between intent and action, believing that mana imbued in every step of the process and impacted the final outcome. Foreign contact did not diminish these beliefs. As new tools fell into the hands of skilled mahi'ai (farmers), the virtues attributed to these new implements, like the 'o'o or digging stick, were believed to contribute to agricultural success. As explained by Kepelino (2007) in *Traditions of Hawai'i*: "Kanu ipu-pu, aohe pilo oo. Kanu umeke, a huewai paha, e kanu me ka oo hao, i manoanoa ka iwi owaho, huewai a umeke paha" (p. 159). As translated by Martha Beckwith in the same text: "In planting pumpkin any kind of digging stick will do. In planting calabash and water gourd vines use iron o-o so the rind will be thick" (p.158). Once the soil is prepared and the farmer is ready to sow the seeds, expressive displays and ceremony imparted great mana and inspiration to the pōhue. As detailed further in Handy and Handy (1972):

It was believed that a pot-bellied man should plant gourds, and that before planting he should eat a large meal, so that his gourds would fill out like his stomach ('*opu*). He should stoop as he carried his seed, holding his arms bowed out as though embracing a huge *ipu*, struggle along, and puff. Coming to the hole he had dug and dropping the seed suddenly with an outward motion of the hands, palms up (not twisting and turning down the palms, which would make the gourd crooked and shriveled), he would say:

<i>He ipu nui!</i>	A huge ipu!
<i>O hiki ku mauna,</i>	Growing like a mountain,
<i>O hiki kua,</i>	To be carried on the back
<i>Nui maoli keia ipu!</i>	Really huge is this gourd!

Encouraged by this little drama, the plant was certain to produce huge fruit. This rite was doubtless addressed only to the giant gourd seed. (p. 215)

From a western perspective, the "drama" described above might seem excessive, if not inconsequential, for the simple task of planting a seed. For Kānaka, however, the accomplishment of planting the pōhue seed signified more than an attempt to grow a crop and harvest the fruit.

Looking at mo'olelo, we can better understand that ipu represents a significant part of Kānaka cosmogony and mythology. This belief is expressed in prayer as, "O ka ipu ka honua nui nei..." or "The gourd is this great world..." (Emmerson in Malo, 1951, pp. 88–89); a reference to the ancestral mo'olelo known as Kumuhonua (ancient ancestor). The story describes how Papa (earth-mother), gave birth to an ipu, which was used to create the universe. Taken by Wākea

(sky father), the ipu was divided into parts. The top or cover was thrown upward, becoming the heavens. From the seeds and the pulp surrounding them, the sun, moon, stars, and sky were created. The earth, as well as the land and sea, were created from the gourd bowl that remained (Andersen, 1969; Beckwith, 1982; Dodge, 1978). Drawing on this cosmogenic connection, it becomes clear why Kānaka would go to great lengths to encourage the growth of an ipu, in much the same way a parent nurtures a child.

The association between gourd and child is also expressed in the “pule ipu,” when a father blesses his son with the vigor of the gourd vine (Handy & Handy, 1972). This prayer was recited as part of the important rite of passage when the male child was weaned from his mother and installed at the mua, or men’s eating house. During these prayers, ceremonial offerings for prosperity were made to the ku’ahu or altar, where a carved image stood with an ipu suspended around its neck (Malo, 1951). Another gourd symbol at the ku’ahu is the ipu o Lono (gourd of Lono), which was suspended either by strings attached to a wickerwork basket or in a kōkō. The ipu, which held fish and ‘awa, was attended to every morning and evening. As part of their daily ritual, the Kanaka took down the ipu and prayed for the good of the chief, the people, and the worshiper’s family, before partaking of the fish and ‘awa (Beckwith, 1982).

Pule and mo‘olelo also name ipu like Lonoku‘iku‘i, which contained explosive wind squalls that its keeper could control (Handy & Handy, 1972). Another mo‘olelo, from Hawai‘i Island, claims that when the demi-god Maui desired to fly his lupe (kite), there is no wind. So, he calls on Keli‘ioku, a priest from Waipi‘o valley, for help, since he was the keeper of Ipumakaniakamaumau or gourd of perpetual wind (Westervelt, 2007). Keli‘ioku could vary the strength of the wind by lifting the po‘i (lid) of the ipu, allowing Maui’s kite to sail into the sky above a place called Pi‘ihonua (Tangarō, personal communication, 2018). However, when Maui desires to fly higher and higher, the strong winds eventually cause the kite-string to break, and the lupe falls back to earth.

Another wind-gourd was possessed by Pāka‘a, who became kahu iwikuamo‘o (personal attendant) of Keawenuia‘umi, an ali‘i of Hawai‘i Island who lived 45 generations after Papa and Wakea (Fornander, 1980). As originally published in 1902 by Moses Kuaea Nakuina and translated by Eshter T. Mo‘okiki and Sarah Nākoa (2005), Pāka‘a is given Ipumakani a La‘amaomao or the wind gourd of La‘amaomao, which contains the iwi of his grandmother:

Then La‘amaomao lifted the lid of a large calabash and took out a small, long, highly polished gourd in a woven bag. The gourd was covered securely. She turned to her keiki and said, “I’m giving you this gourd which belonged to your extraordinary kupunawahine for whom I am named. Her bones are inside the gourd. While she was alive, she controlled all the winds of the islands...on windless days, she could remove the cover and call out the name of a wind, and the wind in this gourd would blow.”(Nakuina, 2005, p. 14)

With the help of Ipumakani a La‘amaomao, Pāka‘a repeatedly demonstrates his loyalty to his ali‘i until the time comes that his son, Kuapāka‘a, becomes responsible for the sacred ipu. In 1923, a calabash inscribed with the name “La‘amaomao” was given to the Bishop Museum and was said to have been the gourd possessed by Pāka‘a. An inscription states that it was placed in the royal burial cave of Hoaiku, on the sacred cliffs of Keoua, at Ka‘awaloa, Hawai‘i Island. It remained there until late 1882 then, Ka‘apana, the caretaker of Hoaiku, gave the large ipu to King Kalākaua on January 1, 1883 (Kawadahara in Nakuina, 2005).

In his broad examination of gourds in Hawai‘i and Polynesia, Ernest S. Dodge (1978) identifies fifty-three distinct ways that Polynesians utilized the ipu and credits Kānaka with more uses for the gourd than all other Polynesian groups combined. While most uses identify different types of containers, the shell of the ipu can be used to make utensils, musical instruments, toys, net floats, ceremonial masks, and a tool for navigation (Hīroa, 2003; S. M. Kamakau, 1976b). As demonstrated in the mo‘olelo of La‘amaomao, gourds were also used for the safekeeping of iwi; however, as Dodge (1978) states:

So far as I know, no bones of Hawaiians have ever been found buried in gourd containers. Hawaiian mythology, however contains so many instances of the bones of individuals being cleaned and kept in gourd urns that the stories must have had some basis of fact. (p. 37)

Other valuables such as fine kapa and featherwork were stored and kept secure in large ipu known as ‘umeke pōhue (Abbott, 1992). Essentially, serving as chests or trunks, these calabashes were fitted with a po‘i (cover) made by cutting the bottom hemisphere of another, enormous gourd, and made to fit over the opening of the ipu (Hīroa, 2003; Westervelt, 1922). For further safekeeping, a kōkō would be tied and made to fit the unique dimensions of the ipu and the accompanying po‘i, allowing it to be conveniently hung in the home or suspended by an ‘auamo (yoke) while traveling (Abbott, 1992; Dodge, 1978; Stokes, 1906; Summers, 1990; Young, 1999).

A full calabash.
A knowledgeable person.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 73)

Another type of ipu suspended in the kōkō is the ‘umeke lā‘au or wood calabash. Like all Polynesians, Kānaka were skilled carvers who refined their craft over many generations. Even before the arrival of iron tools, objects that served both symbolic and utilitarian purposes were shaped from both wood and stone into tools, weapons, and images for worship. ‘Umeke lā‘au are among some of the finest specimens of Hawaiian woodwork and arguably the most beautiful calabashes in Polynesia (Jenkins, 1989). Like the kōkō pu‘upu‘u, the ‘umeke lā‘au was an exclusive possession and status symbol reserved for the ali‘i in ancient times (Mitchell, 1992). These objects were so cherished that they were given names, and chants were composed to honor both the ‘umeke and the great achievements of the owner. As William Brigham (1908) describes in his book, *The Ancient Hawaiian House*:

The most highly esteemed and favorite calabashes had chants composed for them as though they were human beings, and when they were placed on the table one would hear their owner with proud countenances, chanting of the celebrated deeds of those for whom they were named. (p.155)

‘Umeke lā‘au were carved in a variety of shapes and sizes, some possessing unique embellishments like handles, finger scrapers, human figures, or ornamented with inlaid human teeth. The most desirable and coveted were large calabash that are similar in form and perhaps were inspired by the natural shape of the ipu (Hiroa, 2003; Jenkins, 1989; Krauss, 1993). For the large ‘umeke, Kānaka had various hardwoods to work with; however, the Indigenous evergreen known as kou (*Cordia subcordata*) was preferred and the most common for royal ‘umeke (David Malo, 1951). Softer and easier to work than other woods, kou furnishes a durable, beautiful wood with contrasting bands of dark and light grain (Whistler, 2009). These characteristics made kou a favorite and highly coveted wood of the ali‘i, as Kamakau (1976) reports in *The Works of the People of Old*:

Kou trees were another thing planted by *ka po‘e kahiko*. They were proud of the containers ‘umeke, shallow bowls, *ipu kai*, and flat platters, *pa la‘au*, they made from them. But *kou* trees were not extensively planted because the containers they made were so often seized or taken for the chiefs, and so could not be handed down to the grandchildren. (p. 47)

Once thriving in the hot leeward coasts throughout Hawai‘i, the introduction of an invasive species of moth (*Ethmia colorella* W.) around 1860 immediately took a toll on the once abundant tree (Jenkins, 1989). By 1871 it was noted by William Hillebrand (1888), a physician once appointed to the royal family of Kamehameha IV, that: “Along the seashore here and there; formerly much planted by the natives round their houses, but now almost exterminated by the ravages of a small moth...” (p. 321). Before its decimation, kou was known to grow to substantial sizes. One of the largest ‘umeke lā‘au in the Bishop Museum Collection is made from the heartwood of a single kou tree and measures 9 feet (274.32cm) in circumference (Brigham, 1908).

With the ipu or ‘umeke selected, the practitioner can turn their attention toward making the kōkō pu‘upu‘u. In much the same way that there is a selection process for the vessel, several options exist for creating the net that will accompany the ‘umeke. The first of which is deciding which type or types of cord to use in constructing the kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Affordable and abundantly available, machine-made cotton cord is the most common material used for kōkō pu‘upu‘u today. Traditionally, Kānaka made cord from a wide selection of plant fibers, and it is here that our discussion focuses.

Olonā: Endemic Fiber, Precious Cord

Ua niki‘i ‘ia i ke olonā o Honopū.

#2833

Tied fast with the olonā cord of Honopū.

Said of a situation that is made fast.

Honopū, Kaua‘i, was said to produce excellent olonā in ancient days.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 310)

Considered one of the strongest natural fibers in the world (Kepler, 1998; MacCaughey, 1918; Summers, 1990), kaula made from the endemic olonā (*Touchardia spp.*), was highly prized by Kānaka and considered the most superior cord in Polynesia and throughout the Pacific (Abbott, 1992; Krauss, 1993). In addition to its excellent strength, olonā is lightweight and easy to work. According to Catherine Summers (1990), a leading authority on Hawaiian cordage, olonā has a natural tendency to resist kinking, abrasion, and stretches very little. These properties, along with a natural resilience to deterioration when exposed to saltwater, make it ideal for fishing lines and use in making nets (Bryan, 1938; Handy & Handy, 1972; MacCaughey, 1918). E.H. Bryan Jr., a former curator of the B. P. Bishop Museum, made the following observation about olonā artifacts in the collection: “The fiber is so strong that it could be used for several generations without apparent deterioration. Several nets and capes of olona fiber, now in the

B. P. Bishop Museum, which have had over a hundred years of use, are still in a good state of preservation” (Bryan, 1965, p. 133)

Unlike many other plants, the origin of ‘olonā is not explained in mo‘olelo and does not appear to have a theological origin; however, so greatly admired by Kānaka, olonā was venerated as a lesser deity. Following the harvest and before spinning the fibers, Kānaka would recite the mele of Kawelo and make offerings and sacrifices of hogs, chickens, or fish (Kepler, 1998; MacCaughey, 1918). The chanted mele recalls the exploits of the high chief from Kaua‘i and his attempt to capture Uhumāka‘ika‘i, a giant parrotfish (*Scarus*). The chant also systematically references the harvest, processing, and preparation of the olonā fibers to be spun and used to make Kawelo’s ‘upena.

Kuhi kuu ka lani
Keaweawekaokai honua,
Kupu ola ua ulu ke ipuu.
Kekahi ‘ke olona.

I, a chief, willingly
Cast my net of olona,
The olona springs up, it grows,
It branches and is cut down.

Kahoekukama koho lani,
O kia ka piko o ke olona
Ihi a kai li no moki no lena,
Ahi kuni ka aala,
Kunia, haina, paia,
Holea, hoomoe ka papa,
Ke kahi ke olona,
Ke kau ko opua,
Ke kea ka maawe
Kau hae ka ilo ka uha,
Ke kaakalawa ka upena:

The paddles of the chief beat the sea,
Stripping off is the bark of the olona,
Peeled is the bark of the yellow moki,
The fire exhales a sweet odor,
The sacrifice is ready,
The bark is peeled, the board is made ready,
The olona is carded,
And laid on the board,
White is the cord,
The cord twisted on the thigh,
Finished is the net:

O kuu aku i kai,
I kai a Papa; ua hina,
E hia kohia i ka aa
O Uhumakaikai.

Cast it into the sea,
Into the sea of Papa; let him fall,
Let him fall, that I may strangle the neck
Of Uhumakaikai.

(Abbott, 1992, p. 59; MacCaughey, 1918, p. 237; Remy, 1868, p. 44)

As the mo‘olelo continues, lawai‘a (fishermen) off the coast of Wae‘anae, O‘ahu, would head out to sea, but Uhumāka‘ika‘i would terrorize them by generating large waves and capsizing their wa‘a (Beckwith, 1982; Fornander, 1985). Kawelo, who hears of the hardship caused by the great fish, heads out to sea, where he endeavors to capture and defeat Uhumāka‘ika‘i. It is said that before casting his ‘upena, Kawelo recites the mele mentioned above as a way to “pay

tribute to those who have woven the net that he is going to use to capture the monster of the sea” (Remy, 1868, p. 44). Once entangled in the net, the giant fish attempts to break free by swimming out to deeper waters. Fearing death, Kawelo’s companions plead for him to release his grip, but he refuses, and they are pulled further and further away from O‘ahu. The tug of war between Kawelo and Uhumāka‘ika‘i continues at sea for several days, and they are pulled to the island of Kaua‘i and eventually back to O‘ahu. Returning to where they first encountered Uhumāka‘ika‘i, only after Kawelo recites a second chant is he able to defeat the great fish and pull it to shore (Beckwith, 1982; Fornander, 1985; Rice, 1971).

Though olonā s highly coveted for its superior strength, it is also known for being “extremely difficult to grow” (Abbott, 1992, p. 60). In an article written by noted Hawaiian scholar and historian Samuel M. Kamakau and printed in the Hawaiian language newspaper Ke Au ‘Oko‘a on 2 December 1869, he states:

He kakaikahi nae na wahi kupono i ke olona, a nolaila, aole i pau loa ka lahua i ka mahiai i ke olona, ua kupu ke olona ma na aina ua nui, a ma na wahi opilopilo, aia ma ke kuahiwi i limua mau i ka wai a me ka ua, aole i ulu ke olona ma na kuahiwi apaapaa, ma na kuahiwi e ulu ana na ea maia, a e kahe mau ana na wai, a me no pipi wai, aia malaila e ulu ai ke olona ke kanu, ua kupono ma na aina Koolau, a he kakaikahi kahi kupono ma na aina e ae. (para. 10)

There were, however few places where olonā would grow, hence not all people cultivated olonā. It grew in rainy areas and in boggy patches and in those moss-covered high elevation which were always saturated with moisture. Olonā did not grow on bare mountainsides. It was in hills where banana patches grew, where water ran constantly, and where water trickled out of the rock that olonā grew best. It thrived on windward Ko‘olau sides of the islands and few places besides.

(Translated by Mary Kawena Pukui in Alu Like, 2002)

Recognizing that olonā required particular growing conditions, Kānaka cultivated patches of the shrub in the boggy locations where it naturally thrived (Bryan, 1965; Summers, 1990). After clearing any tall grass and vegetation that surrounded the standing olonā patch, propagation was done by layering young shoots and rooted branches on the ground and diligently monitoring for new growth (Abbott, 1992; Alu Like, 2002). Maintaining the valuable patches for a year to eighteen months, when the plants matured and reached a height of four to eight feet tall, the stalks were harvested. The bark was then removed in long strips, rolled, and

left to soak in a shallow stream or ditch for one to two days to soften the outer bark. Soaked strips were then unrolled and placed flat on a papa olonā (olonā scraping board). An uhi (scraper) of turtle bone or shell was used to separate the plant fibers until ribbons of fine, white inner fibers, known as bast, remained (Abbott, 1992; Handy et al., 1972; Kamakau, 1992; Krauss, 1993; Summers, 1990).

Dried olonā fibers are further processed into cord, known as aho, either by hili (braiding) or hilo (twisting), which is explained in greater detail later in this chapter. While the versatility of olonā lends itself for just about any task, due to its scarcity, it would be considered wasteful if the same work could be accomplished by another, more abundant type of cord. Matters concerning nā akua (gods) and ali‘i were the exception to this rule, where only the highest quality materials and artistry were acceptable. This concession was especially true for feathered garments¹⁸ and objects¹⁹, which “conveyed sacredness, and...magnified the wearers genealogy and divinity” (Kamehiro, 2009, p. 46).

I ka wā kahiko (in ancient times), hulu (feathers) were considered the most valued of all possessions, as they were sacred symbols of the ali‘i and reserved for their exclusive use (Hommon, 2016; Malo, 2006). For this reason, Kānaka labored endlessly, creating sacred symbols and chiefly regalia that are “unequalled in the Pacific or perhaps anywhere else in the world” (Abbott, 1992, p. 105). To put this work into perspective, Te Rangi Hīroa, in *Arts and Crafts of Hawai‘i*, estimated that the ahu‘ula (feather cloak) of Kamehameha I contained an estimated 450,000 yellow mamō (*Drepanis pacifica*) feathers. Since each bird could only contribute six or seven usable feathers each time it was captured, it would have taken more than 80,000 birds and perhaps a century to collect the hulu to complete the cloak (Abbott, 1992; Hīroa, 2003). A remarkable feat, however, as noted by Abbott (1992):

Hawaiian featherwork owed its integrity to the fine-meshed net (*naepuni*) made from the *olonā*, and indeed, the entire development of Hawaiian feather-craft seems to follow from exploitation of this endemic plant, differentiating it from featherwork done elsewhere in Polynesia. (p. 105)

Upon examining the exceptional craftsmanship of the ‘ahu‘ula in the B. P. Bishop Museum, Hīroa (2003) made the following observation regarding the naepuni:

¹⁸ ‘ahu‘ula (cloak), mahi‘ole (helmet), kā‘ei (sashes), pā‘ū (skirt) and lei hulu (feather lei).

¹⁹ akua hulu manu (feathered image of a god), kahili (royal standards).

The netting was made with a two-ply *olona* cord with the netting knot, which is the same as the fisherman's netting knot. The mesh was so small that the ordinary netting shuttle could not be used...for very fine meshes, a piece of coconut-leaflet midrib (*ni'au*) was used. (p. 223)

Kamakau (1976) also describes the fine *maka* (mesh) of the *naepuni* as measuring about 1.25 centimeters, which would have taken a year or more to complete. The *hulu*, in the meantime, were collected from the live birds in the forest, then separated and tied by the quill with a single strand of fine *olonā* fiber. Once tied, the *hulu* were gathered into small bundles of about fifteen or twenty feathers and secured to the *naepuni* with another *olonā* thread (Abbott, 1992; Hīroa, 2003).

Following her examination of cordage and nets in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum collection, Catherine Summers (1985) reports that there are fourteen *kōkō pu'upu'u* in the ethnographic collection made with *olonā* cord; and notes that "these carrying nets are considerably heavier than carrying nets of other materials" (p.59). She also reports that twelve of the *kōkō* are constructed with *olonā* exclusively, and the two remaining nets are constructed using a combination of *olonā* and another complimentary cord. Her findings correspond with the *kōkō pu'upu'u* cataloged by John Stokes (1906), who describes net #4348 as unique, in that it uses coconut fiber cord for the *piko* and *olonā* for the body and handles. He highlights the fact that this combination of materials is known as *paukū*, a term used to describe pieces or sections of different colors. He further states that it is rare for the *kākai* or the upper part of a net to be made with *olonā*. Net #4403 is described as having both the *piko* and *hānai* (body), made with *olonā*, while the *kākai* and *pū* (handles) are tied with another indigenous fiber known as *wauke* (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) or paper mulberry (Stokes, 1906).

Wauke: Indispensable Polynesian Fiber

He kūkahi au, he wauke no Kūloli

#708

I stand alone, for I am a wauke plant of Kūloli.

A boast—"Like the lone wauke plant of Kūloli, I stand alone in my battles."

At Kūloli, in Kona, Hawai'i, grew a lone wauke plant around which none other grew.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 78)

While the first Polynesians were discovering the merits of *olonā* and other unfamiliar plants in their new home, they would have also set about planting the carefully wrapped shoots and rooted cuttings that had been bundled, and protected, during the journey (Abbott, 1992; Buck, 1959; Handy & Handy, 1972). Plants like *hau* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), 'ahu'awa (*Cyperus*

javanicus), and wauke (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), had already served Polynesians for millennia and were reliable sources of fiber that were known to thrive in diverse environments and conditions (Abbott, 1992; Krauss, 1993; Summers, 1990). Of these plants, wauke was one of the most versatile and widely utilized by Kānaka. As the primary source for kapa (bark cloth), wauke was preferred because it “made the softest, finest, and most durable bark cloth, for dress, bed sheets, and for ceremonial purposes” (Handy & Handy, 1972, p. 210).

Native to China, Japan, Taiwan, the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) was introduced to the Pacific by Austronesian settlers and eventually made its way into all corners of Polynesia (Meilleur, 1997; Seelenfreund et al., 2010; Wagner, 1999). This ku‘auhau (ancestral relationship) becomes more evident in eastern Polynesia, where the shared name is indicative of lineal and migratory roots. Whether called ‘ute in the Marquesas, aute in Tahiti and Aotearoa, mahute on Rapa Nui, or wauke in Hawai‘i, all these terms refer to the paper mulberry and the primary source for Hawaiian kapa, or tapa as it is known in other parts of the Pacific (Kepler, 1998; Kooijman, 1972; Neich & Pendergrast, 1997).

Frequently associated with the mo‘olelo of Maui and his ascent to the summit of Haleakalā to compel the sun to travel more slowly so the kapa of his mother, Hina, could dry; Hawaiian lore identifies Ma‘ikohā as the source of wauke. As retold by Abraham Fornander (1985) in *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore*, Ma‘ikohā is the youngest son of Konikonia and Hinaaikamalama and lives with his family in Waiākea on Hawai‘i Island. Of the ten siblings, Ma‘ikohā had a reputation for being both fearless and mischievous and was easily recognizable because fine hairs covered his entire body. One day it is discovered that the sacred kapu had been violated, and Konikonia determines that Ma‘ikohā is the culprit. As punishment Ma‘ikohā is banishment from the island and makes his way to Kaupo, Maui, where he settles and lives out the rest of his life. Sometime after his death, his sisters come to look for him and discover, in the place that he was living, an unfamiliar plant which is covered in fine hairs and realizing that their brother was transformed into the first wauke plant (Beckwith, 1982; Fornander, 1985). In another version, Ma‘ikohā is living at Pū‘iwa on O‘ahu and directs his daughters to bury him near Nu‘uanu stream. From his grave grows the wauke that they then use to make kapa. These sisters, Lauhuiki and La‘ahane, become the originators of kapa making and printing, and continue to be honored as ‘aumakua (ancestral gods) of the craft, whereas Ma‘ikohā is honored by those who cultivate wauke (Beckwith, 1982; Kamakau, 1993; Pukui et al., 1976).

Harvested and processed in much the same way as olonā, the bast fiber of wauke is collected by removing the outer bark from the stem and soaking the bark in water. While olonā would rest in moving water for perhaps a day or two, wauke might require soaking for a week or more; before the inner and outer bark separate from each other. Scraping further separates the bark, and narrow strips of inner fiber are collected. The narrow strips of moist fibers are thinned and widened into sheets using a wooden mallet called a hohoa and a stone kua or anvil (Kamakau, 1976). This process, called kuku, softens the fibers, making them more malleable and easier to work. Raw kapa that has gone through an initial beating is termed mo‘omo‘o, and once dried in the sun, can be stored until needed. When used for clothing or bedding, the narrow sheets of raw kapa are re-moistened and further beaten and layered until the desired size and softness is attained. For cordage, sheets of kapa are cut into strips, moistened, and then spun or braided. Though not as strong as olonā, aho (cordage made from wauke) is soft, easy to work with, takes dyes well, and is similar in texture and appearance to modern cotton cord.

The importance of wauke for Kānaka cannot be overstated as it was considered a necessity, as important as food itself. While the pule below is a petition to Lono to encourage food crops to flourish, the direct mention of wauke and kapa clearly conveys their importance.

Pule Hoouluulu Ai	Prayer for the Production of Food
E Lono, alana mai Kahiki,	O Lono, gift from Tahiti,
He pule ku keia ia oe e Lono.	A prayer direct to you, O Lono.
E Lono lau ai nui,	O Lono of the broad leaf,
E ua mai ka lani pili,	Let the low-hanging cloud pour out its rain
Ka ua houlu ai,	To make the crops flourish
Ka ua houlu kapa.	Rain to make the <i>tapa</i> plant flourish.
Popo kapa wai lehua	Wring out the dark rain clouds
A Lono i ka lani.	Of Lono in the heavens.
E Lono e! kuu’a mai koko ai,	O Lono, shake our net full of food, a net
koko ua.	full of rain.
Ulua mai.	Gather them together for us.
Houlu ia mai ka ai, e Lono!	Accumulate food, O Lono!
Houlu ia mai ka ia, e Lono!	Collect fish, O Lono!
Ka moomoo, kiheaheapalaa e	<i>Wauke</i> shoots and the coloring matter of <i>tapa</i> ,
Lono!	O Lono!
Amama. Ua noa.	Amen. It is free.

(Malo, 1951, p. 177)

While the role of tapa in Polynesia is significant and widespread, kapa production in Hawai‘i, “reached a level of refinement and variety that is unsurpassed by any other culture in the Pacific” (Neich & Pendergrast, 1997, p. 91). From swaddling newborn infants to wrapping the

bones of the deceased, kapa played a role in the lives of Kānaka from the cradle to the grave. An intimate connection extends to the role of kapa in the worship of akua and other deities who, “at certain seasons of the year, as at *makahiki* (first day of the year) and at some religious festivals, the images of the gods were dressed in fresh white or red kapa with great ceremony, while the old kapa was burned, lest some sacrilegious person might use it” (Brigham, 1976, p. 204).

Catherine Summers’ (1990) extensive examination of Hawaiian cordage rates wauke as the weakest of fibers used by Kānaka for cordage. Perhaps owing to its lower strength, wauke fiber cordage is found in only 37 percent of all nets²⁰ in the Bishop Museum collection. When all kōkō are separated from other nets, the prevalence of wauke increases to forty percent; however, when kōkō pu‘upu‘u are isolated from kōkō pū‘alu, the preference for wauke become far more significant. Of the 107 kōkō pu‘upu‘u cataloged by Stokes (1906), ninety nets or 84 percent are identified as containing some wauke fiber cord, with over 49 percent constructed exclusively with wauke. It is also reported that fifty-three kōkō pu‘upu‘u are tied using wauke in combination with another cord; most frequently with ‘aha or coconut fiber cord, which appears in 98 percent of these nets (Stokes, 1906; Summers, 1990).

Niu: A gift from Kanaloa

He Nane: ‘Ekolu pā a loa‘a ka wai.

A Riddle: Three walls and you reach water.

Answer: A coconut.

The three walls are the husk, the shell and the meat
(Beckwith, 1922, p. 312; Judd, 1930, p. 69)

Naturally thriving in tropical climates, niu (*Cocos nucifera*) has become synonymous with Polynesian culture (Whistler, 2009). The abundance and versatility of this palm and its fruit play a significant role in elevating its status throughout the tropics. Owing to its proximity to the Tropic of Cancer, the habitat and cooler climate of Hawai‘i is not ideal for the coconut palm, which prevents it from flourishing to the same degree as it does on islands closer to the equator (Handy & Handy, 1972). However, this condition does not diminish the importance of niu or preclude Kānaka from utilizing every part of the tree, making it unique in that; “there is no other plant that was as completely utilized” (Handy et al., 1972, p. 168).

²⁰ Including general purpose nets used for ceremony, fishing, hunting, and net remnants where original purpose is unknown.

The fruit of the tree is not a true nut, but a drupe²¹, comprised of a fibrous outer layer that protects an inner shell. Within the shell is a layer of oil-rich meat, all of which surrounds a central cavity containing drinkable water. While the outer husk safeguards the inner seed, it is also buoyant, allowing the fruit to float and to remain viable even after being exposed to saltwater for several months. A unique characteristic, making it possible that niu could have established itself in Hawai‘i before the arrival of the earliest settlers (Summers, 1990; Whistler, 2009). While we may never know if this was the case, it is inconceivable that oceanic voyagers would have traveled vast distances without this versatile fruit, as a self-contained and valuable source of food and water (Krauss, 1993; Summers, 1990; Whistler, 2009).

Two varieties of niu grow in Hawai‘i and, while botanically the same, are identified by the differences in their size, shape, and color of the fruit. Niu lelo (yellow) gets its name from its large spherical shaped fruit whose exterior remains yellow or orange while on the tree. The nuts were primarily used for culinary and drinking. Alternatively, the moniker niu wai, or water coconut, refers to the drinkable part of the immature fruit, which can contain up to 700 grams (25 oz.) of water (Summers, 1990). Not typically used for medicine or during important ceremonies, niu lelo was also less desirable for cordage since its thin husk yields fewer usable fibers (Handy & Handy, 1972).

In contrast, the fruit of the niu hiwa or niu kafa, as it is called in other parts of Polynesia, is characterized by a smaller fruit that remains green while on the tree. Elliptical in shape and typically producing a thicker husk with longer fibers, niu hiwa is more suitable for cordage. Kānaka use the terms “pulu niu” or “a‘a” when referring to the raw fibers, which, when twisted or braided into kaula, is called ‘aha.²² The term ‘aha points to an extensive history of coconut fiber cord in the Pacific, having originated from the Proto-Oceanic term “*kapa*,” the precursor to the Proto-Polynesian word “*kafa*,” hence the term “*niu kafa*” as the source for coconut fiber cord (Pearce, 2010, p. 198).

In preparing pulu niu for cordage, the husk is first removed from the shell of the nut and soaked in saltwater. The type of niu harvested and its maturity determines the length of this soaking,

²¹ A fleshy fruit with thin skin and a central stone containing the seed, e.g., a plum, cherry, almond, or olive.

²² The term *sennit* is often used in literature to mean either braided or twisted coconut fiber cordage however, by definition this term refers to: “flat, braided cord, formed by plaiting strands of rope yarn or other fibers” (Summers, 1990, pp. 101–102).

which may last anywhere from three weeks to several months (Summers, 1990). Soaking accelerates the decomposition of the gummy pulp that holds the individual fibers together. Following the soaking, the pulp is further dislodged by beating the fibers with a wooden mallet on a stone or log anvil or another hard surface. The remaining pulp and any short or damaged fibers are then separated and discarded, leaving the long fibers to be spun or braided into ‘aha (Hīroa, 2003).

Though the upright standing tree is honored as a kino lau or body form of the god Kū, while the fruit, a source of fresh water, is often associated as a kino lau of Kāne, Niu is also associated with Kanaloa, an important deity in Polynesian religion, and who is considered the counterpart of Kāne (Williams, 1997). Also known as He‘ehaunawela (the hot, foul-smelling, squid), Kanaloa dwells in the ocean where drifting currents and wave action often bring niu to shore. Acknowledging niu as a gift from Kanaloa, Kānaka would traditionally place a he‘e or squid into the hole before planting niu. While one belief is that the he‘e represents growth and the desire for the roots of the tree to spread out like the arms of the squid, it is also honorific of Kanaloa, since the he‘e is also one of his kino lau (P. Kanaka‘ole Kanahele, 1993).

Fifty-eight of the 107 kōkō pu‘upu‘u cataloged by Stokes (1906) are reported to contain ‘aha niu and fifty-two of which are tied in combination with wauke. Four other kōkō pu‘upu‘u are tied using cordage made with horsehair. The two remaining kōkō pu‘upu‘u are incomplete and noted as fragments either without kākai (handles) or only containing the lower two-thirds of the net (Stokes, 1906).

Manufacturing Cordage

Ua hilo ‘ia i ke aho a ke aloha

#2786

Braided with the cords of love.

Held in the bond of affection.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 307)

Regardless of the source material, the process for transforming fibers into cordage has remained unchanged throughout most, if not all, of human history (McKenna et al., 2004; Turner & Van DeGriend, 1996). First, the clean, loose are made into strands or yarns, which Kānaka created by either rolling the fibers between the fingers or palms, or between the palm and the bare thigh. Still common in some parts of Polynesia, prepared yarns are twisted in to cord, a process referred to as either hilo or milo (Kirch & Green, 2001). Generally, attended to by women sitting flat on the ground or kneeling, two or three strands of fibers are held by the

fingers of the non-dominant hand and placed on the bare thigh of the opposite leg (Summers, 1990). Strands are kept apart and rolled separately with the fingers and palm of the dominant hand. Starting at the upper thigh and using even pressure in a smooth downward motion, the strands are rolled and become plies of firmly twisted fibers. The fingers of the non-dominant hand then guide the plies as they spiral around each other and naturally interlace. The strands are then reset on the upper thigh, and the process is repeated. When a ply approaches its end, a new strand is added by overlapping and rolling the ends together; effectively extending the yarn. The hilo process continues until the desired length of ‘aha is reached (Abbott, 1992; Summers, 1990).



Though cord twisted on the right or left thigh might appear identical, they are easily distinguishable by examining the direction of twist imparted into the strands. Cord produced by rolling down the left thigh is a left-handed cord, and when held vertically, the strands take on a left to right or “S” pattern, while cord rolled down right thigh is recognized as being “Z” twisted for its right to left pattern. As is common today, most Kānaka were right-hand dominant, which is more than likely why most twisted cordage in Bishop Museum Collection appears with a right-hand or “Z” twist (Summers, 1990).

While it was common for women to make twisted cord, men typically made cord of different profiles and thicknesses by braiding; a process called hili (Stokes, 1906). Hili pālaha (flat braided cord) was made by plaiting three to eight strands of fibers into a stiff cord, often preferred for lashing. Though not as strong as twisted cord, braided fibers are ideal for lashing since the flat surface of the cord tends to resist rolling, with minimal slippage or loosening of the lashing when tension is applied (Bryan, 1965; Hīroa, 2003; Holmes, 1981; Summers, 1990). For most forms of netting, Kānaka opted to use twisted cord since strength and flexibility are more practical in that application. While references to a gender based division of labor are found for cord making, this does not appear to be the case for net making. As Handy and Pūku‘i (1972) explain,

The making of mats for floors, the beating of *kapa* cloth for sheets were the work of women. Men made the wooden vessels used in eating and storing and both men and women worked on gourd containers and the nets used for carrying them. (These were generally acquired by exchange, however.). (p. 178)

Having a pantheon of innumerable gods and ancestors to worship in ancient Hawai‘i, every occupation, task, or event involved ritual, which also invoked a spiritual element (G. S. Kanahele, 1986a). Just as the petition for large and abundant ipu was addressed to Lono, or durable olonā fibers to Kawelo, invocations for ‘aha to be imbued with strength and versatility might be addressed to Kana, the kupua (deity, demi-god) of cordage (Malo, 1951).

Mo‘olelo of supernatural beings with the ability to stretch or grow to great lengths are found throughout Polynesia. Although their similarities may appear superficial, Beckwith (1982) suggests that the similarities between Kana and Southern legends are more than a coincidence:

It is not detached incidents alone which correspond with southern fiction; the whole setup of the legend has parallels, perhaps even variants, in famous kupua legends from middle Polynesia. A kupua champion like Kana is represented with the powers of stretching to the heavens and terrifying by his gaze. Like Kana he is born in nonhuman form and preserved by a supernatural relative who recognizes him as a god. He develops human form and in these South Sea stories, must be at once fed with human food and provided a loincloth before he is able to live among men. He obtains a weapon and a canoe famous in the story. He serves as a champion against enemies who have terrorized the country. (p. 469)

The “southern fiction,” referred to by Beckwith, pertains to the Hiro legend found in Aitutaki, Cook Islands, and the Tahitian version where the giant is born on Ra‘iatea and lives with his maternal grandmother on the island of Upolu. Though the similarities are remarkable, Beckwith (1982) further suggested that “Hono‘ura (Honokura, Ono) of Rarotonga, the Tuamotu, Ra‘iatea, the Marquesas, Mangaia, and perhaps Rotuma” share “a closer likeness to the kupua champion of the Kana legend” (p. 469). Comparisons between Kana and these other “telescoping gods” such as Hono‘ura, Ono, and Ono Kura from Tuamotu, Marquesas, and Mangaia, respectively, may indicate that they all originated from a single source in central Polynesia (Craig, 2004, p. 232). If true, this would support the claim made by Abraham Fornander (1986) that the legends of Kana and his brother Niheu account for some of the most ancient stories found in Hawai‘i.

In *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore*, Fornander (1986) further states that Kana is born on Maui in the district of Hamakualoa; however, other sources claim that he was born in Hilo, on

Hawai‘i Island where his chiefly parents, Hakalanileo and Hina²³ reside (Curtis, 2010; Johnson, 1981; Kamakau, 1976; Rice, 1971). The youngest of twelve supernatural children, when Kana is born, he first appears as a short length of twisted rope. Consistent with other kupua origin stories, the newborn infant’s abnormal appearance leads to rejection, or in the case of Kana, he is immediately discarded into a nearby pigpen (Beckwith, 1982). The abandonment is significant as it provides an opportunity for Kana’s maternal grandmother, Uli,²⁴ to claim the neglected infant, whose extraordinary nature is revealed through a premonition. Once Uli retrieves the malformed child, she returns to her home, Halauolōlo, at Pi‘ihonua, Hilo (Fornander, 1985), placing the twisted piece of rope into a calabash of water (Rice, 1971). Following several days of care, the rope transforms into a child with an insatiable appetite. Uli’s punahele, or favorite grandchild, grows by the day, and after forty days of care and feeding, he has grown to a length of forty fathoms. He grows so swiftly that Halauolōlo “had to be lengthened, so that it extended from the mountain until it was almost to the edge of the sea” (Fornander, 1985, p. 436).

Just as Uli’s care and feeding of Kana are essential to realizing his physical potential, the cord-maker must satisfy the cord’s seemingly insatiable appetite. For Kānaka, equally important is the attention and care that provides for Kana’s spiritual growth. As explained by Nathaniel Emmerson in Malo (1951), “the nutriment suitable for the sustenance and growth of a kupua are hoomana (adoration and worship) and awa. Through the care of Uli, the spiritual and physical necessities of Kana are well supplied and he grew apace...[becoming] a demi-god with tremendous power” (p. 227, footnote 1).

Depending on the kupua and the intended outcome, ho‘omana, for some dutiful practitioners, can involve strict and rigorous protocol that might involve high levels of ritual and ceremony. For more mundane routines, the spiritual feeding through ho‘omana might be as simple as honoring the kupua by offering a name chant, which Emmerson (in Malo, 1951) further describes as a “spiritual and worshipful, incense, which was daily offered to him (without which any kupua might dwindle and fade into nothingness) and which was an inoa (a name):

Ia moku keke Kahiki i 71ea o ua Haka, To the craft voyaging to Tahiti amid the rain
clouds of Kana [Haka?],

²³ Genealogies identify the wife of Hakalanileo as Ho‘ohoakalani, also known by the name Hinaaikamalama, or Hina; however, this is not the same Hina named in Maui legends.

²⁴ Uli is famed as the powerful goddess of ‘anā‘anā or sorcerer priests, who through prayer and incantation can cause illness and bring death upon a chosen person.

O Hakalanileo, ho'owiliwili Hilo, Ho'oka'aka'a ka lani, kaka'a ka 'iloli.	King of Hilo, land of the cloud portents Portents in the heavens, commotions in the womb.
Wehiwehi ka 'ōpua, palamoa Kahiki.	Open and clear are the heavenly signs, a mottling that reaches to Tahiti.
Waikahe ka mauna, kaiko'o ka moana	Freshets in the mountains, wild surf in the ocean
I ka hānau 'ana o ka u'i a Haka. Hānau a'e 'o Kana he lino, He aho loa, he pauku kaula, He ka'e'e koali, he 'awe pu mai'a, He punawelewewe.	At the birth of the child of Haka. Kana was born as a four-stranded rope, A long fishing line, a section of cord, A line of <i>koali</i> , a thread of banana, A spider's web.
Hānai iā Uli, a ka ihu pi, Ka ihu nāna, ka manō hae, Ka ilio hae, keiki 'alalā, keiki 'ōmino Ku i koholua, ku iki a Kana.	Adopted by Uli, the cross one, She of the up-tilted nose, a ravenous shark, A barking dog, a puny wailing thing he, To be lanced, most delicately, this Kana.
Naue na koa, ka 'elawa i kai, Ka puko'a i kai, ka puoleole, Ka niuhi moe lawa, ka auna lele kai. Kou inoa e, Kana	The ocean spearman rally about him, The ocean reefs, the conchs of the ocean, The black shark, the spearfish. An ascription this to you, O Kana. (Emmerson in Malo, 1951, p. 228)

In reciting this name-chant for Kana, the practitioner honors both the physical and supernatural elements that bind and elevate the mana of this kupua. While the opening stanza orients the listener to the genealogical elements of 'ohana (family) and 'āina (land), the heavenly elements also ground the anticipated narrative by creating a visual backdrop that forewarns the rank and power of the high chief Hakalanileo and the birthright of his youngest son. Hilo, known for its overcast skies and stormy weather, gives way to the arrival of Kana and the kino lau (body-forms) that pronounce his divine supremacy over all sources of cordage, including plant fibers and even spider silk. The stanza that follows recalls his maternal pedigree and stands as a cautionary reminder that this, adopted grandchild of Uli, also serves as an extension of her sorcery and should not be taken lightly (Fornander, 1980). Finally, the invocation returns to the ocean, where the natural protectors of that domain rally to honor and defend him and his name.

While the connection between these marine elements and Kana are not clearly stated, Kana's relationship with Uli might shed light on the relationship. Beginning with her name, the term

“uli” is an adjective that refers to any dark color, including dark green vegetation, black clouds, and the opaque blue that is characteristic of the deep ocean. Kānaka equate dark colors as omens of hardship and misfortune so much that the word “uli” is a term often avoided by poets and composers (Pukui & Elbert, 1986).

While Uli represents the female deity of both the sky and sea, these domains are divided between the two male gods, Kāne and Kanaloa. Dedicated to the realm of the sky, dark clouds and violent storms are a manifestation of Kāne. In contrast, Kanaloa dwells in the depths of the dark ocean, where menacing predators are associated with his deep underworld. Calvinist missionaries would depict Kanaloa as the Christian archetype of Satan (Barrère, 1969; Fornander, 1980; Kepelino, 2007); however, Kānaka recognized that decomposition was Kanaloa’s domain and was essential for sustaining life and abundance (P. Kanaka’ole Kanahele, 1993, 2019). This perspective also aligns with the Tahitian belief that Ta’arao (Kanaloa) is the supreme creator who provides abundant food and gifts by way of the ocean currents (Beckwith, 1982; Buck, 1959).

Another Tahitian connection is drawn by Beckwith (1982), who speculates that “the name Uli may hence possibly be derived from that of Milu, goddess of the underworld in many South Seas mythologies” (p. 114). This notion seems all the more plausible when considering Uli’s association with sorcery, which as Fornander (1980) credits, “all the arts of sorcery and witchcraft, for which the southern immigrants were noted and feared by the previous inhabitants of the Hawaiian group” (p. 32). The Kānaka term for the sorcery and witchcraft that Fornander refers to is ‘anā‘anā, which includes the practice of causing illness or death through ritual and prayer (Chun, 2016; Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Undoubtedly, it is due to the close association of Uli with ‘anā‘anā, that many Kānaka feared her; however, just as the domain of Kanaloa was a source of both loss and renewal, Uli also possesses judicious and restorative elements. These qualities are exhibited in her care and nurturing of Kana and are also evident in prayers where:

Uli may be described as the judicial spirit, as well as the detective one, fitted therefore to discover the one whose incantations had brought death to the deceased by *anaana*.

Uli was addressed in prayer:

E Uli nana pono	O Uli that discerns the right
E Uli nana hewa...	O Uli that discerns the wrong...

(Emmerson in Malo, 1951, p. 103, footnote 2)

In the translated writings of *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawai'i*, published in 2010, there are several instances where the Kana name is used as a direct reference to Kanaloa. Likewise, found in the glossary for Thrum's (1923) *More Hawaiian folk tales*, Kanaloa is identified as "a deity; long Kana" (p. 315). While the suffix "loa" means long, tall, or distant (Pukui & Elbert, 1986), no references to their direct association have come to light. Kepelino's omission of "loa" may have been a personal preference when he penned the original text; however, the mutual connection between Kana and Kanaloa with Uli might also imply that there is a relationship or a stronger connection. It should also be noted that both deities share common characteristics that are manifested through their abilities. Taking his squid form of He'ehaunawela, Kanaloa is considered a cunning and fierce predator with the ability to stretch and seize whatever he desires with his long tentacles (P. K. Kanahale, 1993). This ability compares closely to the "telescoping" powers of Kana, which allow him to swiftly strike his enemies or capture them by binding their body. As stated by Beckwith (1982), "...the stretching power ascribed to the Hawaiian Kana is derived from his use of the fighting device of the lasso; possibly his power to hold the canoe in mid-channel from the use of rope and anchor" (p. 475).

The ability to stretch his body and reach great depths allows Kana to swiftly travel across the ocean; a power exploited when the sun, moon, and stars, were stolen by Kahoaali'i and taken to Kahiki²⁵ (Colum, 1937; Kalakaua, 1995).

Then arose Kana, a warrior of gigantic stature and might prowess, who was so tall that he could wade the ocean; or stand, colossus-like, with one foot upon Oahu and the other upon Kaua, two of the Hawaiian Islands separated by a strait seventy-five or eighty miles wide. Kana walked through the sea to Tahiti, where the maker of the sun, Kohoaalii, lived, and, braving the puissant god, compelled him to restore the sun to the place it still holds. Therefore the Hawaiian Islands bask in perpetual sunlight. (Goodrich, 1914, p. 20)

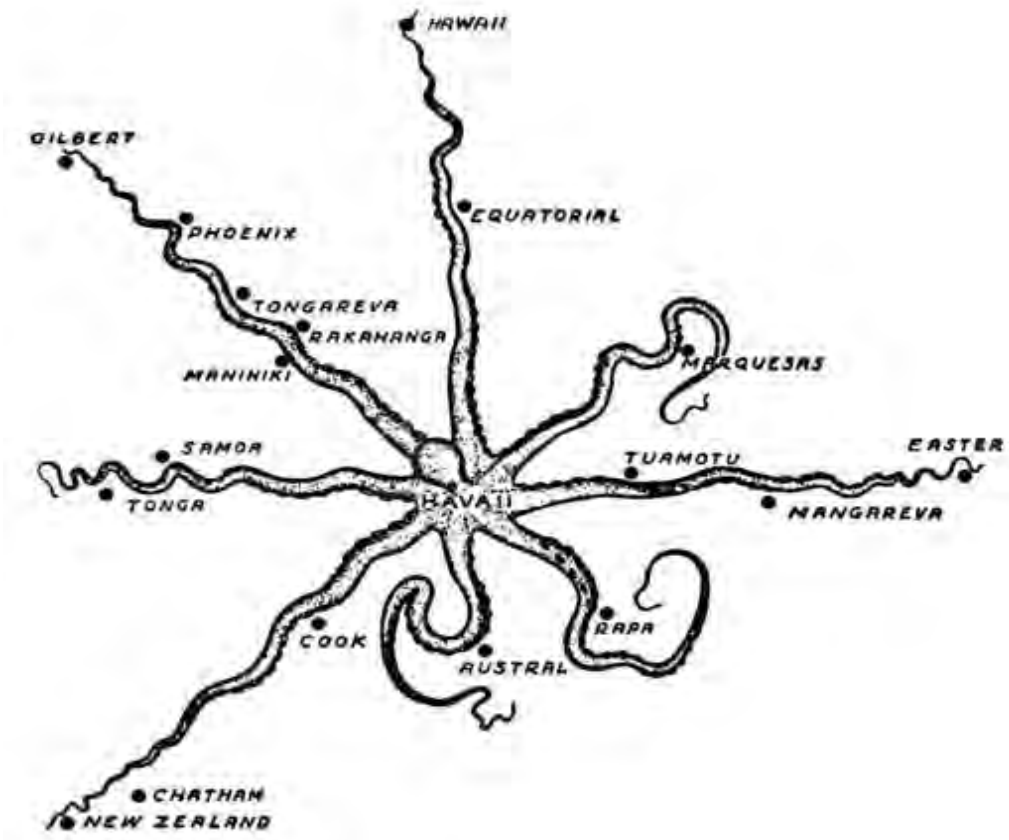
More than a fanciful story requiring the hero to journey to Tahiti, this mo'olelo represents the unbroken connection of Kānaka and their migratory origins in southern Polynesia. It also speaks to the ease with which Kānaka were able to navigate and traverse the ocean, allowing for continued interaction and exchange between Hawai'i and distant lands (Beckwith, 1982; Buck, 1959; Johnson, 1981). Such is the case that accounts for the arrival of Kanaloa to

²⁵ In addition to referring to Tahiti, the term Kahiki is the general term traditionally used by our kūpuna to mean all foreign lands (K. Cook, 2018).

Hawai‘i. According to Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahale (1993), Ta‘aloa was first introduced to the islands by the Moaulanuiakea class of kahuna (priests) who initially landed on Kaho‘olawe and named the island Moaulanuiakea-Kanaloa after their marae and their akua.

Figure 9

Illustration depicting Ta‘aloa’s (Kanaloa) reach throughout Polynesia.



Note. Unknown artist, adapted from Buck, 1959, p. 88; Henry, 1995, p. xv.

The arrival of this new class of kahuna from Tahiti might also demarcate the second wave of migratory Polynesians who began to arrive in Hawai‘i between the 12th and 13th Centuries (Emerson, 1893; Fornander, 1980; Kamakau, 1976). A period of recurrent contact between Hawai‘i and Southern Polynesian groups would trigger noteworthy changes to the political and religious landscape of each island chiefdom. Through the introduction of new belief systems, practices, and strict rules of interaction, this new wave of foreign chiefs would shift the social order and establish themselves as the new power elite (Cordy, 2000). While some of these new Polynesian colonizers secured positions of chiefly domination, others were installed as influential and powerful religious experts. Together, these two groups would become the new ruling class in Hawai‘i (Fornander, 1985; Howe, 2007; Kirch, 1984; Kirch & Green, 2001) and are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five of this thesis.

Chapter Summary

This chapter explored the fundamental materials used in kōkō pu‘upu‘u construction and the mo‘olelo that accompany origin, discovery, and settlement of Hawai‘i. Like our ancient ancestors who navigated the vast Pacific Ocean, success required a profound depth of knowledge about the environment, its resources, and the akua that ensured survival and prosperity. Beyond the manipulation of cordage to suspend a calabash, a wealth of intangible cultural knowledge accompanies every element of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u. In following the conceptual framework that underpins this research, Ku‘u Ēwe contextualizes the physical and spiritual foundations of kōkō pu‘upu‘u. By understanding the elements that bring these objects into fruition, Kānaka can re-engage ‘ike kūpuna, and better comprehend the umbilical that tethers this cultural practice to our ancestral past.

The literature chapter that follows, Ku‘u Piko, examines the greater mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy) of ‘aha (cordage) by examining the role that ‘aha plays in mo‘olelo, mele, pule, and ‘ōlelo no‘eau. Beginning with the arrival of the second wave of Polynesian settlers to Hawai‘i, the examination of this mo‘okū‘auhau affords us a clearer understanding of the elevated status of cordage as a piko (focal point) in Hawaiian society.

Chapter Four

Ku‘u Piko — The Focal Point of Hawaiian Society

Although literature that directly discusses kōkō pu‘upu‘u is scarce, the mo‘okū‘auhau or genealogical development and heritage of these cultural objects is reflected in the advancement and elevated status of ‘aha (cordage) as a piko (focal point) in Hawaiian society. With the arrival of new Polynesian settlers to Hawai‘i, during the second migratory period, ‘aha is transformed from a utilitarian tool to a symbol of social status and political significance. This social evolution of ‘aha is explored in this chapter, which examines mo‘olelo (stories), mele (songs), pule (prayers), and ‘ōlelo no‘eau (proverbs) that pertain to ‘aha and its binding qualities. Just as our piko (navel) is a physical reminder and symbolic link to both our forbearers and descendants, this survey of cultural literature establishes a clear lineage of historical figures and events that are the precursors to the realization of kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

Contextualizing the Chapter

The oral histories from this second migratory period are saturated with imagery and reoccurring themes that reflect the social metamorphosis occurring at the time. Mo‘olelo composed during this period transition from stories about mythical lands with vague names to physical locations with identifiable and tangible characteristics. Many of these wahi pana (storied places) continue to carry these ancestral names, in-turn reminding us of our deep historical connection to the ‘āina. The epic stories are recalled with striking detail, where emotions like passion, jealousy, and sorrow are expressed not only by akua and ali‘i, but by Kānaka and their offspring. In retelling these events, we develop a clearer perspective of how each element is tightly interconnected, in much the same way that each individual fiber is twisted into a single length of cord.

This section opens with a brief explanation of chronology before presenting a discussion about significant voyagers and their mo‘olelo, which have impacted the societal development in ancient Hawai‘i. Though we have yet to find any direct mention of kōkō pu‘upu‘u within these ancient mo‘olelo, we begin to see the transformation of cordage from a mundane tool to a focal point that comes to signify genealogical ties, migratory traditions, and historical events of the ali‘i. Their deeds and exploits further connect to the network of knowledge from which we carry this mo‘okū‘auhau and develop a clearer understanding of the elevated status of cordage as a piko of Hawaiian society.

Reconciling the Chronology of Migratory Arrivals

Historians and researchers have attempted to identify the origins of this second, new wave of voyagers; while at the same time establishing a singular chronological sequence for their arrival. Given that we can never be sure that recorded histories from oral tradition are ever complete, reconciling conflicting accounts and varying interpretations of names and places have added to the difficulty of this undertaking. Perhaps the most comprehensive attempt to establish a sequential timeline for this voyaging period was commenced by Abraham Fornander between 1878 and 1885 (Cordy, 2000). After examining the mo'olelo with references to the earliest arrival of voyaging ali'i, Fornander concluded that this new period of voyaging lasted for five generations, commencing around the time of Maweke and Paumakua and concluded with the departure of La'amaikahiki (Cordy, 2000; Fornander, 1980).

Born twenty-nine generations after Papa and Wākea, and a direct descendant of Nanaulu by fifteen generations, Maweke is recognized as one of the earliest of the new ali'i to come from North Tahiti (Beckwith, 1982). From this starting point, Fornander (1985) then traced the mo'okū'auhau and counted the number of generations to the time of his writing and made the following calculation:

Taking then thirty years as the measure of a generation and the Nanaulu straight line, as the least inflated and most reliable, we have twenty-six generations from the time of Maweke to the present time, which places Maweke at the commencement of the twelfth century, say A.D. 1100 (Vol. VI, p.247).

While assigning 30 years per generation was the customary standard of Fornander's time, John Stokes (1933) considered this an overestimate. Reasoning that "in order that the blood of the heir should be of the bluest" (p. 52), the customary courting practices among high ranking ali'i included arranged coupling at an early childbearing age. Following this logic and factoring in conditions that account for delays and interruptions to succession, Stokes contended that twenty years per generation was a more appropriate basis for Hawaiian chronology (Stokes, 1933). Recalculated, using this basis, moves the migratory period forward about one hundred years to A.D. 1300. This new calculation appears to align more accurately with current archeological and historical evidence, reflecting the arrival of Maweke, the ranking ali'i of O'ahu, around the beginning of the fourteenth century (Cordy, 2000; Kirch, 2012).

Though Fornander (1980) identifies Maweke as the earliest of this migratory wave, another ali'i, Paumakua, is also acknowledged as a contemporary of that time, having been born sixteen

generations after Ulu, or twenty-five generations from the time of Fornander's writing. Most notable of his achievements, Paumakua is said to have "visited all foreign lands then known to the Hawaiians, bringing back many strange things and tales of marvelous exploits" (Andersen, 1969, p. 46). Referred to as Kahiki Kū and Kahiki Moe (foreign lands), these voyages would be considered a fantastic achievement even today by today's standards, however, even more unexpected are the descriptions of what Paumakua brought back to Hawai'i:

‘O Paumakua ka lanī o Moenaimua,	Paumakua, the chief of Moenaimua,
‘O ke ali‘i nāna i hele i Kahiki,	The chief who traveled to Kahiki,
A Kahiki i ke kai ākea,	To Kahiki in the open sea,
‘O mīmo, ‘o mōmi, ‘o ka māmīo.	The gentle, the precious, the swift-moving
‘O na i‘a mailoko ‘o ‘Auakahinu,	one.
‘O ‘Auakamea ia lanī.	The "fish" within, ‘Auakahinu,
	‘Auakamea were [brought] by this chief.

(Fornander, 1980, pp. 25–26; S. M. Kamakau, 1993, p. 250;
Malo, 1951, p. 250; McBride, 1983, p. 14)

Evidence to substantiate contact with foreign lands, mo‘olelo claim that Paumakua returned to Hawai'i with two white priests named ‘Auakahinu and ‘Auakamea. While Emerson (1951) implies that the men are, "...captives (fish, i‘a) whom Paumakua brought with him..." (p.250), it may also be a comparative reference to the eyes of the Hawaiian *aholehole* (*Kuhlia sandvicensis*) fish, which is known for its large, round eyes. Kamakau (1993) also describes these foreigners in an article he first published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* on 22 December 1866:

In his travels about Kahiki, he brought back some *haole* foreigners – there were two white men, *Kānaka ke‘oke‘o*, named ‘Auakahinu and ‘Auakamea, and two white *kahuna* named Ka‘eka‘e and Maliu, and one *kaula*, the prophet Malela. From him came the spirit-inspired work: The big foreigner with bright sparkeling eyes; a young *āhole* fish with staring eyes; the large white pig with reddish eyes—"Ka *haole nui* *maka‘ālohilohi; he ālohelohi* *maka ‘aa‘ā; ka pua‘a ke‘oke‘o nui* *maka ‘ula‘ula.*" (S. M. Kamakau, 1993, p. 96)

Regardless of the circumstances by which these *haole*²⁶ were brought to Hawai'i, Kamakau (1993) also claims that Paumakua brought three others, Ka‘eka‘e, Maliu, and Malela.

²⁶ Contemporary use of the term "haole" commonly refers to any person with a fair complexion or of Caucasian, American, or English descent. Traditionally, "any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign, as plants, pigs, chickens; entirely white" (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 58).

Fornander (1980) adds, “another legend related that when Paumakua returned from foreign voyages he brought with him three white persons, who were known as Kukahauula, Kukalepa, and Haina-Pole, a woman” (p.25). Fornander appears to assume that these are all separate individuals; however, Beckwith (1982) believes that names given are a series of reduplications, all referring to the same three persons; whose names have “...been here confused with Paumakua’s people” (p. 385).

Whether these large men with bright eyes and reddish complexions describe American Natives or individuals of another race remains unknown; nevertheless, the possibility exists that Kānaka made contact with other non-Polynesians before the arrival of Europeans in 1778. From the mo‘olelo, we know that these foreigners remained in Hawai‘i and must have had an impact on Kānaka society. The description of Ka‘eka‘e and Maliu, as kahuna (priest, sorcerer, expert) and Maliu, a kāula (prophet, seer), are notable titles that would require mana and rank that would accompany those positions of status and influence.

The haole that arrived in the custody of Paumakua are not the only foreigners said to have come to Hawai‘i prior to European claims of their discovery in 1778 (Gilbert, 1982). In October 1527, during the period that Spanish galleons were sailing between New Spain (South America) and the Spice Islands (Indonesia), it was reported by Don Alvaro de Saavedra, captain of the “Florida,” that his ship was separated from the St. Iago and the Espiritu Santo during a storm at sea (Spate, 2004). According to his reported location at the time of the separation, and compared against nautical charts of the modern period, the ships “may have been as close as 200 miles southwest of the Hawaiian Islands” (J. Burney, 1967, p. 148). Although the record claims the two vessels were lost at sea, it has been speculated that a disabled ship, or any of the sixty sailors afloat on the wreckage, could have conceivably drifted to the islands (Fornander, 1980). Mo‘olelo also recall a shipwreck that occurred at Kealakekua Bay on Hawai‘i island, possibly around A.D. 1600. The seven survivors are described as having fair skin, leading some to believe that these castaways were of Dutch or Spanish origin (Spate, 2004).

In *The Legends and Myths of Hawai‘i*, His Hawaiian Majesty, Kalākaua (1995) claims that “a Japanese vessel was dismantled by a typhoon...and then helplessly blown southward to the

coast of Maui” (p.183). By the time news of the strange vessel reached Wakalana,²⁷ it was late in the afternoon, and there was no time to save the boat from crashing on the rocks; however, three men and two women were rescued and brought ashore (Sinoto, 2016). The mo‘olelo names the captain of the vessel as “Kaluiki-a-manu; the four others were Keleike, Makaea, Haakoa and Hika” (Kalakaua, 1995, p. 183). Of the few possessions that were spared from being lost to Kanaloa, Kaluikiamanu managed to retain his sword, which “he had girded on in the expectation of an attack from the savages” (Skinner, 1971, p. 212). The remainder of the mo‘olelo claims that his precaution was unwarranted and that the group would eventually marry Kānaka, “and their descendants are dispersed throughout Maui and O‘ahu” (Sinoto, 2016, p. 102).

While the activities of Paumakua and the declarations made about his voyages and discoveries are noteworthy, perhaps the greatest epic of the voyaging tradition of this era is attributed to multiple generations of another family. Starting with Maweke, a paramount chief of O‘ahu, who sailed to Hawai‘i from the Taputapuātea marae in ‘Opoa District of Ra‘iatea Island, Tahiti, and spanning the entire voyaging period, the descendants of Maweke are woven intimately into the mo‘olelo (Gross, 2017). Establishing himself as an ali‘i nui of O‘ahu, Maweke fathered three sons of which the eldest, Mulieleali‘i, ascended to rule the island after his father’s passing. Mulieleali‘i, in turn, had three sons of his own; Kumuhonua, Olopana, and Mo‘ikeha, and a daughter Hainakolo (Fornander, 1980; Kalakaua, 1995). Once again, upon their father’s passing, the right to rule was transferred to the eldest son, and Kumuhonua becomes the ali‘i nui (Andersen, 1969; Kirch, 2012). Either displaced following a failed coup or dissatisfied with their circumstances, Olopana and Mo‘ikeha leave O‘ahu and make their way to Hawai‘i island, where they settle in Waipi‘o Valley.

During their residence on Hawai‘i, with Mo‘ikeha appointed as his kahu or trusted advisor, Olopana established himself as an ali‘i of the district and married Lu‘ukia, a direct descendant of Nanaulu through her grandfather Hikipoloa (Cordy, 2000). Though it is unknown how long they remain in Waipi‘o, they are eventually displaced by a hurricane and devastating floods that ravage the valley (Andersen, 1969). These events compel Olopana and Mo‘ikeha to leave Hawai‘i and sail to the homeland of their grandfather. In addition to the company of their family

²⁷ Descending from the Ulu-Hema line of Maui chiefs, Wakalana appears six generations after Palena and Hikawai (McKinzie, 1983).

and loyal followers, Mo'ikeha is also accompanied by his young hānai (adopted) son La'a²⁸ (Fornander, 1980). Their final destination is at Opoa on the south-eastern coast of Ra'iatea, Tahiti, and it is here that they settle (Beckwith, 1982). Securing the sovereignty of the district of Moa'ulanuiākea, Olopana becomes a respected chief with Mo'ikeha reprising his role as kahu, living comfortably at Lanikeha and worshiping at the marae of Taputapuātea (Fornander, 1980, 1985).

Mo'ikeha and Pa'u o Lu'ukia

Pa'a i ke kânāwai kāmaka'aha.

#2556

Held by the law of the sennit girdle.

Taken an oath to remain chaste.

Lu'ukia, wife of the high chief Olopana, designed and made a girdle of sennit to prevent her lover and brother-in-law from approaching her.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 281)

Though Mo'ikeha achieves great popularity among the people of Moa'ulanuiākea, he draws the envy of a Tahitian chief, named Mua. The chief's jealousy is owed to the fact that Lu'ukia has taken Mo'ikeha as a punalua (second spouse), while, at the same time, rejecting the passionate advances of Mua. Determined to drive them apart, the Tahitian Chief slanders Mo'ikeha by telling Lu'ukia that her lover's popularity among the people is gotten at the expense of her reputation. Incensed by this claim, Lu'ukia instructs her attendants to gird her lower torso and loins with 'aha, and to do it so thoroughly, that it cannot be undone (Henry, 1995). Covering the binding with a pa'u (skirt), Lu'ukia continues with her day at Lanikeha, vowing to remain silent when Mo'ikeha returns.

Arriving home, Mo'ikeha is surprised to find that Lu'ukia is unapproachable and offers no explanation for her behavior. Curious, but having no reason to believe that he is the cause, Mo'ikeha says nothing and hopes that her irritation will fade. Contrary to his optimism, Lu'ukia remains steadfast in her silence for the next four nights. On the fifth night, unable to contain his frustration, Mo'ikeha finally unfastens the kapa skirt, revealing the sophisticated binding. Frustrated, when no explanation is given for her actions and behavior, Mo'ikeha calls on his trusted kahu, Kamahualele, and declares his intent to leave Tahiti and return to Hawai'i.

²⁸ La'a, was the great-great-grandson of the celebrated voyager Paumakua of O'ahu and would later become known as La'amaikahiki upon his return to Hawai'i from Tahiti.

Ho‘olanalana is the common term used for any type of functional lashing. In contrast, lanalana refers to a more decorative lashing used to connect the ‘iako (outrigger boom or cross pieces) to the ama or outrigger float to the wa‘a. Meticulous, complicated, or highly decorative lashings are often said to resemble the corded pa‘u of Lu‘ukia and thus are frequently referred to as Pa‘u o Lu‘ukia²⁹ (Malo, 1951). This name has also become synonymous with lashing techniques used to lash ko‘i (adz), makau (fish hooks), as well as describing the distinctive binding of ipu wai (water gourds), which is unique to Hawai‘i (Fornander, 1985; Kirch, 2012; Malo, 1951).

Kaua‘i is the Island, Mo‘ikeha is the Chief

Ka lulu o Moikeha i ka laulā o Kapa‘a

#1450

The calm of Moikeha in the breadth of Kapa‘a
The chief Moikeha enjoyed peace of Kapa‘a, Kaua‘i,
the place he chose as his permanent home.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 157)

The homecoming voyage of Mo‘ikeha and his companions appears to have been swift and uneventful. As the group approached the archipelago, the first land sighted is the southern point of Hawai‘i island and the district of Ka‘u. It is here that Kamahualele composes and utters the prophetic chant that immortalizes him in Kānaka mo‘olelo:

Eia Hawai‘i, he moku, he Kanaka,
He Kanaka Hawaii, e,
He Kanaka Hawaii
He kama na Kahiki
He puali‘i mai Kapaahu
Mai Moa‘ulanuiakea Kanaloa

Here is Hawaii, an island, a man,
Hawaii is a man,
A man is Hawaii,
A child of Tahiti,
A royal flower from Kapaahu.
From Moaulanuiakea Kanaloa,

He mo‘opuna na Kahiko laua o
Kupulanikehau,
Na Papa i hanau,
Na ke kamawahine o Kukalaniehu
laua me Kahakauakoko.

A grandchild of Kahiko and
Kapulanakehau.
It was Papa who begat him,
The daughter of Kukalaniehu and
Kahakauakoko.

Na pulapula aina i Paikahi
I nonoho like I ka Hikina, Komohana,
Pae like ka moku i lalani
I hui aku, hui mai me Holani.
Puni ka moku o Kaialea ke kilo,
Naha Nu‘uhiwa, lele i Polapola.

The scattered islands are in a row;
Placed evenly from east to west;
Spread evenly is the land in a row,
And joined on to Holani.
Kaialea the seer went round the land,
Separated Nuuhiwa, landed on Polapola.

O Kahiko ke kumu ‘aina
Nana i mahele, ka‘awale na moku.

Kahiko is the root of the land
Who divided and separated the islands.

²⁹ Kamakau (1993) identifies the binding as “Luu-a-nā-ko‘a-i-ka-moana” (p. 105), but gives no explanation for its use.

Moku ke aholawai‘a a Kaha‘i,
 I oki ia Kukanalooa
 Pauku na aina na moku,

 Moku i ka ohe kapu a Kanalooa.

Broken is the fish-line of Kahai,
 That was cut by Kukanalooa.
 Broken into pieces were the lands, the
 islands,
 Cut by the sacred knife of Kanalooa

O Haumea Manukahikele,
 O Mo‘ikeha ka lani, nana e noho,
 Noho ku‘u Lani ia Hawai‘i, a
 Ola, ola, o kalana ola!
 Ola ke Ali‘i, ke Kahuna,
 Ola ke Kilo, ke Kauwa,
 Noho ia Hawai‘i a lu lana,

Of Haumea, bird of Kahikele.
 Moikeha is the chief who is to reside;
 My chief will reside on Hawaii.
 Life, life, O buoyant life!
 The chief and the priest shall live;
 Long live the seer, the servant,
 Dwell on Hawaii and be at rest,

A kani mo‘opuna i Kaua‘i,
 O Kaua‘i ka moku,
 O Mo‘ikeha ke Ali‘i.

The grandchildren will sing on Kauai,
 Kauai is the island,
 Moikeha is the chief.

(Fornander, 1985 Vol 4, pp. 20-21)

Sailing from Ka‘u, the group circled the northeast side of Hawai‘i island, stopping in the districts of Puna, Hilo, and then Kohala, where Kaniuhi, the ali‘i nui, received them and offered sacrifices on behalf of the expedition at the heiau of Mo‘okini (Kalakaua, 1995). Stopping briefly in Hana, Maui, and without exchanging courtesies with Haho, the noted chief of the island, the group continued to Makapu‘u and Makaaaoa, O‘ahu, before landing at Wailua, Kaua‘i. One version of the story states that Mo‘ikeha met and fell in love with Ho‘oipoikamalanai and Hinauu, who were the daughters of Puna, the ali‘i of the island. The sisters took Mo‘ikeha as their husband, and after the death of Puna, Mo‘ikeha became ruler of Kaua‘i, thereby fulfilling the prophecy of Kamahualele (Henry, 1995).

The Kalākaua (1985) version of the same story states eight ali‘i on Kaua‘i desired to marry Puna’s only daughter, Ho‘oipo. Unable to choose the best suitor, Puna declares that a contest will be used to decide. Just over 50 miles west of Kaua‘i is the small island of Ka‘ula. Eligible suitors would race to the island and retrieve a palaoa (royal whale tooth pendant) that had been left on the island. The first to return the palaoa to Puna would marry Ho‘oipo. Coincidentally, Mo‘ikeha arrived to Kaua‘i the day before the competition and had been received as a guest of Puna. Although Ho‘oipo is charmed by Mo‘ikeha at their meeting, the royal pendant had yet to be delivered to Puna. Seeing that the race was open to anyone of noble blood, Mo‘ikeha presented his mo‘okū‘auhau, which confirmed him as the son of Mulieali‘i. Although his entry was permitted, no extra time was granted for Mo‘ikeha to prepare before the contest. Accompanied by only one of his traveling companions from Ra‘iatea, Mo‘ikeha set off in a

small sailing wa'a for Ka'ula. On the nearly windless day and disadvantaged by the other competitors' substantial lead, Mo'ikeha managed to sail swiftly between the islands and claimed victory. Only after his effortless success would Mo'ikeha reveal that his companion was La'amaomao, who had used the winds imprisoned in his sacred ipu to give him the advantage (Kalakaua, 1995; Wichman, 1998).

La'amaikahiki and the Elevation of Lashing

Na pahu kapu a La'amaikahiki

—'Ōpuku and Hāwea.

#2283

The sacred drums of La'amaikahiki

—'Ōpuku and Hāwea

These were the drums brought by La'amaikahiki from the South Sea.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 249).

After many years on Kaua'i, Mo'ikeha longs to see his hānai son La'a, who had remained in Tahiti, in the care of Olopana. Unwilling to make the voyage himself, Mo'ikeha sends his youngest son Kila, to locate and bring La'a to Kaua'i. Accompanied by Kamahualele, Kila and his crew sail to Moa'ulanuiakea, where they find Lu'ukia, who directs them to Kapa'ahu, a mountain where she believes La'a has been living. After several days of unsuccessful searching, they turn to Kuhelepolani, a sorceress and priestess of Olopana, for guidance. She advises Kila that they will find La'a at the marae of Taputapuātea, but only after a sacrifice is made and a special protocol is respected (Fornander, 1985; Thrum, 2001).

Following her advice, Kila and Kamahualele locate La'a and inform him of his step-father's request. In the Kalākaua (1995) version of the mo'olelo, La'a accompanies Kila to Hawai'i, while Fornander (1985) asserts that La'a makes the journey on his own, after the death of Olopana (Cordy, 2000). Both accounts claim that La'a is accompanied by many attendants, including his own priest, astrologer, and drummers. Fornander (1985) adds that La'a also arrives with his Akua, Lonoika'ouali'i, who would eventually be installed at the heiau of Mo'ikeha at Wailua, Kaua'i.

Evoking the celebrated arrival of the young chief from Tahiti, La'a is forever remembered as La'amaikahiki (La'a-from-Tahiti); an event that was announced by the first pahu kā'eke, or large temple drums, ever heard in Hawai'i (Buck, 1959; Cordy, 2000; Kirch, 2012). These large, intricately lashed temple drums were named 'Ōpuku and Hāwea, and would become a

significant fixture in Kānaka ritual and religion. Ultimately playing significant roles in temple ceremony and worship (Kirch, 2012), Fornander (1980) provides this brief summary:

Among the improvements or additions to the ancient musical instruments of the Hawaiian which are assigned to this period is that of the large drum, “*Kaeke*,” made from the hollowed trunk of a large coconut-tree and covered with shark skin. It was beaten by hand, and was first introduced in the group by *Laamaikahiki* when he returned from Kahiki. It was said to have been preserved in the Heiau of Holoholoku, Wailua, Kauai until comparatively modern times. From *Laamaikahiki*’s time to the introduction of Christianity, the use of this kind of drum became general over the group, and every independent chief, and every “*Heiau PooKānaka*”—where human sacrifices were offered—had its own “*Kaekeke*” and drummer.” (pp. 62–63)

In his book *Kaua‘i, Ancient Place-Names and Their Stories*, historian Fredrick B. Wichman (1998) claims that in addition to new forms of hula, *La‘amaikahiki* also “introduced the coconut fiber rope” (pp. 66-67). This claim is improbable considering that the techniques for the manufacture of ‘aha pre-date the settlement of Polynesia. Not to mention that ‘aha would have been essential to expansion throughout the Pacific and migration to Hawai‘i. While direct evidence of this fact does not presently exist, the historical and linguistic records reveal common categories of cordage among Polynesia’s ancestral societies. Similarities between the Hawaiian terms for rope (*kaula*), cord (‘aha) and fishing line (*aho*) and the Proto-Polynesian equivalents; *taura*, *kafa*, *afo*, along with the similar terms for twisting (*hilo/filo*) or braiding (*wili/firi*) fibers into cordage, reflects knowledge that is far more ancient than Wichman affirms (Kirch & Green, 2001).

The more practical scenario would be that new techniques for the interlacing and binding of ‘aha were introduced with the arrival of *La‘a*. As offered by David Malo (1951), the arrival of *La‘amaikahiki* was an impetus “to the use of sinnet in canoe lashing (*aha hoa waa*), together with improvements in the plaited ornamental knots or lashing, called *lanalana*” (p. 7). Given the elevated status and significance of this ornamentation, there is a strong likelihood that each adaptation was accompanied by additional ritual and could be identified by name. Some carried defined *kapu* (taboo) and special restrictions based on their function or their association and use by the *ali‘i* class:

When it came to making the lashings for the outrigger of the canoe, this was a function of the utmost solemnity. If the lashing was of the sort called *kumu-hele* or *kumu-pou*, it was even then tabu; but if it was called *kaholo* or *luukia* (full name *pa-u o luukia*), these

kinds, being reserved for the canoes of royalty, were regarded as being the highest degree sacred, and to climb upon the canoe, or to intrude at the time when one of these lashings was being done, was to bring down on one the punishment of death. (Malo, 1951, p. 131)

Regarding the significance of these lashings, Nathaniel Emerson concurs with Malo, noting, ...the more ornate and decorative of them were reserved for use in the canoe of an *alii*, and the time when the *kahuna* was engaged in doing one of these particular *ahas* was regarded as specially sacred—*kapu loa*—and it was death for any unauthorized person to approach the *halau* or canoe shed at such a time. (Holmes, 1981, p. 51)

In a footnote to his text, *The Long Voyages of the Ancient Hawaiians*, Emerson (1891) adds, “the operation of binding an *aha* often reached the dignity of a sacred rite. Hence *aha* means a religious ceremony, also an assembly of worship...” (p. 6).

In his examination of wa‘a for his book, *The Hawaiian Canoe*, Tommy Holmes (1981) includes a list of almost fifty different terms used by Kānaka in reference to lashing wa‘a. As he states:

‘*Aha*, the term for sennit, also applies to the manner of lashing, binding, or sewing.
‘*Aha* was employed in sewing gunnels and *manu* to the rim of the canoe body, the bow and stern hatch to the respective *manu*, and the *wae* to the *pepe‘Iao*. (p. 50)

Unfortunately, many of the terms do not offer insight into their specific use nor provide a description of their appearance; however, the list below provides an opportunity to grasp how critically our kūpuna regarded the aesthetics of lashings, which were integrated into an essential part of their naval architecture (Holmes, 1981).

Canoe Lashings

‘aha a Ka-lani-manuia	(no data)	Emerson
‘aha a ka lino	taughtly-braided lashing	Emerson, I‘i
‘aha a Keawe-‘ula-lani	(no data)	Emerson
‘aha a Pi‘i-kea	(no data)	Emerson
‘aha a Aliomaomao	(no data)	Emerson
‘aha ‘aweli	(no data)	Maline
‘aha hauhoa wa‘a	lashing to bind ‘iako to ama or to canoe, to tie two hulls together; also ‘aha hoa wa‘a	Emerson
‘aha hele ‘ia wau	(no data); possibly ‘aha heheia wa‘a	Emerson
‘aha hi‘iau	(no data); also ‘aha heiau	Emerson, I‘i
‘aha hoa ama	lashing to secure ama	Emerson
‘aha hoa wa‘a	same as ‘aha hauhoa wa‘a	Emerson
‘aha holo	Same as ‘aha kāholo	Emerson
‘aha holo a pa‘a	lashing to bind gunnels and manu to canoe	Emerson
‘aha holo luahine	(no data)	Emerson, I‘i
‘aha ka inoa o nawao	(no data)	Emerson, I‘i

‘aha ka muku pele lua	(no data) possibly ‘aha muku peleleu	Emerson
‘aha kāhele honua	ama lashing; possibly ‘aha ka‘ahele honua	Emerson
‘aha Kahiki ‘ula	(no data)	Emerson
‘aha kāholo	lashing to bind end pieces and gunnels to canoe body, bow hatch to end pieces; used on royal canoes	Emerson
‘aha kaku	lashing to bind gunnels to canoe hull; a continuous suture	Emerson
‘aha kakua	(no data)	Emerson
‘aha kau	ama lashing	Emerson
‘aha kaukāhi ka‘ahi	(no data)	Emerson, I‘i
‘aha kaula ‘ōhi‘a	lashing to tie outrigger for rough water	Emory
‘aha ki‘iheī	(no data)	Maline
‘aha kumu hele	kapu lashing used on outrigger of a chief’s canoe	Emerson; Malo
‘aha kumu pou	same as ‘aha kumu hele	Emerson; Malo
‘aha lu‘ukia	(no data); possibly ‘aha o ka pa‘u o Lu‘ukia	Emerson
‘aha manawa	(no data)	Emerson
‘aha na nuku ‘eono	six-pronged lashing	Emerson; I‘i
‘aha na nuku ‘ewalu	eight-pronged lashing	Emerson; I‘i
‘aha na pūkolu o Kāne	(no data)	Emerson; I‘i
‘aha na peleleu	(no data)	Emerson; I‘i
‘aha na piko ‘ehā	ama lashing	Emerson; I‘i
‘aha o ka pā‘ū o Lu‘ukia	very decorative and intricate lashing; sometimes made by interweaving a white cord of wauke bark with red coconut fiber sennit; reserved for royalty	Emerson; Malo
‘aha o Lu‘ukia	four-pronged lashing; possibly ‘aha o ka pā‘ū o Lu‘ukia	Emerson
‘aha ‘ō‘io	lashing to bind the halves of the manu; see also ‘aha umi‘i	Kamakau(Works)
‘aha ouaua ‘apo kahi	double-wrap lashings from pou to ‘iako and ama; also ‘aha ouaua ‘apo kahi	Emerson
‘aha ouaua ‘apo lua	similar to ‘aha ouaua ‘apo kahi; used when pou is linger; reacher higher up the ama; also ‘aha ouaua ‘apo lua	Emerson
‘aha ouaua kai nui	lashing quickly and hastily extemporized	Emerson; I‘i
‘aha pa‘alia pa‘a	(no data)	Emerson
‘aha pā‘ū o Hi‘iaka	unspecified type of canoe lashing, perhaps similar to ‘aha o ka pā‘ū o Lu‘ukia	Emerson; I‘i
‘aha pāwehe	lashing used on Kaua‘i	Emerson
‘aha pe‘a	(no data)	Emerson
‘aha pepehi Kanaka	(no data)	Emerson; I‘i
‘aha peu	(no data)	Emerson
‘aha pueo	(no data)	Maline
‘aha ‘ula kapu	red, eight strand sennit lashing; reserved for ali‘i	
‘aha ‘umi‘i	lashing to bind the halves of the manu, see ‘aha ‘ō‘io	Emerson

(Holmes, 1981, p.52, p.172-Glossary)

Whether the lashing and binding techniques of Kānaka followed those from Tahitian tradition is unknown; however, there is a strong likelihood that many of the lashing and binding techniques identified by Holmes were developed and perfected well before the settlements of Hawai‘i. As Te Rangi Hīroa (1930) reflects in his study *Samoan Material Culture*: “The eastern plank canoe, is characterized by right-through lashings of the continuous type though they may be interrupted here and there. This feature was observed in a plank sailing canoe from Raiatea seen in Tahiti and in a Tuamotu plank canoe in the Bishop Museum” (p.673). Citing Teuira Henry (1928), Hīroa continues to indicate that these binding methods were perfected in ancient times, and the sacred nature of the process can be traced to mo‘olelo from ancient lands; as demonstrated in the Tahitian account of Hiro³⁰ and the building of his famous canoe Hohoio (Hīroa, 1930):

Holes were bored into the keel and planks at even distances apart, and the men set to work in the following order: Hatu, the chief of Hiro’s artisans, worked on the outer side to the right of the canoe, and Tau-mariari, his assistant, worked on the inner side; Memeru, the royal artisan of Opoa, worked on the outer side to the left of the canoe, and his assistant, Ma’i-hae, worked on the inner side. Each couple faced each other, fixing the planks in their places and drawing the sennit in and out in lacing the wood together; and the canoe soon began to assume form, the bows facing the sea. To make the work light, they sang.

TE PEHE O HIRO

E aha ta'u, e Tane e,
Tane, atua no te purotu e?
E' aha.
E 'aha o te hui o te ra'i,
E 'aha na'u e Tane e!
E tui i roto, e puputa i vaho,
E tui i vaho, e puputa i roto.
Nati hua, nati mau...

THE SONG OF HIRO

What have I, O Tane,
O Tane, god of beauty?
'Tis sennit.
'Tis sennit of the host of heaven,
'Tis sennit for thee, O Tane!
Thread it from the inside, it comes
outside,
Thread it from the outside, it goes
inside.
Tie it fully, tie it fast....

(Henry, 1928, pp. 549–550; Hīroa, 1930, p. 673)

³⁰ Hiro, a noted explorer and ancestor of eastern Polynesia, was a contemporary of the Rarotongan ancestor, Tangiia, and lived four generations before the colonizing fleet set out from the Society Islands to New Zealand in approximately 1350 A. D. (Hīroa, 1930, p. 673).

According to the Tahitian and English Dictionary (Davies, 1851), the term “pehe” translates to mean “a native song, or ditty” (p. 194); however, it is also further described as “a practice of transmitting historical circumstances to posterity...” (p.v). Accepting these definitions, it would appear that a pehe serves the same function as mele and ‘ōlelo no‘eau for Kānaka; however, the pehe above does not express any historical material nor even mention the protagonist in the story. The repeated use of “Tāne” suggests that more than a simple song, it is a call or petition by Hiro and his artisans, to imbue their work with the powers of the Akua. Hīroa (1959) refers to this same passage as a chant which,

...describes the function of the sennit as holding the canoe together in order that ‘it may go over short waves and long waves to reach near horizons and far-off horizons.’ The canoe itself is referred to as Tane’s canoe, which is not only complimentary but enlists the god into protecting the property. The importance of the sennit lashings is again stressed in the final words: This sennit of thine, O Tane, Make it hold, make it hold. (p. 32)

Concurring with Te Rangi Hīroa and Teuira Henry, Bradd Shore (1989), regards the symbolic use of coconut fiber cordage to represent the “binding” of “sacredness” as a Polynesia-wide practice (Oliver, 2002, p. 56; Shore, 1989a, pp. 151–155). Adrienne Kaeppler (1982), the curator for the Pacific Islands in the Department of Anthropology at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of Natural History, furthers this idea by highlighting the Hawaiian practice of reciting a chant to accompany the braiding of fibers for ‘aha (Shore, 1989a). Kānaka believe that during the twisting and plaiting process, the fibers “caught the chant and objectified it” (Kaeppler, 1982, p. 94). The ‘aha, thusly imbued, could then be used as a perpetual prayer for protection, or in other instances, “bound” the power of a god within an image (Oliver, 2002, p. 56). Demonstrating Hiro’s intent to imbue the wa‘a with all the powers and protection of the akua, all facets of the vessel, and the entirety of the construction process was committed to the elevation of Tāne.

Upon completion, Hiro’s final tribute is to dedicate the wa‘a, “...to Tāne, naming it Hohoio (Interloper), in commemoration for the manner in which the material for building it was obtained...” (Henry, 1995, p. 22). The remainder of the mo‘olelo states that once dedicated, Hohoio is launched and provisioned. With his crew assembled, Hiro sets sail and pilots the wa‘a toward the horizon, never to return to Tahiti (Henry, 1995).

Ceremonial Cords of Pa‘ao

Eia no kāhi koe o ka moamoa.

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Here is the only space left, the moamoa.

Said when offering small space or seat to a friend when every other place is occupied. As Pa‘ao was leaving from Kahiki with a canoe filled to capacity, a priest, Makuakaumana, called out, asking to come along. He was offered the only available space—the sharp point at the stern of the canoe, the *moamoa*. (Pukui, 1983, p. 38)

Although the mo‘olelo make no mention of Hiro ever sailing to Hawai‘i, comparisons have been drawn between the Tahitian stories and Hawaiian accounts of the arrival of a foreign priest known as Pa‘ao, who landed on Hawai‘i Island at the latter half of the voyaging period (Beckwith, 1982; Fornander, 1980; S. M. Kamakau, 1976; Kamehiro, 2009; Kepelino, 2007a). While the mo‘olelo are not identical, many conspicuous similarities are evident. So much so that John Stokes (1928) reasoned that, “It seems highly probable that Pao or Pili³¹, either represented Hiro in Hawaii, or were of the same family” (p. 42).

As with many mo‘olelo, family conflict and tragedy inevitably compel Pa‘ao to leave his homeland in Kahiki and make his way to Hawai‘i. Perhaps a coincidence, the mo‘olelo of Pa‘ao and Mo‘ikeha bear a resemblance. In addition to both men being regarded as powerful priests on Ra‘iatea, both also reside close to their older brothers, which in the case of Pa‘ao, his older sibling is Lonopele, a ranking chief of their district. A dispute arises between Lonopele and Pa‘ao’s son, which leads to the death of the child. After some time has passed, Pa‘ao is overseeing the sacred rite of binding and lashing a wa‘a wherein he institutes a kapu, forbidding anyone from entering the space or touching the unfinished canoe. When the son of Lonopele is caught violating the kapu, Pa‘ao administers the penalty and kills his nephew. Still grieving for the loss of his son, Pa‘ao decides to leave Kahiki and sails to Hawai‘i.

The events that lead to the departure of Pa‘ao also bear a close resemblance to the Hiro myth, in which deaths of loved ones occur during the lashing and completion of a wa‘a. In the Hiro legend, the protagonist feels slandered when he overhears disparaging remarks made by his wife. Incensed, he asks her to assist the lashing of the canoe, where the cord ultimately falls around her neck, and she is killed. Overcome with grief, Hiro decides to build Hohoio (Henry, 1928).

³¹ Pili, a foreign chief said to have been brought from Savai‘i (Ra‘iatea) by Pa‘ao, after discovering that the ali‘i bloodline had become defiled through the intermarriages with commoners (Stokes, 1928).

Some accounts claim that Pa‘ao, and his group, came from Samoa or Tonga since the names of his homeland are said to be ‘Ūpolu and Vava‘u (Fornander, 1980; Kalakaua, 1995; Thrum, 2001). Others, such as Henry (1995), ‘Ī‘Ī (1983), Kepelino (2007), and Malo (1951), concur with S. Percy Smith (1921), who contends that those names claim stronger ties to ancient place names in Tahiti. Situated within the same reef as Ra‘iatea, of Hiro and Mo‘ikeha lore is the island of Taha‘a, which is identified in poetry and in ancient times as ‘Ūpolu. Positioned about twenty miles (32km) to the north-west of Taha‘a is the island of Borabora, which in ancient times was referred to as Vava‘u. In contrast, the island of Vava‘u, Tonga and Upolu, Samoa, are separated by more than three hundred and fifty miles (576km) and owing to the distance and distinct differences between the inhabitants of those two island groups, it is unlikely that the names of those islands would be used interchangeably (Stokes, 1928).

While origins and place names may be open to dispute, many substantial social, political, and religious reforms appear to be grounded in Tahitian philosophies and practices (Fornander, 1980). Of the new beliefs and traditions introduced by Pa‘ao, the most substantial changes would impact the social stratification between the ali‘i and maka‘āinana classes. Based on a pervasive ideology of kinship, which acted as the glue that bonded the society together, island rule was initially organized as a series of chiefdoms (Kirch, 2010). While the clan structure has an exact rank order, in theory, everyone descends from a common founding ancestor; therefore, the social division is not dramatic (Kirchoff, 1955; Sahlins, 1958). This close contact also means that social interaction and relationships between leaders and their followers are unimpeded, which is the condition that Pa‘ao discovers upon reaching Hawai‘i.

Seeing that the chiefly stock had degenerated in the person of Kapawa, he returned to Tahiti to get fresh ali‘i blood. He returned with Pili-kaaiea whom he established in high chieftainship on the Island of Hawai‘i. Traditional narrative relates that he was responsible for a changed form in the heiau religious structures, and that he also introduced human sacrifice and the red feather girdle (malo ula) of the ali‘i nui. From these introductions, Paaao must be associated with Tahiti and not Samoa. (Hīroa, 1965, p. 32)

Claiming divine kingship and establishing the right to rule for a new ali‘i class, Pa‘ao severs the common kinship link between the classes. From that point on, the new authority of the hereditary aristocracy would be derived from mo‘okū‘auhau that could be recited ten generations or more. Typically, outsiders of the ruling class generally reckoned not more than two ascending generations (parents and grandparents) and two descending generations

(children and grandchildren) but were also prohibited from memorizing lengthy genealogies (Hommon, 2013).

With the introduction of a totalitarian political-religious structure, Pa‘ao was able to establish ruler-ship based on “distinct, named, endogamous classes of persons” (Kirch, 2010 p.34). This hierarchical social structure was supported by religious rituals and practices, which dictated the strict observance of rules and regulated interaction between chiefs and commoners. While the degree of *mana* a person possessed determined the level of social interaction with others. As Kanaka Scholar Lilikalā Kame‘elehiwa (1992) states: “Those at the top were *kapu*, or sacred, and possessed of *mana*. Those at the bottom were *noa*, common or free of *kapu* and by extension, without the necessary *mana*, or power, to invoke a *kapu*—although even a common fisherman, if successful, had some *mana*” (pp. 45-46). Effectively setting up a nation that is divided into three separate social castes, as explained by Kepelino (2007):

Eia nae: O ke anaina kolookoa e noho an ama kekahi mokupuni, a mau mokupuni paha, e like ko Hawai‘i nei, ua kapaia lakou he lahui, a mau lahui paha. Ua maheleia hou ka lahui Hawai‘i i na papa ekolu: 1. Ka papa Ali‘i. 2. Ka papa Noa. 3. Ka papa Kauwa.

(Kepelino, 2007, p. 125)

Now the whole group of persons living on an island or a group of islands like Hawai‘i is called a people or lahui. The Hawaiian nation is divided into three classes: 1. The ali‘i (Ali‘i) or chiefs. 2. The Noa or commoners. 3. The Kauwa or slaves.

(Translation by Beckwith in Kepelino, 2007, p. 124)

Both Samuel Kamakau (1964, 1991) and David Malo (1951) identify as many as eleven chiefly ranks. The most exalted chiefs were the godlike offspring of marriages between closely related, highly ranked parents, a practice believed to intensify *mana* (Malo, 1951). The two uppermost ranks were called pi‘o and nī‘aupi‘o. Each was entitled to the *kapu moe*, which required commoners and lesser chiefs to lie prostrate when in their presence; whereas, the *kapu noho* (sitting taboo) was reserved for some lesser, yet high ranked ali‘i (Hommon, 2013).

Monopolizing the authority of kings, priests, governors, war leaders, landlords, and bureaucrats, the papa ali‘i would come to occupy virtually every administrative position of political, military, economic, and ritual power in ancient Hawai‘i (Hommon, 2013). This hardening and confirming of the divisions of society not only meant “the exaltation of the nobles,” it allowed for “the increase of their prerogatives, which included separation and immunity of the priestly order, and the systematic setting down, if not actual debasement, of the commoners, the Makaainana” (Fornander, 1980, p. 63).

From a modern perspective, it might seem surprising that Pa‘ao should instate Pilika‘aiea as the head of the social order, rather than claiming rule for himself. It should be apparent, by his orthodox beliefs, that this action would not only be inappropriate for his rank and position but would diminishing his mana and put him at risk of angering the akua. The reader should also be mindful that the Hawaiian system of hierarchy is not linear, but triangular (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992). Functioning as religious advisors, kahuna nui (high priest), and kahuna pule (prayer experts) were usually members of the ali‘i class; however, they were referred to as kahuna rather than ali‘i to emphasize their separate function with society (S. M. Kamakau, 1993). Considered professional priests who oversaw and officiated significant ceremonies held at heiau (major temples), these kahuna advised the apex of power to righteous and religious behavior (Cordy, 2000; Malo, 1951).

Returning to the period of Pa‘ao, righteous behavior meant adhering to the rigid kapu, while religious practice included the introduction and worship of the war god Kā‘ili (Beckwith, 1982; Chun, 2014; Fornander, 1980). Consequently, this new belief system influenced new forms of temple building and the incorporation of human sacrifice as part of religious ceremonies (Kamehiro, 2009; Malo, 1951; Stokes, 1928; Valeri, 1985). For Kānaka, the most familiar representation of Kā‘ili would most likely be the ki‘i or war deity, Kūkā‘ilimoku (Kū the island snatcher), of Kamehameha I. According to Kamakau (1993), Pa‘ao was the keeper of this particular akua hulu manu or feathered image; however, Fornander (1980) claims that the first mention of Kūkā‘ilimoku appears in the mo‘olelo of another chief, Līloa and his son ‘Umi, who lived roughly eleven generations after Pa‘ao (Chun, 2014; Fornander, 1980).

Nevertheless, the relationship between the Pa‘ao introduced Kā‘ili and the association with the Hawaiian god, Kū, is of interest due to its likeness to the Tahitian to‘o, which is a representation of their war god ‘Oro, and are discussed in detail in the following chapter. Although Tahitian accounts recognize Tū as one of the great gods who assisted in the creation of the universe and humans, other gods such as Tāne, Hiro, ‘Ere‘ere-fenua, and ‘Oro, were more commonly associated with war (Craig, 2004). Of this group, ‘Oro would come to dominate this domain in Tahitian cosmogony as the superior god of war (Buck, 1959; Goldman, 1970; Henry, 1928a). According to Te Rangi Hīroa, it was the priests at ‘Opoa on Ra‘iatea, who elaborated their theology by creating ‘Oro as the son of Ta‘aloa (Kanaloa). ‘Oro was then “established as the supreme deity in the great temple named Taputapu-atea” (Buck, 1959, p. 89).

As the permanent monuments for worship to Kū, there are many similarities between the impressive architecture of luakini heiau and Tahitian marae dedicated to the worship of ‘Oro at ‘Opoa. According to Henry (1928), Tahitian tradition has long described Ra‘iatea as the great center of traditional aristocracy. Having been divided into several districts, ‘Opoa was considered the superior district and the walled marae of Taputapuātea, eventually becoming the “religious hub of all of the Society Islands” (Goldman, 1970, p. 173). While not the largest or most elaborate marae in the Pacific, Taputapuātea would become the most celebrated, as evidenced by branches of the temple that would be built elsewhere in Polynesia (Craig, 2004). The Hawaiian equivalent can be found in the district of Wai‘alua, on the northeast side of the island of O‘ahu. Kirch (2012) describes the heiau as:

Kapukapuākea was to the Nānā‘ulu line of O‘ahu ali‘i what Westminster Abbey is to the King of England, the site of installation and ritual acknowledgment of their divine right to rule. It was here that the sacred chiefs of O‘ahu had been installed with special rites from remote times, mai ke [ka] pō mai as the traditions say. The temple was named after Taputapuātea in Kahiki, in the land of Moa-ula-nui-akea. (p. 137)

In addition to representing the most eminent station for worshipping Kū, luakini were erected and dedicated to ensure thriving ulu (breadfruit) and niu and secure success in both battle and fishing (Graham, 2018; Malo, 1951). While numerous sources provide detailed accounts regarding the complex and lengthy rites in connection with human sacrifice (Fornander, 1985; Ii, 1983; S. M. Kamakau, 1976; Valeri, 1985), this writer has opted to briefly highlight the significance of ‘aha and binding as a physical and symbolic manifestation of sacredness during ceremonies within the luakini. As Kaeppler (1993) suggests in her book *Hula Pahu-Hawaiian Drum Dances*, “...it was through the manipulation of the ‘aha cords, during heiau rituals that divine power was manipulated and controlled” (p.203). This notion is explained further by Valeri (1985) on the premise that while superiority over the gods is unattainable, their divine power can be controlled “by manipulating it and transforming it by means of symbols” (p. 7).

For Kānaka, ‘aha represented both the physical cord as well as the ceremony itself, which is also called ‘Aha. The ritual ‘Aha refers to prayer or service whose effectiveness depended on recitation under kapu, without any interruption or error (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Essential to ceremonial perfection was absolute silence and freedom from any disruption, while a series of flawless petitions are presented to the Akua. Worshipers, spectators, and everyone outside of the enclosure were expected to preserve the most profound silence and attention for many hours (Ellis, 1979; Emerson in Malo, 1951). Generally regarded as an unfavorable omen, the slightest

noise or disturbance could bring death for the offender, effectively ending the ‘Aha or requiring the prayer to be repeated until recited perfectly (Kikiloi, 2012b). At various stages of the ‘Aha, the kahuna would confirm the flawlessness of the presentation by inquiring of the ali‘i, “Pehea ka ‘aha a kaua?” or “How was our prayer service?” (K. Kamakau, 1985, pp. 18–19). It was only when the ali‘i responded affirmatively that the kahuna would affirm the validity of the ‘Aha: “the ‘Aha was good, and you, your land, the chiefs and all the people shall live” (K. Kamakau, 1985, p. 20; Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992, p. 39; Malo, 1951, p. 172).

With the worship of many akua and innumerable deities, Kānaka performed sacrificial rites for, and under, a plethora of circumstances; utilizing numerous animals, plants and objects as appropriate to the circumstance, which might require the offering of the sacrificer’s own body parts, such as teeth, hair, or eyes (S. M. Kamakau, 1976, 1992; Valeri, 1985). However, since human offerings were endowed with the greatest value of efficiency, the ali‘i were solely entitled to sanctioning the sacrifice (Fornander, 1985; Ii, 1983; S. M. Kamakau, 1992). Both Henry (1928) and Valeri (1985) acknowledge that, in both Tahitian and Hawaiian tradition, those offered for sacrifice were often war captives or rebels. However, Goldman’s (1970) interpretation of the practice, claims that paramount chiefs in Tahiti claimed sacrificial rights to elevate their religious and political authority in that, “the chiefly rights to take human life asserted the awesomeness of chiefly sanctity...” (p. 187). Valeri (1985) maintains that rather than being for the sole benefit of the ali‘i, human sacrifice “...can be made only for the benefit of the collectivity” (p. 49). He explains further by stating: “...most of the royal sacrifices are explicitly performed for reasons of a collective interest; to avert public calamities or epidemics...[a]s for war, whether offensive or defensive, it is not an activity that concerns the King only, since the entire society is affected. By sacrificing them [transgressors], the King purifies society from the pollution brought on by their sins and the disorders they provoked” (p. 50).

Although one would expect that while this practice is housed within a religious context, it serves to elevate the ali‘i, further divorcing chiefs from the lower classes. Valeri, on the other hand, acknowledges its social and political impact in binding all classes of Kānaka society together. Hence, everyone’s investment and commitment to the ‘Aha was grounds for celebration when completed to perfection:

The accounts include a circuit run about the images in the heiau carrying the portable gods and led by a naked man impersonating Ka-hoali‘i; recitation of sacred “binding

prayers” during a period of complete silence, called an aha (assembly); dedication of the mana (sacred) sanctuary where priests assembled for two days to chant prayers; another aha ceremony followed by a symbolic “binding of the heavenly to the earthly realm” by means of a rope of sennit run around the inside of the sacred house; the offering to Ku of a human victim or of an ulua fish, whose eye was plucked out for Ka-hoali‘i; the cutting of the god’s navel string, represented by a girdle of coconut leaves, in a ceremony corresponding to that for a chief’s son, and the girding of the god and each of the other images with a loincloth, the dressing with white tapa of the three-tiered prayer tower, into which the priests and people carrying the portable war gods of the chiefs and returning the shouts and singing... (Beckwith, 1982, p. 27)

While details are scarce, regarding specific ceremonial chants connected with luakini heiau, from what has been recorded, the importance of ‘aha and themes relating to its binding properties are reiterated throughout. One such example is the well-known chant ‘Au‘a ‘ia; which, having several versions of the text documented, suggests origins in connection with heiau tradition and, “...the formalized the ritual work of kahuna” (Kaepler, 1993, p. 207). Understanding the subject of the chant as well as the associated hula (dance) movements furthers the notion that ‘Au‘a ‘ia is a hula pahu or traditional drum dance. As the reader may recall, pahu nui, or large temple drums and their specific use in temple ceremony, were introduced by La‘amaikahiki to Hawai‘i. It is from this mo‘olelo that we conclude that this chant materialized directly from the customary temple ceremony. A brief examination of the text for ‘Au‘a ‘ia, not only establishes the importance of ‘aha in the ritual presentation but expands our understanding of its significance and direct association with sacrifice within the luakiki heiau.

Several versions of ‘Au‘a ‘ia have been recorded with the earliest publication of the chant printed on 1 October 1862, in the Hawaiian language newspaper Ku‘oko‘a. The article credits S.W.K Kekalohe of Kipahulu, Maui, for submitting the mele; and states that it was composed for the ali‘i Namakaeha who lived during the time of Kamehameha I. A second and third version of the chant are then published in *Na Mele Aimoku, Na Mele Kupuna, a me Na Mele Pono i o ka Moi Kalakaua* ³², which was presented on 16 November 1886, for the jubilee celebration of Kalākaua. The first of the two version, entitled “He Mele Inoa No AiKanaka” (p. 3) is identified as a mele inoa or name chant for the ali‘i AiKanaka, whereas in the second

³² Dynastic Chants, Ancestral Chants, and Personal Chants of King Kalākaua I.

version, is dedicated to King Kalākaua and is entitled, “He Inoa No ka Moi Kalakaua” (p. 304).

In character with Hawaiian composition, the words of this mele can be interpreted and understood in many ways; additionally, several sources are recognized for inspiring its creation. They include the kupua (demi-god) Kamapua‘a (Ha‘aheo, 1935), the ali‘i Kamalālāwali of Maui (Liliuokalani, 1895) and to Kamehameha I (Charlot, 2003). In either case, credit for composing this mele ‘au‘a or “chant refusing a request” (S. M. Kamakau, 1992, p. 240), is often given to Ke‘āulumoku, a kāula (prophet) who predicted the rise and fall of the Kamehameha dynasty, “the domination of the white race, the destruction of the temples, and finally the gradual death of the Hawaiian people” (Kalakaua, 1995, p. 365).

In any event, the Kalākaua version of the mele is discussed in this chapter since it also accompanied by a translation completed by the King’s sister, Queen Lili‘uokalani (1895). Throughout the 135 line mele, rich language and imagery further demonstrate the integral role of ‘aha and binding in luakini ceremony. While this mele is not the focus of this document, it is meant to provide supplementary evidence supporting this research. As such, emphasis is placed on the first seventeen lines of the stanza, emphasizing the elements that appear relevant to this research.

E aua ia e Kama, e Kona Moku, Kona moku e Kama e aua ia,— O ke Kama, Kama, Kama, i ka huli nuu, O ke Kama, Kama, Kama, i ka Huliau,	Oh Kama, look, and observe thy lands, Oh thy lands oh, Kama, oh, retain them Thou child, child, child of the highest grade Thou child, child, child of the turning tide,
Hulihia ke au ka Papahonua o ka Moku, Hulihia Papio e ia ilalo ke alo, E Uli—e, Aui—ia, Hulihia i Munaakele, Hulihia i ka Uunukaokoa, a Ku, Ka maka o Ku, ka Aha o Makiilohelohe,	Overthrown are the foundations of the land Overthrown, and with its face downward Oh! thou Uli, look, and observe— overthrown is Manuakele Overturned on the coral rocks of Ku For the eyes of Ku, and the cord of Makiilohelohe
Ka Aha nana i hiki o Hulahula, Ua kalakala ia Ua wekewekea, Ua hemo'ku la ka piko o ka aina, Ua kala Kaalihi Pohakuku, Me ka upena Aku Oihuaniani,	There the cords that bound Hulahula Are loosened and opened Thus will the center of the land be moved For the stone weights of the Bonito nets And the Bonito net of Ihuaniani

Me ka Ulu Ouini, Olaa, o Keawe,
O ka Manu Aiakualaahia,
Keiki ehu Kama ehu a
Kanaloa,

With the stick of Uini, and Laa and Keawe
And the bird that ate the sacred Bonito
The golden-haired child of Kama from
Kanaloa.

(Kaeppler & Tatar, 1993, pp. 207–210)

The common consensus among translations is that this mele opens with a call to ‘Kama,’ to observe his lands and to hold onto them. The ambiguity of the name Kama is the basis for speculation regarding the original inspiration of the text and whom it is ascribed. An added layer of complexity is created by the meaning of the term ‘kama’ which refers to a child or offspring; however, Pukui & Elbert (1986), also define the word to mean, “to bind, tie, and wrap” as used in connection with ‘anā‘ānā sorcery where the “term had three meanings: (1) to seize, bind, make fast; (2) name of a god to whom the appeal was made; (3) the victim” (p. 124). From these additional definitions, we might also deduce that this mele serves as a rhetorical appeal to an akua, “Kama,” who is enticed by “ka make kama o na kauwa” or “the bound death of a slave/outcast for sacrifice” (Kepelino, 2007, pp. 144–145; Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 124).

Line six presents an additional connection between the mele and sacrifice, in the line “ilalo ke alo” of face downward, which commonly describes how the offering is ceremoniously placed on the lele or alter within the luakini (Valeri, 1985). In the line immediately following, Uli is called as the goddess of sorcery to consume, destroy, and spread her influence (Charlot 2003). What follows are three references to Kū, invoking the god of war through his temple at Manu‘akele, the coral rocks that would serve as his alter and the maka or eyes of Kū, which Kaeppler (1978, 1993) believes is a reference to ceremonial “idol eyes” which were constructed with “...a series of flat bases of ‘ie‘ie (*Freycinetia arborera*) with an eye-white made of shell with a seed or wood pupil, and are connected to each other with cordage (Kaeppler & Tatar, 1993, p. 211).

Line nine finishes “ka ‘aha o Maki‘iloheloe” which is another significant reference to a named cord that was used in the temple ritual sequence as part of the heiau rededication and renewal ceremonies (Charlot, 2003). According to Kamakau (1991, p. 159), Kamaki‘ilohelohe was an ‘aha cord of the luakini, associated with the ali‘i Kalani‘ōpu‘u of Hawai‘i Island. It may further suggest that *Au‘a ‘ia* was used primarily on heiau associated with him. Kaeppler (1991) proposes that during the recitation of this line, specific hula movements would be conducted,

which “could be a formalization of the manipulation of the ‘aha cord: bringing it to a central place in front of the body...and pulling it in a bent over position...” (pp. 213). Kaeppler continues by suggesting it was probably during this part of the text that “the *kahuna* manipulated the cord with ritualized movements,” and that “the use of the named sacred ‘aha cord was a key for performing the ritual correctly” (p. 214).

The ritual aspect of binding during the ceremony is emphasized further in line ten by acknowledging the use of a different ‘aha in the “hulahula” ceremony, which is also particular to luakini ritual (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). As described by Malo (1951), absolute silence was observed during the hulahula service, which culminated when the ali‘i “dashed the pig against the ground until it was dead and offered it to the gods, saying ‘O Ku! O Kane! And Kanaloa! Here is a pig. Keep and preserve me and safeguard the government” (pp. 170, 183). It would be reasonable to infer, from this description, that perhaps the ‘aha mentioned in connection with hulahula was used to bind the sacrifice, preventing any movement and insuring solemn reverence until the end of the ceremony. Then before placing the mōhai (sacrifice) on the lele, the bindings would be undone. Line eleven supports this notion, as the term “kalakala” describes or refers to something that is “knotty.” At the same time, “wekewekea” is translated by Pūku‘i and Elbert (1986) to mean pried open or loosened.

The notion of rigidity and release carries into line twelve, where the piko (navel) and the metaphorical umbilical cord of the land is “hemo” or separated and undone (Malo, 1951). In viewing this chant as prophetic, this line stands out as forewarning, communicating a sense of personal disconnection from the land and the past (Charlot, 2013). A frightful concept, when considered from the Hawaiian notion of the ‘āina (land) as a maternal figure that is both provider and the source of life (Pukui et al., 1983). Thus, another double-entendre is created with the words “hemo’ku la ka piko” which can be rearticulated as “mo(ku)-ka-piko” which means severing family ties and breaking of a blood bond among kin (Pukui et al., 1983, p. 185). Not only is this considered a grave insult, it often means “unamendable rejection” (Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 100).

In the next four lines, the Queen’s translation shifts the listener’s perspective to the entangling properties of the ‘upena or net, which she describes as being used to catch aku (*Katsuwonus pelamis*). Otherwise known as bonito or skipjack tuna, aku also played a significant role in temple rites (Malo, 1951). While the ‘upena of Ihuaniani captures the prey, the manu (bird)

Aiakualaahia eats the fish that is caught. The literal imagery of these lines clearly represents a process of seizure and demise; however, symbolically, they might also represent parts of the ritual process where it is believed that the offering is taken by the Akua, who is manifested in the form of the manu.

In closing this portion of the chant, Ke‘āulumoku returns his focus to the intended audience of the mele with a line of praise, “Keiki ehu Kama ehu a Kanaloa” or “the golden haired child of Kama from Kanaloa” (Kaepler, 1993, p. 210). Although the acknowledgment of Kama in this line appears to connect with the mo‘okū‘auhau of the great ali‘i, Kamalālāwalu of Maui, it is also honorific of a greater lineage that connects all Polynesian to Kanaloa.

Chapter Summary

To summarize, this chapter presented relevant literature highlighting the cultural transformation of ‘aha, and binding, from a utilitarian tool to a symbol of social status and political significance. While the literature presented does not discuss kōkō pu‘upu‘u directly, the mo‘olelo, mele, pule, and ‘ōlelo no‘eau demonstrate its genealogical succession, which is also the foundation of Kānaka culture, heritage, and tradition. These repositories of knowledge provide a glimpse into the historical and cultural origins of our kūpuna and strengthen our mo‘okū‘auhau. Just as our piko is a physical reminder and symbolic link to both our forbearers and descendants, this literature establishes a clear lineage of historical figures and events that are the precursors to Hawaiian society and consequently, predecessors to kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

The chapter that follows, Ku‘u Iwi, examines the physical representations of ‘aha as a symbol of mana and divine power for the ali‘i. Like the iwi (bones) of our ancestors, ‘aha and the artifacts related to its use, are evidence of our past, and are tangible connections to our kūpuna. Elements of our ancestors remain in their craftsmanship and nourish our relationship with them. From this position, the researcher is well situated to refute the claims of non-Native voices which challenge the authenticity and origins of kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

Chapter Five

Ku‘u Iwi — Artifacts as Repositories of Knowledge

In adhering to the Kā ‘A‘aha methodological framework, this chapter examines the traditional relationship between ‘aha (cordage) and mana (power); that is, how the physical attributes of cordage became an expression of power for the ali‘i class. Entitled Ku‘u Iwi, this chapter examines the cord as a physical representation of divine power by the Hawaiian elite. While ‘aha is essential to almost every aspect of Hawaiian material culture, it also represents one of the most powerful metaphors for political and religious strength, thus binding society together (Kikiloi, 2012). This chapter does not seek to be a comprehensive examination of every cultural object that utilizes ‘aha. The intent is to demonstrate how ali‘i transformed ‘aha from a mundane article into a sacred object that embodied the divine.

This chapter privileges ‘ike Kānaka, through the examination of significant corded objects represented in cultural narratives, recorded events, and mo‘olelo (storied histories). Elements of our ancestors remain in their craftsmanship and nourish our relationship with them. Like our iwi kūpuna, these artifacts are not only a tangible connection to our ku‘auhau (lineage) but represent insightful mo‘olelo that further enrich our mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy), and inform us as Kānaka. As a practitioner, the researcher is well situated to reclaim the current narrative that has consistently declared that kōkō pu‘upu‘u are obsolete relics that have little contemporary use or value.

From Chiefdoms to Lāhui

It is recognized that the voyaging period between Hawai‘i and Kahiki (Tahiti and the Society Islands), around A.D. 1200-1300, resulted in massive disruption in the islands. While it is often reasoned that foreign chiefs, leading massive fleets of warriors, would be necessary to cause the substantial upheaval, Cordy (2001) proposes a different scenario. Whereas Hawaiian accounts, specific to the period, clearly show that foreign voyagers came to Hawai‘i, they do not necessarily reflect mass arrivals, nor substantiate the notion that the introduction of these newcomers was the catalyst for an extensive social transformation;

...only two of the voyagers are said to have brought items that played a role in the development of complex societies. Pā‘ao, a foreign priest in the traditions, is said to have introduced religious ceremonies and a new priestly order, involving human sacrifices and new kapu. He brought Pili, a chief, to become a ruler over Kohala on

Hawai‘i island. La‘amaikahiki, another chief is said to have introduced the kā‘eke drum for hula and the temples. These changes, however, do not document a foreign migration wave which radically changed Hawaiian culture. (p.147)

Cordy (2001) contends that although academic writings from the late 19th and early 20th-century credit Pa‘ao for causing abrupt changes to the Hawaiian social order, these accounts also introduce new elements that are unreliable and not “authentic parts of the original story” (p. 161). Critical analysis of the oral histories leaves no doubt that the arrival of Pa‘ao and Pili in Kohala impacted the history of Hawai‘i Island. However, embellishments made authors beginning in the late 1800s (Fornander, 1880; Emerson, 1893; Westervelt, 1913; Stokes, 1928; Handy, 1930; Buck, 1959; and Beckwith, 1940) contradict evidence that suggests the emergence of a complex society under Hawaiian chiefs before the voyaging period.

In addition to denying that significant cultural and social developments were already occurring, the perspective disregards the cultural evolution of all other Polynesian societies, who experienced social transformations along an evolutionary continuum (Kikiloi, 2012). Archeological evidence from the pre-Pa‘ao era shows changes in land management, population growth, and increased food production. This expansion suggests continuous cultural advancements and growth throughout that period (Kirch, 2012). Most notably on Maui, archeological excavations show an enlargement of heiau, suggesting simultaneous religious and political shifts had occurred in the 1300s (Cordy, 2001).

During the same A.D. 1200-1300 period, Maui also witnessed the creation of the ‘Aha Ali‘i³³ (council of chiefs), traced to Haho³⁴ (ca. A.D. 1225-1330) the chiefly son of Maui-Paumakua³⁵ (K. Beamer, 2014; Beckwith, 1982; Fornander, 1980; S. M. Kamakau, 1993; Kikiloi, 2012b; Malo, 1951). Made up of an elite group of high ranking chiefs, the ‘Aha Ali‘i claimed ancestral entitlement to the right to rule under the ali‘i nui (Goldman, 1970). The succession of a new

³³ The council was also known as ‘Aha ‘ula, *Lit.*, regal meeting. Not to be confused with the ‘ahu ‘ula, which refers to feather cloaks that members of the ‘Aha Ali‘i were entitled to wear.

³⁴ Also referred to as Haho-lani (Haho of heaven) and Haholani-a-huamakua (Heavenly Haho of Huamakua; the combined names of his father, Paumakua, and grandfather, Huanuiikalāla‘ila‘i) (S. M. Kamakau, 1993, p. 156). Scholars are divided on his island of origin, with evidence to support that he was an ali‘i on both Maui and Hawai‘i island.

³⁵ Fornander (1980) claims that two Paumakua lived during the same period, one being the ali‘i voyager from O‘ahu, and the father of Haho, Maui-Paumakua, who descend from a separate genealogy. Kamakau (1993) asserts that there is only one Paumakua who descended from Puna (O‘ahu). He reasons that a genealogical discrepancy in the Hema (Maui) line is the source of confusion, causing Paumakau to be claimed by both islands.

paramount was cause for shifts in leadership and, in some cases, a substantial redistribution of governing powers among lesser ali‘i. Admission and hierarchy within the ‘Aha Ali‘i were determined through genealogical succession, taking into consideration birth order, formal marriages, and relationships to high chiefs (Beckwith, 1982; Handy & Pukui, 1972). In addition to establishing the right to govern under the new paramount, the recitation of multiple genealogies gave credibility to rank and determined chiefly entitlements and privileges under the kapu. Through the council's ordered structure, authority was further delegated through the ranks and allowed for effective maintenance of social order and control over the growing society. Once the institution became fully established on Maui, the model was adopted across the archipelago, “becoming the standard internal governance structure among the ali‘i to balance the power of the paramount” (Kikiloi, 2012, p.100).

Emerging during the “migratory period,” Fornander (1980) proposes that the formation of the ‘Aha Ali‘i was necessary, “as protection of the native aristocracy against foreign pretenders, and as a broader line of demarcation between nobility and the commonality (p. 30). The elevated status of the ali‘i nui to “a living deity (akua)” (Cordy, 2000, p. 55), would solidify his right to rule and furnish him with the authority to define the privileges and prerogatives of everyone within the society. Artisans and craft-specialists were enlisted to produce conspicuous objects that reflected chiefly mana. Ornaments that flaunted scarce resources or required expert knowledge and specialized skill possessed more mana and were reserved for nobility. Chiefly adornments, like lei hulu (feather garland), ‘ahu ‘ula (feather cloak), mahi‘ole (feather helmet), and the ivory pendant, known as lei niho pālaoa, “were visual indications of rank and helped to sustain social differences (Kaeppeler, 2008, p. 119). Still, other symbols proclaimed the presence of an ali‘i or declared chiefly property. Reasoning that these objects and places are an extension of the chief, they are imbued with their mana (Kaeppeler, 2008), they would be treated with the same protocol as though the ali‘i were present. They would be treated with the same protocol as though the ali‘i were present. These insignia included the pūlo‘ulo‘u³⁶ (insignia of taboo), kahili (feather standard), and red painted wa‘a and pe‘a (a sail) displaying “a pennon at the masthead”³⁷ (Fornander, 1980, p. 29).

³⁶ Pūlo‘ulo‘u or kapu stick, consisted of a kapa-covered ball on a stick that was commonly carried before a chief or used to designate spaces of high kapu.

³⁷ Kamakau (1992) states: “...the canoe of the ruling chief...was bedecked with red cording. So were the canoes of the high chief marked” (p. 43). Valeri (1985) adds: “These sacred cords are used by the king as symbols of his mana and as such they were put on the masts of his canoes...It is said that the ‘aha kapu cord protects the king’s house from trespasser or people of inadequate rank”

The chiefly regalia of ancient Hawai‘i is among the most magnificent of any found elsewhere in the world (Hīroa, 2003). In many cases, glorious objects adorned with hundreds of thousands of feathers, intricately bound and tied to the most delicate netting or affixed to royal standards, have caught the attention of every person to have laid eye on them. While there is little doubt that Kānaka revere these articles as the personification of the ali‘i, there is “an even more sacred object that embodied the divine, an ‘*aha* cord” (Kaepler, 2008, p. 120).

‘Aha: Symbol of Divine Rule

The ethnohistorical record suggests that during the same period that the ‘Aha Ali‘i was transforming the political landscape of Maui (A.D. 1225-1330), ‘aha (cordage) underwent a metamorphosis to become a sacred symbol of the ruling class (Fornander, 1980). Seen as a response to the increasing number of chiefs during the rule of Haho³⁸ (Kikiloi, 2012), the adoption of the ‘aha kapu or taboo cord safeguarded the physical separation of the highest-ranked ali‘i from the rest of society. Accompanied by other insignia of taboo, the long, braided cord of the ‘aha kapu demarcated areas where restrictions were placed on those of lower rank, and where maka‘āinana (commoners) were absolutely forbidden (I‘i, 1983; Kamakau, 1993, Malo, 1971).

The ‘aha iwaho (outside cord) would often be stretched at the entrance of an enclosure or suspended at the entrance of the chief’s property. When the ‘aha iwaho was present, anyone endeavoring to enter or leave the enclosure would be put to death (Pukui in Kamakau, 1993). The restriction of this ‘aha kapu applied to everyone, regardless of rank. As retold in a mo‘olelo from Nupepa Ku‘oko‘a (19 July 1884), Kīhāpi‘ilani, high chief of Maui, warns his brother-in-law, ‘Umi the high chief of Hawai‘i, that they are, “not to go to the house where their wives were but to remain on account of the ‘aha kapu” (translated by Pukui in HEN, n.d.). Revealed further in the mo‘olelo, five ‘aha kapu are suspended on the path leading to the entrance of the royal hale (house) of chiefess Pi‘ikea. Of the five, the ‘aha nearest to the entrance is

(p. 296). Fornander’s “pennon” is likely a reference to the ‘aha kapu (sacred cord) of the ali‘i nui; which is examined further in this chapter.

³⁸ Kamakau (1993) acknowledges the elevation of ‘aha coincides with the reign of Haho, but claims that this innovation occurred while he was “the chief of Hawai‘i island, and the name of his ‘*aha* was Ke-apo-kū-lei‘ula” (p. 42). The likelihood of this notion is fostered by the genealogical connection between Haho and Hakalanileo who was the ali‘i of Hilo during the same generation. In addition to being peers, their fathers (Paumakua of Haho, and Kuhealani of Hakalanileo) are brothers. The relationship to ‘aha is furthered by the awareness that Hakalanileo is also the father of the cord deity and kupua (demigod or cultural hero) Kana.

distinguished,

...a pela no a hiki ka lima o na aha, oia no hoi o aha-ula, oia no hoi ka aha oi loa‘ku, oia no ka aha ali‘i—a kaulana loa i loko o ia wa, a he aha keia i hookomo iloki o ke mele inoa koihonua o na ‘līi nui mai ka po mai. (Nupepa Kuokoa, 1884)

...and then upon the fifth cord, namely the ‘aha ula, which is the cord of greatest importance, for the ‘aha ali‘i—renowned in that period, this is the cord that was bound in the genealogical chants of divine chiefs descended from antiquity.

(Translation by the author)

The ‘aha ‘ula (sacred red cord) described above is also known as an ‘aha kapu ali‘i³⁹ or sacred cord of the ali‘i nui. Further described by Kamakau (1993), the ‘aha iloko or inside cord, was used to evaluate the worthiness of any person approaching the entrance of the royal residence. When it was not known if the Kanaka was a chief, the stranger would come before the cord. If the ‘aha kapu ali‘i, “fell on its own accord, without being touched by human hand, that person was recognized by all to be a high chief, an ali‘i nui, whose rank exceeded that of the chief who was reigning” (Kamakau, 1993, p. 154). Doubtless, skeptics would reason that the wind or some other trick must have provoked the cord to fall, whereas Kānaka discern through prayer, ritual, and use, the sacred cord is imbued with mana; thus, the action of ‘aha kapu ali‘i is proof of its mana and the mana surrounding the event (Crabbe, 2017; Hiroa, 2003).

According to Kikiloi (2012), by about A.D. 1500-1550 or roughly 275 years after the introduction of the ‘aha kapu, an intensification of ‘aha rituals would cause ‘aha cord to undergo a further transformation; which is reflected in the preceding mo‘olelo. By the time Kīhāpi‘ilani and ‘Umi come to power, coincidentally about 11 generations or about 275 years after Haho, ‘aha kapu ali‘i had shifted from a static symbol to becoming an active agent of chiefly mana. Kikiloi (2012) adds that the evolution of these practices would ultimately extend “into aspects of divination and eventually becoming incorporated into burial practices of chiefs” (p. 118).

³⁹ Several names are given to describe this special class of sacred cords: ‘aha kapu ali‘i (chiefly cord), ‘aha ‘ula (red cord), ‘aha ‘ula kapu (sacred red cord), ‘aha ‘ula ‘ena‘ena (fiery red cord).

In his book, *Kamehameha and his warrior Kekūhaupi‘o*, Desha (2000) portrays what may have been the apex of this transformation. Roughly nine generations after ‘Umi, Desha (2000) describes the ‘aha ‘ula of Kamehameha as:

...a red cord, being the cord of omens, founded at the time of the great *ali‘i* Līloa. The most important questions, which were not to be decided in great haste, were put to this *kapu* cord...this cord was absolutely *kapu* in every way. At the time when this fiery cord was set up upon two posts (*pou kapu*), it was set up straight and taut (*mālō maika‘i*) by some *ali‘i* with very high-ranking blood. They were not able to seize the fiery *kapu* cord with their bare hands but had to protect their hands with *ki* leaves, and this was the only way they were able to hold it. (pp. 316–317)

Fundamentally, while the ‘aha kapu distinguished nobility from the lower classes, the inability for “*ali‘i* with very high-ranking blood,” to touch the ‘aha ‘ula reflects an even more profound separation of the *ali‘i* nui from the ruling class.

Ironically, the same cord that served to perpetuate social distance between classes also reified the mana of the *ali‘i* nui and his ability to bind society together. This reality was accomplished through the ‘aha rites, which were incidental to the actualization of the ‘aha kapu *ali‘i*, and represented the symbolic relationship between the high chief and his ancestral deities (Desha, 2000; Kikiloi, 2012). In braiding an ‘aha cord, “all of the chief’s priests concentrated their prayers on it as it was being made under *kapu*” (Pukui in Kamakau, 1993, p. 162). The ceremonial braiding while praying in unison, “captured the prayer and objectified it” (Kaepler, 2008, p. 121), becoming an ‘oihana (tool) “that pertained to the government and to the ruler” (S. M. Kamakau, 1976b, p. 143). The divining powers of the ‘aha ‘ula, as well as the inability for anyone of lesser rank to physically touch the cord, confirmed the divine ancestry and the genealogical right to rule (Rose, 1992; Valeri, 1985).

Thus, the twisting coir braided cord was a powerful symbol that evoked the imagery of “binding,” “connecting,” and “linking” people and ancestors and focusing them in common purpose—essentially increasing their strength through collective and cohesive action. The cord was the genealogical connection between past, present, and future and reflected the enormous effort of the chief to garner the support needed towards accomplishing these rituals. (Kikiloi, 2012b, pp. 98–99; Valeri, 1985, p. 294)

Since mana is ascribed through multiple genealogical sources, it was not uncommon for an *ali‘i* nui to possess multiple cords. Each cord was named, and to ensure permanency of the genealogical connection, that name was inserted into the mo‘okū‘auhau of the *ali‘i* nui who

possessed it (Emory, 1957; Pukui & Elbert, 1986). This practice spanned roughly twenty-one generations, from Haho to Kamehameha I and is where Hawaiian scholar and historian Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (1993) identifies the genealogies of twenty-nine Hawai‘i island ali‘i⁴⁰ who have sacred ‘aha recorded in their genealogies.

Regrettably, while mo‘okū‘auhau can provide us with the names of these sacred cords, very little is known about their appearance. No museum claims to possess an ‘aha kapu ali‘i or similar artifact, while journals and drawings from early European explorers are conspicuously absent of any references. However, a description is given in a Nupepa Kukookoa article from 19 July 1884, which gives us some idea of their appearance. Mary Kawena Pūku‘i (no date) wrote this partial translation of the article, which is found in the Hawai‘i Ethnographic Notes of the B.P. Bishop Museum.

Chiefs and kahunas made the cords with the worship of certain gods. They were of sennit braided tight into rope, some with a depression down the center, some like fishnets, others like koko carrying net for wooden calabashes and still others with fringes. There were many kinds made by chiefs and priests who placed their faith in the gods that they worshiped. The chiefs took the sennit cord as a sign of their high rank, of a lineage from the gods and also to observe the kapu of the priesthood. (translated by Pukui in HEN, n.d.)

Though the author’s general details regarding the ritual tying, worship, and symbolism of ‘aha kapu ali‘i appear to corroborate statements and conclusions previously discussed in this chapter, several additional details warrant further discussion. First of which relates to the phrase, “braided tight into rope,” giving the impression that the plaiting process resulted in a thick cord that was reasonably rigid; since a tighter braid naturally produces a stiffer cord (Bryan, 1965; Hīroa, 2003; Holmes, 1981; Summers, 1990). The statement that follows, “some with a depression down the center,” suggests that not all ‘aha kapu ali‘i appeared identical and that a variety of braiding or weaving techniques were probably employed in their construction. Concerning braiding practices, simple variations can produce cord with either a round shape or, in the case of a flat braid, can create a profile with a central indentation that travels the length of the braid.

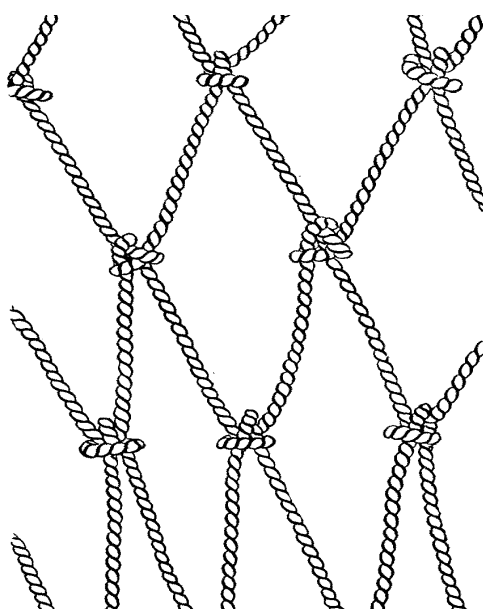
⁴⁰ “He Mele” (A chant) recorded by S.M. Kamakau (1860), names these ‘aha cords and was printed as a serial in *Ka Hae Hawai‘i* on April 11, 18 and May 2. The genealogies also appear in a narrative by Kamakau (1869) called “He Moolelo Hawaii” (A Story of Hawai‘i), in *Ke Au Okoa*, on November 4. A partial translation of this narrative, by Pūku‘i, is provided in Kamakau’s (1993), *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, Nā Mo‘olelo a ka Po‘e Kahiko*.

Further elaboration in the article describes ‘aha kapu ali‘i as appearing, “like fishnets...kōkō carrying net...and still others with fringes.” While it is likely that these embellishments were believed to empower the ‘aha further, it also confirms the notion that the appearance of these sacred cords was more than just a length of plain braided rope. Chiefly ornamentation was not unheard of, and the incorporation of trim work and fringe would have served to make individual ‘aha more distinguishable and perhaps identifiable from a distance⁴¹.

Ornamentation aside, the author’s use of the terms ‘upena (fishing net) and kōkō (carrying net) is interesting since the knots used to create the underlying mesh for both net types is essentially the same (Stokes, 1906). Illustrated in Figure 10, the umi‘i or sheet bend knot is common to both ‘upena and kōkō pū‘alu (loose or slacked net), otherwise described by Stokes (1974) as a “plain netted bag” (p.128).

Figure 10

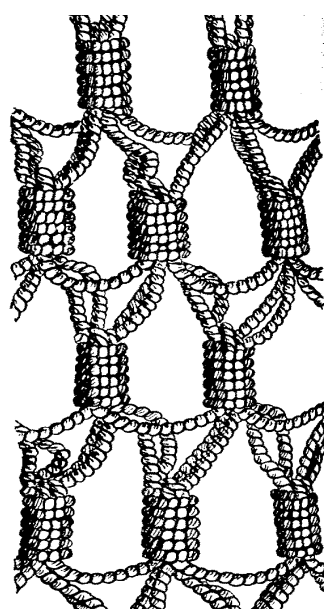
Detail of plain know and netting



Note. Adapted from Blackburn in Stokes (1906) p. 119. Illustration of a simple net mesh using the umi‘i knot, commonly used for various types of ‘upena and other working nets, such as the kōkō pū‘alu or plain netted bag.

Figure 11

Detail of distinctive barrel-style knots



Note. Adapted from Blackburn in Stokes (1906) p. 119. Illustration of pu‘upu‘u knots used for kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Also notice, multiple cords intersect at the top and bottom of each pu‘upu‘u knot.

⁴¹ Unique embellishments including stately colors, geometric motifs and distinctive patterns were often incorporated into royal feather work, kapa (bark cloth) prints, carved implements and other chiefly possessions to identify a particular ali‘i, or distinguish property of nobility (Hīroa, 2003; Kaepler, 2008; Kamehiro, 2009; Rose, 1978; Stokes, 1906; Webb, 1965).

It may very well be that the author's reference to *kōkō* is intended to mean chiefly *kōkō pu'upu'u*, which is typically characterized by a distinctly different knot; which is drastically different from the *umi'i*. Illustrated in Figure 11, the wrapped body and barrel shape of the *pu'upu'u* knot gives it a unique appearance that is easily distinguishable from the *umi'i* knot. Probably derived from its bumpy appearance, the term *pu'upu'u* simply means knotty or lumpy, referring to anything that appears swollen or resembling knuckles or a clenched fist (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 360).

Unlike the *umi'i* knot, which is commonly known and has a variety of uses (Ashley, 1993; G. Perry, 2006), the *pu'upu'u* knot and its application for tying *kōkō pu'upu'u* is unique in that it “was a conception entirely Hawaiian, for none of the other members of the Polynesian race seem to have possessed such knowledge (Stokes, 1906, p. 131). Given this exclusivity, it is not surprising that *kōkō pu'upu'u* were “...reserved for the sole use or service of the *ali'i*...” (Stokes, 1974, p. 129). Consequently, owing to uniqueness and exclusivity to *ali'i*, it would be reasonable to suspect that the article from 19 July 1884, is suggesting the *pu'upu'u* appeared as part of the *'aha kapu ali'i*.

Unfortunately, until new evidence comes to light regarding the appearance and ceremonial use of *'aha kapu ali'i*, these sacred cords continue to be shrouded in mystery. Our limited understanding of the *'aha kapu ali'i* is hampered further by the absence of any actual specimens. While this might be regrettable from a Western ethnological perspective, there is a good reason for their absence. As Pukui and Elbert (1986) explain, “some *ali'i* had several such cords, each given a name, and some were used after the owner's death in making the *kā'ai*, a container for their bones” (p. 6). Evidently, unlike other chiefly possessions which “could be acquired through appropriation or inheritance” (Kaepler, 2008, p. 122), the *'aha kapu ali'i* would continue to serve the *ali'i nui* as an integral part of “the deification of the king after his death” (Hīroa, 2003, p. 577).

Recalling the brief discussion in chapter two, regarding the significance of *iwi* (bones) as the place where the *'uhane* (spirit) remains after death, the preservation of an ancestor's bones is considered a sacred obligation (Handy & Pukui, 1972). Consequently, *Kānaka* have always gone to great lengths to prevent any theft or desecration of *iwi* (Beckwith, 1982). The rational being simply that, “through a purloined bone, an enemy or a *kahuna*, even a mere fisherman, could enslave the *'uhane* and make it serve him... in his work good or evil” (Handy & Pukui,

1972, p. 152). In the case of an ali‘i, and especially in the case of an ali‘i nui, preserving the mana of a ruling chief was especially important for transforming the deceased into an *akua maoli* or “true god”—an ‘uhane or spirit (Malo, 1951, p. 107; Rose, 1992, p. 9).

To ensure the preservation of chiefly mana, all flesh was removed from the iwi, then reassembled and prepared for deification. The iwi would then be wrapped in kapa and bound together in a “netted basket[s], known as kā‘ai or network to contain the bones” (Malo, 1951, p. 106). The binding of the bones was a process known as “ku i ke ka‘ai (placed in a sennit container)” (Emerson, 1951, p. 29), where “...coconut-husk coir fibers were plaited into shape over long bones and skull, encasing them in a torso like, semi-naturalistic position” (Rose, 1992, p. 2). Where this process concerns the ‘aha kapu ali‘i, strands for the kā‘ai were obtained by undoing the consecrated ‘aha, which was then used to create the casket and final resting place for the bones of chiefs (Cordy, 2000; Emory, 1957; Hīroa, 2003; Kamakau, 1992; Kikiloi, 2012; Malo, 1951; Pukui & Elbert, 1986; Rose, 1992). Once the woven reliquary was complete, and before final interment in either a secret burial cave⁴² or at a hale poki,⁴³ the kā‘ai was given a name and recorded in the royal genealogy (Emory, 1957; Pukui & Elbert, 1986).

Celebrating the legacy of the ‘aha kapu ali‘i, the portion of mo‘okū‘auahau presented below honors Haho by naming his sacred ‘aha and the kā‘ai dedicated to protecting his iwi:

O Haholani, o Huamakua (Hamakua)	Haholani of Huamakua
O Keapokuleiula, ka aha,	Ke-apo-kū-lei‘ula, the cord,
O Kapae,	Ka-pae,
O Kaohema,	Ka-hō-hema,
O Lapuu	Lupu‘u,
O Miko,	Miko,
O Kaiikapu	Kau-kapu
O Kapiualii,	Ka-pi‘o-ali‘i,
O Kaailua ka aha,	Ka‘ailua the cord,
O Kapokinanahua,	Ka-poki-nahua,
O ka aha o ke ali‘i e ku ai i ka nupaa,	The cord of the chief, to stand in the binding

⁴² The secret royal burial cave of Kapela, at ‘‘Iao, Maui, is discussed briefly in chapter two.

⁴³ “His successor then built for the reception of the bones a new *heiau*, called a *hale poki*, for the reason that in it was constructed a net-work to contain the bones, which, being placed in an upright position, as if they had been a man, were enshrined in the *heiau* as a god” (Malo, 1951, p. 106).

i ka poki paa,
Paa ai o Haho, a ku i ke ka-ai,—
(S. M. Kamakau, 1860)

of bones at the time of honor and
preservation, Bound was Haho, upright
within the casket—
(Translation by Beckwith in Kamakau,
1993, p. 156)

Although the practice of *kū i ke kā'ai*, for chiefly remains and the deification *ali'i nui*, appears to be unique to Hawai'i, the veneration of 'aha is not. Indeed, Hīroa's (1930) statement that "sennit braid (*'afa*) is the most important single article in Samoan material culture" (p. 236), could be applied to the whole of Polynesia if not the entire Pacific (Buck, 1959; Chun, 2014; Handy, 1923; Henry, 1928; King et al., 2011; Oliver, 2002). Regarding the use of 'aha for idol construction and worship, the images associated with venerating the Tahitian war god 'Oro, bear a resemblance to Hawaiian *kā'ai* and *ki'i akua* (god images). In his description of the Tahitian marae dedicated to 'Oro, Bellwood (1978), explains, "major gods, such as Oro, were represented by wooden staffs wrapped in sennit or by woven cylinders decorated with feathers, and these were kept in storehouses on the main marae" (p. 84).

Tahitian historian Teuira Henry (1928) expands on Bellwood's description, explaining that the sennit wrapped idols are called *to'o* and held in special repositories for sacred objects:

In the *fare-ia-mahana* were kept the treasures and the images of the marae. The great tutelary god was represented by an image of wood, called a *to'o*, of fine wicker or wood covered with feathers called a *haumanu*. It was wrapped in a bed of 'ura feathers in 'apa'a, and was kept in a little ark upon a stand on the smooth stone slab in an inner corner of the house. Its head was turned seaward. Many smaller images, representing the minor gods in attendance upon the great one, were carefully wrapped also in aromatic covers and laced side by side upon shelves along the walls of the house. Sacred sennit of the god Tane for images and for other purposes was also placed upon the shelves. Numerous rolls of fine white *pu'upu'u* cloth and bright brown cloth, fine and course, made or 'aute, and mats of various textures for sacred use, were attached with cords to the ridge pole and the side beams of the house, as were also the vestments of priest and sovereign, carefully wrapped in tapa. (Henry, 1928, p. 153)

Considered the most sacred of objects, the cord bound to 'o was wrapped in barkcloth and then placed in an oblong chest or *fare atua*, before being stored with the other sacred articles (Ellis, 1829). Perhaps the earliest written description of the *fare atua* is found in a journal entry from

18 July 1769, when crew members of the British vessel *Endeavour* went ashore on the island of Huahine (Hawkesworth et al., 1773; Kooijman, 1964). Among the group, the ship's naturalist Joseph Banks, took notice of the distinctive container to which the ship's captain describes:

...a kind of chest or ark, the lid of which was nicely sewed on, and thatched very neatly with palm-nut leaves: it was fixed with two poles, and supported on little arches of wood, very neatly carved; the use of the poles seemed to be to remove it from place to place... The first time Mr. Banks saw this coffer, the aperture at the end was stopped with a piece of cloth, which, least he should give offence, he left untouched...The general resemblance between this repository and the Ark of the Lord among the Jews is remarkable; but it is still more remarkable, that upon enquiring...it was called...*Ewharre no Eatua*, the *house of the god*... (Hawkesworth et al., 1773, pp. 252–253)

Interestingly, although the European sailors did not fully comprehend the significance of the fare atua, they associate its divine importance when they compare it to the biblical ark, also discerning that physical contact would offend their Tahitian hosts. Sound reasoning, given that a “house of the god” conveys a divine presence and that even the priests would exercise “extreme precaution” to avoid coming into contact with the fare atua, thus necessitating the use of carrying poles (Kooijman, 1964, p. 111). On 20 July 1769, the same company of British sailors would be hosted at the paramount marae dedicated to ‘Oro, Taputapuātea, on the island of Ra‘iatea; where, again, the ship captain would make the following observation:

Here were also four or five Ewharre-no-Eatua, or houses of God, to which carriage poles were fitted, like that which we had seen at Huahine. One of these Mr. Banks examined by putting his hands onto it, and found a parcel about five feet long and one thick, wrapped up in mats: he broke a way through several of these matts with his fingers, but at length came to one which was made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, so firmly plaited together that he found it impossible to tear it, and therefor was forced to desist; especially as he perceived, that what he had done already gave great offense to our new friends. (Hawkesworth et al., 1773, p. 257)

Given Joseph Banks' inexcusable conduct and an apparent lack of leadership by the captain, for tolerating his crewmember's behavior, it would appear that neither European enlightenment nor civility could pacify the temptation to satisfy their curiosity. While it is inconceivable that the Tahitian priests would have condoned Mr. Banks' transgression, the perception that his behavior was of “great offense” suggests that the act was committed in secret or had somehow gone unnoticed. Regardless, even with both desire and opportunity, the inability to unbind the

‘aha validates the spiritual safeguards protecting the to‘o from desecration. In essence, without first removing the kapu entanglements, his actions were pointless.

This common Polynesian metaphor is represented by the Hawaiian term ho‘okapu or “to make something kapu” which essentially is the “binding or tying up of the focal object” (Shore, 1989, p. 151). This is contrasted by the term huikala, meaning “to absolve entirely” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 87) or which Valeri (1985) describes as untying “the ‘tangles’ of that consecration and its sign, the kapu have tied around someone or something” (p. 95). Both E.S. Craighill Handy (1927) and Jean Smith (1974) discuss the significance of binding and naming in Maori birth ritual or “*tuuaa* (to remove a tapu, to name) or *tohi* (to cut, to separate)” as the equivalent for “the removal of a child’s tapu” (Smith, 1974, p. 9). The Marquesan term me‘ie, literally meaning “a clear sky,” refers to something unrestricted or free from tapu (Handy, 1923, p. 257). While in Samoa, the traditional implications of fa‘alavelave, literally meaning “to tangle, or make complicated,” refers to weighty events or occasions, such as funerals or family disputes, where unpacking the entanglements is necessary for closure, or so that family and social life can resume (Shore, 1989).

Kānaka have long understood the destructive power of family entanglements or hihia, and believe that if left unresolved can cause illness, even among family members who are not involved in the quarrel. So when changes in behavior or emotions were detected, or when a family member became ill, ho‘oponopono (to correct) was used for “getting the family together to find out what is wrong” (Pukui et al., 1983, p. 61). In his book, *No nā mamo: Traditional and contemporary Hawaiian beliefs and practices*, Kānaka scholar Malcolm Chun (2011) explains the importance of ho‘oponopono for maintaining healthy bonds among family members. Using the analogy of ‘aha (cordage) and kā ‘upena/kōkō (net tying) for family relationships, he compares the individual fiber strands that are rolled and twisted into a strong piece of ‘aha to each family member. Subsequently, the collective strands that are woven into a net represent the entire ‘ohana or family.

In net tying, each incorrectly tied knot will impact the next and compromise the strength of the whole. As a result, when mistakes occur, the only solution is to go back to each entanglement and correct the wrong:

We all make mistakes every day of our lives. How do we go about “untangling” these problems big or small? Through ho‘oponopono we are given a chance to undo both

minor and major mistakes by literally going back through events in our lives, back to the “knots” that may have been done “wrong,” or at least not completed in a desired manner. By correcting those wrongs or mistakes, we can then proceed towards completing our own “net,” of life itself. (Chun, 2011, p. 164)

Ho‘oponopono is not about punishment or retribution, but the realization that the wrongdoer and the wronged are connected because of the transgression or *hala*. Mary Kawena Pūku‘i (1983) suggests, “...we visualize *hala* as a cord. ‘It binds the offender to his deed and to his victim. The victim holds on to this cord and becomes equally bound’” (p. 71). Hihia describes the entanglement of emotions like guilt and anger, or the desire for revenge, which can impact and entangle others, including innocent bystanders, like children. Pūku‘i (1983) continues to describe hihia “as a larger, yet tighter network of many cords ties with numerous stubborn knots” (p. 71). As one can imagine, ho‘oponopono can be a lengthy, complicated, and often painful process, but through ‘oia‘i‘o or sincere truth-telling and mihi (repentance, confession, apology), the detrimental entanglements are kala (to release, untie, unbind). It is through this process that things become pono (good, balanced, correct) again (Pukui et al., 1979). In describing the effectiveness of ho‘oponopono, Dr. E. W. Haertig, who consulted with Pūku‘i (1983) on the book *Nānā i ke Kumu: Look to the Source*, stated: “Ho‘oponopono may well be one of the soundest methods to restore and maintain good family relationship that any society has ever devised” (p. 70).

Europeans in the Pacific

‘Ai no ke kōlea a momona ho‘i i Kahiki.

#86

*The plover eats until fat,
then returns to the land from which it came.*

Said of a foreigner who comes to Hawai‘i, makes money,
and departs to his homeland to enjoy his wealth.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 12)

Unfortunately, the conduct of Joseph Banks on 20 July 1769, at Taputapuātea, is only one of the countless entanglements caused by haole arrogance and indiscretion. The arrival of European explorers to Hawai‘i, almost nine years after the event at Taputapuātea, would mark the beginning of devastating and tragic changes to Hawaiian society. When the first British ships “stumbled upon this interdependent and wise society in 1778” (Trask, 1999, p. 5), their agenda was neither diplomatic nor altruistic. Promoted by the British Crown as “a voyage of discovery to explore the Northern Hemisphere,” the political, military, and economic implications of finding “a Northern passage by sea from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean” (J.

Cook, 1967, p. ccxx), are relatively obvious and were “paramount to the funding of the voyage” (Wood, 1999, p. 32). Setting the benefit for King and Country aside, the discoverer and crew stood to gain fame and fortune, given that “Parliament voted prize money for whichever crew made the discovery, as an additional incentive to geographical glory” (Gilbert, 1982, p. 3).

On 18 January 1778, two years after embarking on their quest, the ships *Resolution* and *Discovery* would find themselves in Hawaiian waters (J. Cook et al., 1784). Anchoring overnight at Waimea, Kaua‘i (S. M. Kamakau, 1992), rest assured, the Kānaka that approached the foreign ship did not venerate the haole as gods (Beamer, 2014; Obeyesekere, 1992; Silva, 2004). Their curiosity appears to have been tempered by caution,⁴⁴ and although their wa‘a came alongside the ship, the Kānaka could not be enticed to go aboard. However, a few token exchanges of “bits of iron” for “fish and a sweet potato” confirmed that the Kānaka “had some notion of bartering, or, at least, of returning one present for another” (J. Cook, 1967, p. 192). Kānaka would soon venture onto the foreign ships, but the peaceful interactions would be short-lived, as it would turn out. One of the first to be killed was a man known as Kapupu‘u, whom after “seeing a quantity of iron objects lying about, he seized some hastily and threw them into his canoe. The stranger saw him taking the iron and shot him with a gun and killed him” (S. M. Kamakau, 1992, p. 94). Other incidents would follow,⁴⁵ and while deaths would be recorded on both sides, by all accounts, the haole would claim “that the Indians were the aggressors” (Rickman, 1781, p. 223). Incredibly, even the introduction and spread of sexual disease would be attributed to the aggressiveness of wāhine (Haley, 2014; Rickman, 1781). As Cook (1967) describes in his journal, “it requir’d the utmost vigilance of the Officers for the Women us’d all their Arts to entice them into their Houses, & even went so far as to Endeavour to draw them in by force” (Cook, 1967, p. Part I:266n.i).

Western historical narratives are written from the perspective of the rational, god-fearing, and compassionate explorer; who profess the virtues of European enlightenment; and based on the accounts from members of the expedition, the naive people would espouse the foreigner as a native god (Andersen, 1969; Ellis, 1979; Fornander, 1980; Oliver, 2002; Sahlins, 1996).

⁴⁴ “They seem very mild, and had no arms of any kind, if we except some small stones, which they had evidently brought for their own defense; and these they had thrown overboard when they found that they were not wanted” (J. Cook, 1967, p. 192; Gilbert, 1982, p. 62).

⁴⁵ “...instead of commanding respect, it only encouraged them in insolence, till Mr. W[illiamson], our third Lieutenant, presented his piece, shot one of the ringleaders dead upon the spot” (Rickman, 1781, p. 223).

Kānaka, on the other hand, recall those lived events differently. While it is natural that each group would promote the merits of their own perspective, the consequence of foreign contact is undeniable. In 1867, Kamakau⁴⁶ would reflect upon the period of earliest European contact and make the following observation about the state of the Kingdom:

The fruits and the seeds that his actions planted sprouted and grew, and became trees that spread to devastate the people of these islands.

1. Gonorrhea together with syphilis.
2. Prostitution
3. The false ideas that he was a god and worshipped.
4. Fleas and mosquitoes.
5. The spread of epidemic diseases.
6. Change in the air we breathe.
7. Weakening of our bodies.
8. Changes in plant life.
9. Change in the religious, put together with pagan religions.
10. Change in medicinal practice.
11. Laws in the government. (Silva, 2004, pp. 22–23)

Kānaka would ultimately suffer the same fate as many Aboriginal, Indigenous, and Native peoples who were unable to defend themselves from both conventional weapons and the devastating “diseases that decimated the populations of all Pacific Islanders” (Buck, 1959, p. 229). Naturally, the introduced diseases did not discriminate, with many of the healthiest Kānaka and even the ali‘i being susceptible and falling victim to the “steady and corrosive flow of infection” (Crosby, 1992, p. 177). By the turn of the 19th century, Kamehameha was advancing the unification of Hawai‘i while simultaneously taking

action to stop the epidemics, including placing a kapu (restriction) on the actions of foreigners (Poepoe, 1906) and constructing special temples called hale o ke akua (house of the akua) or hale o papa (house of Papa). None of these efforts succeeded, however, the mass death and depopulation ensued. (Silva, 2004, p. 24)

⁴⁶ Originally printed in Ka Nupepa Ku‘okoa, February 16, 1867, a summarized version of text would appear in Kamakau’s (1992) *Ruling Chiefs of Hawai‘i*. A restored version of the original text also appears in Kamakau’s (1996) *Ke Kumu Aupuni*, which is the version that was translated by Silva (2004) for her book, *Aloha Betrayed*, and cited above.

An Ailing Kingdom

‘O Kaua‘i nui moku lehua, ‘āina nui makekau.

#2440

Great Kaua‘i, isle of warriors and land of men ever on the defense.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 266)

Having conquered the islands from Hawai‘i to O‘ahu, rough seas in 1796 would prevent the first attempt by Kamehameha I to invade Kaua‘i, the last independent island kingdom. By late 1803 or early 1804, the ambitious ali‘i had rebuilt his fleet but was again forced to abandon his plans when a ma‘i ahulau (pestilence) spread among the people. Recognized as Hawai‘i’s second epidemic after venereal disease (Chun, 2016), ma‘i ‘ōku‘u⁴⁷ would infect Kamehameha’s entire fleet and “it was later said that as many as 300 men were thrown into the pit of death in a single day” (Desha, 2000, p. 445). While Kamehameha I was able to recover from the illness, most of his household were among the dead, as well as many of his highest ranked and most trusted counselors and their families (Chun, 2016; Ii, 1983; S. M. Kamakau, 1992; Malo, 1951). Twice impeded in his attempt to invade Kaua‘i, diplomacy would eventually bring the island under his rule in 1810.

The Consequence of Disease

Lawelawe li‘ili‘i ka make a ka Hawai‘i, lawe nui ka make o ka haole.

#1960

Death by Hawaiians takes a few at a time;

death by foreigners takes many.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 211)

Some estimates claim that within 45 years following European contact, roughly eighty percent of the population would succumb to disease (Kameeleihiwa p. 81), which according to American Historian and Professor Emeritus at University of Hawai‘i Mānoa, David Stannard (1989), was typical of the effect of Western diseases on the Native Peoples of the Americas. As described by Kānaka scholar and activist, Haunani-Kay Trask (1999), in her book *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*:

In less than a hundred years after Cook’s arrival, my people had been disposed of all religion, our moral order, our form of chiefly government, many of our cultural practices, and our lands and water. Introduced diseases, from syphilis and gonorrhea to tuberculosis, smallpox, measles, leprosy, and typhoid fever, killed Hawaiians by the hundreds of thousands, reducing our population (from an estimated one million at contact) to less than 40,000 by 1890. (pp. 5-6)

⁴⁷ Perhaps cholera or typhoid, *Lit.* “squatting disease” referring to the dysenteric symptoms of the illness, forcing those infected to frequently ‘ōku‘u or squat (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 282).

While the focus of this research is not the epidemiological history of Hawai‘i, it is essential to understanding the magnitude of loss that Kānaka experienced as a result of introduced diseases. Tragically, in a society that relies on collective memory and oral tradition to preserve all cultural knowledge, every death inevitably means permanent damage to that repository of knowledge. Amid the chaos facing the newly unified kingdom, the death of Kamehameha I in May of 1819 would mark the beginning of dramatic changes to religious and political tradition.

Foreign Indiscretions and Entanglements

E pale lau‘ī i ko akua ke hiki aku Kona.

#370

*Place a shield of ti leaves before your god
when you arrive in Kona.*

A message sent by Ka‘ahumanu to Liholiho
requiring him to free the *kapu* of his god Kūka‘ilimoku;
as she was striving to abolish the *kapu* system.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 371)

On 21 May 1819, following the last words of Kamehameha I,⁴⁸ his twenty-one-year-old son, Liholiho (Kamehameha II), would be proclaimed the ali‘i ‘ai moku (land eating chief/head of the Kingdom), while Ka‘ahumanu, the political wife of Kamehameha I, would be declared as the Kuhina Nui (Regent), to rule alongside Liholiho (K. Beamer, 2014; Desha, 2000; Sai 2008). While this in itself was not problematic, considering the long history of influential wahine who have held powerful leadership positions, but Ka‘ahumanu’s decision to break the ‘aikapu⁴⁹ (eating taboo) would effectively abolish the religious organization, structure, and balance that the kapu had maintained for hundreds of years (Kirch, 2010). Though it is unclear exactly why the Kuhina Nui would forsake tradition, scholars believe it was a calculated maneuver, designed to bolster a weakened kingdom and prevent its own self-destruction (K. Beamer, 2014; Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Linnekin, 1990; McGregor, 2007).

The turbulent months that followed would witness the abandonment of ancient temples and the destruction of images formally associated with traditional worship. When Calvinist

⁴⁸ “Ka‘ahumanu told the last words of the *ali‘i* Kamehameha in which he bequeathed the entire kingdom to his son Liholiho. Kamehameha had said to Ka‘ahumanu: ‘You are the parent (*makua*) of our child. The kingdom is for Liholiho. If he does wrong in governing, then you take the government from him and attend to it for him.’” (Desha, 2000, p. 501).

⁴⁹ The ‘ai kapu underpinned the entire kapu system by controlling gender relations and specified that men and women could not eat together, must cook food separately, and that certain foods (pork, certain types of banana, fish, etc.) were prohibited to women. Ka‘ahumanu and Liholiho defied the ‘ai kapu by eating together, a symbolic act which would abolish the entire kapu system (Kirch, 2010).

missionaries arrived in Hawai‘i on 30 March 1820, the dismantling of the former state religion was interpreted “as an act of God”⁵⁰ (Merry, 2000, p. 61). Determined to save the heathen from eternal damnation and bring moral order through Christian salvation, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) would send 153 men, along with their wives and families, to Hawai‘i between 1820 and 1848 (Merry, 2000). They would be joined by an additional forty independent missionaries (Grimshaw, 1989; Piercy, 1992), all of whom would be dispersed throughout the kingdom. These puritanical missionaries would immediately condemn the Hawaiian expression of narrative literature through hula and mele (Kaepler, 1976), “on the grounds that it was vulgar, savage, and a violation of Christian morals” (Silva, 2000, p. 29).

By 1823, a formalized and consistent written form of Hawaiian language had been developed, and literacy spread rapidly throughout all the islands (K. Beamer, 2014; S. M. Kamakau, 1996). While it was intended to facilitate Christian conversion, and ultimately promote the superiority of all things Western, including technology, law, and government (Ellis, 1979; Mykkänen, 2003; Trask, 1999), “the ali‘i already knew some of the power of writing” and discerned its actual value as a means of communication (Silva, 2004, p. 32). As Nogelmeier (2009) explains: “As soon as the native language was rendered into written form, Hawaiian enthusiastically took up reading and writing as a national endeavor. In two generations, nearly the entire Hawaiian population was literate in their own language, surpassing America, England, and most of the world for the percentage of people able to read and write” (p. xii).

Inevitably, the writings of missionaries, journalists, and other early visitors would intensify foreign economic and political interest in Hawai‘i, and “like many countries in the Pacific and around the world in the early nineteenth century, Hawai‘i was at times the target of colonial aggression” (Silva, 2004, p. 35). Kame‘eleihiwa (1992) echoes Silva and details that as early as 1800, the Hawaiian Kingdom began:

...to suffer three kinds of imperialism; militaristic, cultural, and economic. Militarism flaunted itself in the warships which threatened sovereignty; cultural imperialism came

⁵⁰ “Far removed from the loved dwellings of Zion in our native land, surrounded with pagans and strangers, we would lift the voice of grateful praise to our covenant Father, and call on our patrons and friends to rejoice, for the Lord hath comforted his people, and ministered unto us an open and abundant entrance among the heathens. But here we see no alters of abomination, not bloody rites of superstition. Jehovah had begun to overturn the institutions of idolatry, and to prepare the way for the nobler institutions of his own worship.” (Bingham et al., 1821, p. 111)

in the form of the missionaries who denigrated everything Native; and economic imperialism appeared with the merchants who, by their promises of equality through more foreign goods, seduced Hawaiian *Ali‘i* into capitalist cycles of never-ending debt. (p. 170)

Adding to the problems of dealing with the increased presence and demands of the foreign population was the fact that “they viewed themselves immune and not subject to the King, but subject to the laws of their own particular countries” (Sai, 2008, p. 46). To address the problem of governance over the foreigner, a “common law” would need to be established over the entire country. So, on 27 November 1823, Liholoho left Hawai‘i on a diplomatic mission to England, to meet with King George IV (Mykkänen, 2003). Desiring to solidify diplomatic ties that had been sought during the reign of Kamehameha I, Liholiho perceived that support from the English King would alleviate the strained relations with the haole and ensure the survival of the Kingdom by way of diplomatic protection (K. Beamer, 2014; Jarves, 1843; Sai, 2008).

Tragically, in July of 1824, both Liholiho and Queen Kamamalu would contract measles in London and die before any meeting between the sovereigns could convene. King George IV would honor the intentions of Liholiho by appointing Richard Charlton to act “as British consul to both the Kingdom of the Sandwich Islands⁵¹ and the Society Group” (Sai, 2008, p. 49). He would arrive in Honolulu a month before the H.B.M.S. Blonde, under the command of Lord Byron, who would return the caskets containing Liholiho and Kamamalu to Hawai‘i.

The Decline of a Dynasty

**He aupuni palapala ko‘u;
o ke Kanaka pono ‘oia ko‘u Kanaka.**

#553

*Mine is the kingdom of education;
the righteous man is my man.
Uttered by Kamehameha III.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 64)*

While the diplomatic intervention would provide some relief, the economic and political interests of Christian missionaries, haole settlers, and other foreign powers would continue to undermine the legitimate rule of the Hawaiian monarchy. As highlighted by Sai (2008), these

⁵¹ “Sandwich Islands” was the European name given to Hawai‘i at first contact in 1778. Chosen to honor of the First Lord of the Admiralty, John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich.

actions would occur in contempt of the accomplishments and international recognition gotten by Kamehameha III during his reign between 1825 and 1854:

1839: Adoption of a “Declaration of Rights” and a uniform code of laws for the kingdom.

1840: Granting the first Constitution of Hawai‘i, establishing a Constitutional Monarchy.

1843: Protest British takeover by threat of force, between 25 February and 31 July 1843.

1843: Formal international recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty and independence from:

Great Britain and France by joint proclamation⁵² on 28 November 1843,

United States by letter of Secretary of State John C. Calhoun on 6 July 1843,

Then entering into extensive diplomatic and treaty relations with other states that included Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Bremen, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hamburg, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden-Norway, Switzerland, and the United States.

1845: Formalized shared governance; Premier to act as a Prime Minister for the kingdom.

1848: Great Mahele or land division, granting title and property rights to individuals.

1852: Signing into law, amendments adopted under the revised Constitution on 14 June 1852.

(K. Beamer, 2014, pp. 106–171; Sai, 2008, pp. 66–92)

On 15 December 1854, Alexander ‘Iolani Liholiho⁵³ would become Kamehameha IV, and one of his first actions would be the nullification of a proposed treaty of annexation between the Hawaiian Kingdom and United States (Kuykendall, 1953). According to Beamer (2014), this act alone, by the new King, demonstrated his “desire to maintain the Hawaiian Kingdom’s independence” and while the act was certain to ruffle feathers, it “distinguished his reign as one that promoted Hawaiian interests with little concern about American responses” (p.171). Promoting the good of Kānaka, over the wishes of others, would be carried into the reign of the King’s younger brother, Lota Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V).

By the time Prince Lota took the throne in 1863, the dominance of New England Congregationalism had weakened substantially. Notwithstanding hostilities between the Evangelicals and Anglicans, The Church of England had become active in Honolulu in 1860 and quickly became favored by the Hawaiian Crown, with four of the next five reigning monarchs aligning with the English Church (Chang, 2016; K. Cook, 2018). Further evidence of the weakening position of the A.B.C.F.M. could also be seen on Lana‘i, where a small congregation from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had “been quietly laboring,”

⁵² The Anglo-French proclamation would accept the Hawaiian Islands as the first Polynesian and non-European nation to be recognized as an independent and sovereign state (Sai, 2008).

⁵³ In accordance with Article 25 of the Constitution of 1852, the King named his adopted son to be successor, which was confirmed on April 6th 1853 (Sai, 2008).

after their arrival in 1854, to build a following of members and to establish the City of Joseph on the small, rural island (Haley, 2014, p. 191).

Kamehameha V would be remembered for enacting a new constitution in 1864, one which instituted changes that he thought were more suitable to a constitutional monarchy (Beamer, 2014). Kingdom initiatives would affirm the broader cultural movements that had begun in the 1860s, and Kānaka were encouraged to preserve and advance traditional arts and practices (Chang, 2016; Silva, 2004). The difference, according to Kuykendall (1953), was that:

Alexander [Kamehameha IV] had the outlook and manners of a European gentleman; Lota was more Hawaiian in his point of view. Before he became king, the latter is said to have permitted and even encouraged the revival of some old Hawaiian customs such as hula and kahuna practices. After the death of his brother, the scenes and sounds around the palace were strongly reminiscent of ancient times. (p. 125)

Reflecting on his personal knowledge of the last of the Kamehameha dynasty, W. D. Alexander (1895) said, “It may truly be said of him that he was the last great chief of the olden type” (p. 11).

Elected to the Throne

Kukui ‘ā mau i ka awakea.

#1904

Torch that continues to burn in daylight.

A symbol of the family of Iwikauikaua,
who made a tour of the island of Hawai‘i with torches burning day and night.
A symbol of his descendants, who include Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 205)

On 8 January 1873, William Charles Lunalilo would be the kingdom’s first monarch to be elected to the throne.⁵⁴ Tragically, tuberculosis complicated by pneumonia would end Lunalilo’s reign a year later, and without naming a successor, another election was held on 12 February 1874. The outcome would place the crown on the head of David La‘amea Kalākaua (Dando-Collins, 2012). As Kanaka historian Jon Osorio (2002) writes in his book, *Dismembering Lāhui: A history of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, “the king was the Nation” (p. 242), and although the new king would come to represent many things, for an embattled kingdom still coping with disease, mounting debt, as well as religious, political, and racial turmoil, the nation needed an optimistic symbol of strength and promise. To send this message,

⁵⁴ In accordance with the 1864 Constitution, the death of the King without naming a successor empowers the Legislative Assembly to elect a new monarch.

Kalākaua would forego a formal coronation and devote the next three months touring the realm and “meeting with thousands of maka‘āinana and conducting business with legislators and influential businessmen” (Ing-Tsai, 2014, p. 119).

Kalākaua was not without controversy, with many historical accounts describing the sovereign as “an unpredictable leader and lighthearted spendthrift who, above all, liked parties, drank inordinate amounts of champagne, and most certainly deserved the epithet of ‘The Marry Monarch’” (Schweizer, 1991, p. 103). Unsurprisingly, his sharpest critics came from the “self-righteous” children of missionaries-turned-businessmen who, as Schweizer (1991) further describes, “were by nature opposed to pomp and circumstance in general and monarchy in particular, unless it served their own purposes. As a matter of course, they did not much value the cultural achievements of Indigenous peoples” (p. 107). Kalākaua showed little concern for his critics or their criticisms and “would champion Hawaiian cultural traditions and practices in the face of American missionary ethics” (Beamer, 2014, p. 181). If the haole disapproved of the irreverent sounds emitted from the palace, at the time of Kamehameha V, they would condemn Kalākaua for encouraging the open and public displays of ancient traditions on the grounds of the newly erected ‘Iolani palace⁵⁵.

On 12 February 1883, two years after returning from a world tour⁵⁶ and on “the ninth anniversary of his accession to the throne,” an elaborate coronation ceremony was held for Kalākaua and Queen Kapi‘olani (Kuykendall, 1967, p. 261). Following the brief ceremony, described as “an amalgam of European ritual with Hawaiian custom” (Haley, 2014, p. 243), “the Royal Hawaiian Band played the new national anthem, *Hawai‘i Pono‘i*, which was also written by the king” (Dando-Collins, 2012, p. 39). The celebration that followed would last two weeks and included public performances of ‘oli (chants), mele (songs), and hula

⁵⁵ Termite damage to the old palace necessitated the building of a new ‘Iolani palace which served as the seat of power for the Hawaiian Kingdom. Completed in 1882, the palace was the royal residence until the overthrow of Lili‘uokalani in 1893 and where she would be imprisoned until 1895. It would continue to be used as a municipal building for the Provisional, Territorial, and State Governments of Hawai‘i until 1969 (K. B. Beamer, 2009; Kamehiro, 2009).

⁵⁶ On January 20, 1881, Kalākaua would set out to be the first monarch of any nation to circumnavigate the world (Kuykendall, 1967). On the 281-day journey of goodwill and diplomacy, he would tour Japan, China and parts of Southeast Asia, India and Egypt, before an extensive tour of Europe. From New York he and his small group travelled by train to San Francisco, before returning home on October 22, 1881 (Kalākaua, 1881).

(traditional dance), which had been suppressed for more than fifty years.⁵⁷ Invoking tradition, and presented in honor of Kalākaua, temple chants like *‘Au‘a ‘ia*⁵⁸ symbolically legitimized his rise to power (Kaepler & Tatar, 1993). Whereas the recitation of *mo‘okū‘auhau*, *Kumulipo*, and other genealogical prayers, elevated the King’s lineage and status (K. Beamer, 2014; Beckwith, 1972; Coleman, 2003; Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Silva, 2004).

It should come as no surprise that while Christian Hawaiians disapproved of the display (Kaepler & Tatar, 1993), the haoles openly mocked the event in their newspapers. Bemoaning the cost and extravagance, Kalākaua’s critics would characterize the event as a pathetic attempt to mimic the stateliness of European aristocracy. A reporter for the N.Y. Times (1883) described the “elaborate travesty” as “absurd and childish” and an “elaborate burlesque of mediaeval nonsense,” while also giving his sentiment for the of the future of the kingdom and people:

It cannot be said that King *Kalakaua* is obliged to resort to the mimicries of royalty to dazzle the simple-minded subjects of his liliputian realm. Intermarriages and death have so weakened the native races of the islands that it is hardly worthwhile to take into account their prejudices and preferences. Probably the King enjoys being a King, and he is determined to have a good time while he can. (N.Y. Times, 1883, para. 3).

Kānaka scholars (Beamer, 2014; Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Osorio, 2002; and Silva, 2004) argue that the purpose of the coronation was not the impress his critics, but to “proclaim the excellence of Hawaiian culture” (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992, p. 314). That despite a half-century of devastating losses and the suppression of ancient beliefs and traditions, Kānaka had continued to persist. As described by Kame‘eleihiwa (1992):

Kalākaua believed that by reviving Hawaiian pride—by throwing out the seed of self-doubt planted in the Hawaiian breast by Hiram Bingham—Hawaiian depopulation would cease. His slogan was “*Ho ‘oulu Lāhua*” (Increase the Race). He surmised that if Hawaiians could again celebrate life, as their ancestors had, and if they were thus inspired with a great desire to live, then the senseless, premature deaths might cease. As a nation, Hawai‘i would be *pono* again. To this end, Kalākaua built the beautiful and

⁵⁷ Upon the arrival of the first missionaries, hula was condemned for celebrating sexuality and its connection to ancient religious practices. The first ban on hula occurred in 1830, when the newly converted, Kuhina Nui Ka‘ahumanu announced its prohibition alongside murder, theft, adultery, polygamy, and the consumption of ‘awa (*Piper methysticum*) and liquor (S. M. Kamakau, 1992).

⁵⁸ For a detailed description of the pahu (drum) dance and its use in temple ceremony, refer to the discussion and analysis of *‘Au‘a ‘ia* in chapter four of thesis.

inspiring ‘Iolani Palace, reestablished the ancient Hale Nauā Society⁵⁹ to study Hawaiian traditions, commemorated his coronation with twenty-four hours of *hula* dancing at the palace. Hula had not been so openly displayed since Liholiho’s time in 1823. (p. 314)

This sentiment is echoed by Noenoe Silva (2004) in her book, *Aloha Betrayed*, when she states that for Kānaka, “the old religion, dance, mo‘olelo, mele, and mo‘okū‘auhau were like the iwikuamo‘o (spine) for the lāhui; without their own traditions, they could not stand up to the colonial onslaught” (p. 88). She furthers this notion and explains the King’s belief that “the revitalization of these ancient ways armored people against the pernicious effects of the constant denigration of Kanaka culture by the U.S. Missionaries and their descendants and allowed them to know themselves as a strong people with a proud history” (Silva, 2004, p. 89).

To be precise, this was not an endeavor to return to the past. It was an explicit declaration of strength, solidarity, resistance, and reclamation, as Kānaka and their kingdom moved into the future. Kalākaua’s intentions become evident in supplanting the Hawaiian version of “God Save the King” for a New Hawaiian National Anthem, which survives till today (Committee of the Y.M.C.A., 1874). He also establishes Ka Papa Kū‘auhau o Nā Ali‘i (The Board of Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs) to research, record, “and safeguard genealogies, religious practices, Indigenous histories, *mele*, and chiefly relics” (Kamehiro, 2009, p. 19). While Ka Papa Kū‘auhau o Nā Ali‘i worked to ensure the preservation of culture, the revitalized Hale Nauā was charged with “the revival of elements of Hawaiian culture” and the “promotion of modern science, art, and literature” (Karpiel, 1999, p. 204).

Unlike his haole contemporaries, who were motivated to collect artifacts⁶⁰ as proof of a culture that was on the verge of extinction, Kalākaua sought to perpetuate the arts and practices for the future. As highlighted by Kamehiro (2009),

⁵⁹ In ancient times, the Hale Nauā served in a similar capacity as the ‘Aha Ali‘i, and scrutinized the genealogical qualification of those who claimed relationship to the chiefs (Malo, 1951). Re-established in 1886, the Hale Nauā Society was charged with protection and production of cultural wisdom through “documenting, traditional knowledge as preserved in genealogies, material culture, and cultural practices” (Kamehiro, 2009, p. 19).

⁶⁰ The first curator of the B.P. Bishop Museum, William Brigham (1908), acknowledges that artifacts in the collection had “been found in long ago closed burial caves” (p.157). Kamakau (1979) also recalls, Dr. John Pelham who “saw one of these chiefs’ burial pits at Waimea and told me how he discovered it” (p. 41). The account includes Seth and Lorrin Andrews and details the efforts of “Dr. Pili” to acquire two skeletons from the burial pit, one for himself and the other on behalf of “some doctors in Honolulu” (p. 42).

Kalākaua rekindled Indigenous visual arts through vigorous collecting and by initiating the manufacture of Hawaiian items such as *ki*-leaf (*Cordyline terminalis*) cloaks, cordage, sculpture, and featherwork. The king often showed foreign visitors his collection of antique feather cloaks and described his work to renew the art. Some of this activity was carried out through the Hale Nauā Society, which collected antiques and enkindled the production of material culture such as fishhooks, plaiting, bark cloth (*kapa*), religious images, stones adzes, weapons, chiefly ornaments and garments, and netting. (p. 21)

Pertaining to this research, the Hawaiian State Archives has one *kōkō pu‘upu‘u* that is attributed to the Hale Nauā (Kamehiro, 2009), and represents one of the most exquisite, albeit incomplete, examples still available for public examination.

Kānaka inquisitiveness and embracing technology is well documented and evidenced in their passion for literacy and early adoption of firearms and the printing press. Likewise, Kalākaua’s installation of electric lights and a telephone at ‘Iolani Palace⁶¹ demonstrates the King’s passion for the modern age. Technological innovation was effective in the King’s efforts to preserve Kingdom history and can be seen in the numerous photographs from the period.

The location of the photograph in Figure 12 is the second floor of ‘Iolani Palace, where an assortment of chiefly regalia and artifacts are exhibited. Prominently displayed among the collection are five *kōkō*, prominently displayed in the foreground. The distinctive designs formed by the *maka* (netted eyes) of each net are clearly visible on four of the nets. The left-most net is discernable as a simpler *kōkō pū‘alu*, while the three upright nets, to the right, are *kōkō pu‘upu‘u*. A fifth *kōkō* appears to be laying on its side, and judging from the size of the circular *piko*, and the number of *maka* radiating from the central ring, it would appear that this is also a *kōkō pu‘upu‘u*. A more comprehensive view of the photograph indicates that the person who staged the display was familiar with *kōkō* and their use. The intentional display of the *piko* as mentioned above; securing each *kōkō* around an ‘*umeke* or *ipu* calabash with the accompanying *po‘i* or lid, and the inclusion of an ‘*auamo*/*māmaka* (carrying stick/yoke) convey familiarity with these objects and an intention to showcase both form and function.

⁶¹ Kalākaua discussed upgrading the street lights of Honolulu with Thomas Edison during his world tour in 1881 (The Sun, 1881). Subsequently, ‘Iolani Palace would be electrified before America’s White House (The Sun, 1881).

Figure 12

Kōkō pu‘upu‘u on display with other possessions of the Hawaiian royal family



Note. Unknown photographer, (ca. 1887). Courtesy Archives of Hawai‘i, (PP-36-8-00). Hawaiian artifacts, regalia, and other possession of the royal family, on display in the upper hall of ‘Iolani Palace with kōkō pu‘upu‘u/pū‘alu in the foreground.

Like the photo presented in Figure 12, if we take a broader view of Kalākaua, it becomes increasingly clear that this Hawaiian monarch was far more progressive than his critics would have liked to admit. We can see that his bold endeavors to empower Kānaka and build nationalistic sentiment would become the foundation for the resistance and reclamation movement that has persisted into contemporary times. Unfortunately, this unapologetic stance would also provoke Euro-American aggression, motivating a small group of foreign nationals and a few sympathetic Hawaiian Kingdom subjects to “organize a takeover of political rights of the native population” (Sai, 2008, p. 98). The group, led by Lorrin A. Thurston and calling themselves the Hawaiian League, were backed by a small, well-armed militia, predominately comprised of United States citizens (Dando-Collins, 2012; Kuykendall, 1967). On 6 July 1887, under threat of assassination and violent revolution, Kalakāua acquiesced and signed the hastily written “*bayonet* constitution...which effectively placed control of the Legislature and Cabinet in the hands of individuals who held foreign allegiances” (Sai, 2008, p. 101).

Beloved Queen

‘Onipa‘a

#2521

Stand Firm.

Motto of Lili‘uakalani.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 275)

In 1889, a small group of citizens and kingdom loyalists attempted an armed counter-revolt to restore the government and the King’s former rights. Although their effort was unsuccessful, the government could not secure a guilty verdict from the Native Hawaiian jury; a strong indication of the Native sentiment throughout the kingdom. With the passing of Kalākaua in 1891, his sister, Lili‘uokalani, would take the throne, and on 14 January 1893, she proclaimed her intention to promulgate a new lawful constitution. Lorrin Thurston would once again organize the revolutionaries into a group called the Committee on Safety, and three days later, on 17 January 1893, with the backing of U.S. Marines, Thurston and his followers would declare themselves the provisional government, ultimately securing annexation to the United States (K. Beamer, 2014; Dougherty, 1992; Kuykendall, 1967; Mykkänen, 2003; Sai, 2008; Silva, 2004; Trask, 1999).⁶²

I ka ‘ōlelo ke ola, I ka ‘ōlelo ka make

#1191

Life is in speech, death is in speech.

Words can heal, words can destroy.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 129)

The consequences of American’s illegal occupation of Hawai‘i reads like a textbook example of “the cultural bomb” that Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (1986) introduces in his book *Decolonizing the Mind*. To counteract the resistance and collective defiance, the imperialist would use kingdom resources and government action to alter the beliefs of Kānaka. As Ngũgĩ describes, “the effect of the cultural bomb is to annihilate a person’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves” (p. 3). To understand how this process took shape in Hawai‘i, we need to look no further than “the 1896 law that prohibited the use of languages other than English from public schools” (Higgins, 2019, para. 5). Ngũgĩ (1986) goes on to explain, “language, any language, has a dual character: it is both a means of communication and a carrier of culture” (p. 13). Essentially, extinguish a language, annihilate a culture. This is the reason why teaching Native

⁶² Understandably, details pertaining to the unlawful overthrow, occupation, and eventual annexation of the lawful Kingdom of Hawai‘i are extensive, and the brief overview provided, does not do full justice to the efforts of Kānaka and loyalists to the Crown to prevent the theft and/or restore the Kingdom. Thorough examinations and detailed discussion regarding the overthrow can be found in the published materials of the authors cited.

languages in immersion schools has been at the forefront of resurgence for many cultures, but language revitalization is more than just cultural revival; it is also a political assertion and a catalyst for reclamation (Trask, 1999). In Hawai‘i and Aotearoa, Trask (1999) continues, “teaching Native languages in immersion schools has been at the forefront of a cultural resurgence which includes reclaiming ancestral lands and moves toward various forms of self-government” (p. 42).

Naturally, the oppression caused by American occupation would extend beyond language and eventually envelop the ‘āina (land) and environment, causing traditional food gathering and farming practices to become unsustainable if not nearly impossible. Traditional practices that were deemed sinful, immoral, or evil would be criminalized, while those that could be commodified would be appropriated to entice and entertain tourists. Furthermore, any ancient beliefs that had not been forsaken by Christianity were trivialized and regarded as nonsensical superstition. Moreover, evidence of those beliefs would be collected and locked in private collections and museums. It is here that this writer would like to turn the reader’s attention, to focus the remainder of this chapter on the kōkō pu‘upu‘u artifacts collected by the B. P. Bishop Museum and the subsequent narrative that has been forwarded by the institutional literature.

Chapter Summary

This chapter examined cordage as a physical representation of divine power and discussed the traditional use of ‘aha and binding as an expression of authority for Hawaiian elite. Representing political and religious strength, ‘aha is more than a tool to control the physical world. Powerful ali‘i maintained unique relationships with sacred cords and utilized them to bind fragmented kingdoms into a unified Hawaiian society. Embodying the strength and resilience of ‘aha, Kānaka have persevered in the face of religious upheaval, political disruption, and massive depopulation.

Despite this cultural decimation, the physical artifacts that have endured are significant connections to our past that continue to enrich Kānaka. Contrary to the belief that they are obsolete relics, objects like kōkō pu‘upu‘u are still relevant and personify the perseverance of our kūpuna. Kānaka perseverance is examined further in chapter six, Ku‘u Koko. In addition to highlighting significant individuals who have tried to document and preserve Hawaiian culture, the chapter also examines current efforts to revitalize cultural practices deemed lost, forgotten, and useless.

Chapter Six

Ku‘u Koko — Perpetuation of Cordage into Modern Era

This chapter, Ku‘u Koko, surveys the persistence of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u and its resurgence in contemporary times. Beginning with the first mentions of nets in journals and reports from early European and American expeditions, the discussion that follows analyzes the cornerstone piece of academic literature concerning kōkō pu‘upu‘u (Stokes, 1906). As a valuable contribution to knowledge, this examination seeks to reclaim that narrative published in 1906 by way of correcting inaccuracies, challenging assumptions, and refuting claims that kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u is an “art now forgotten, and the usefulness of which has entirely ceased” (Stokes, 1906, p. 112).

Contemporary Literature Concerning Kōkō pu‘upu‘u

Net making was prevalent when Europeans arrived in Hawai‘i in 1778, but there is no record of any kōkō pu‘upu‘u having been acquired by the earliest haole explorers (Kaepler, 1978; Mitchell, 1978; Summers, 1990). The European sailors that journaled about the “Sandwich Isles” offer valuable insight and some detail about Hawaiian material culture; however, references to nets and the net tying tools are vague at best. One anonymous account published in 1782 states:

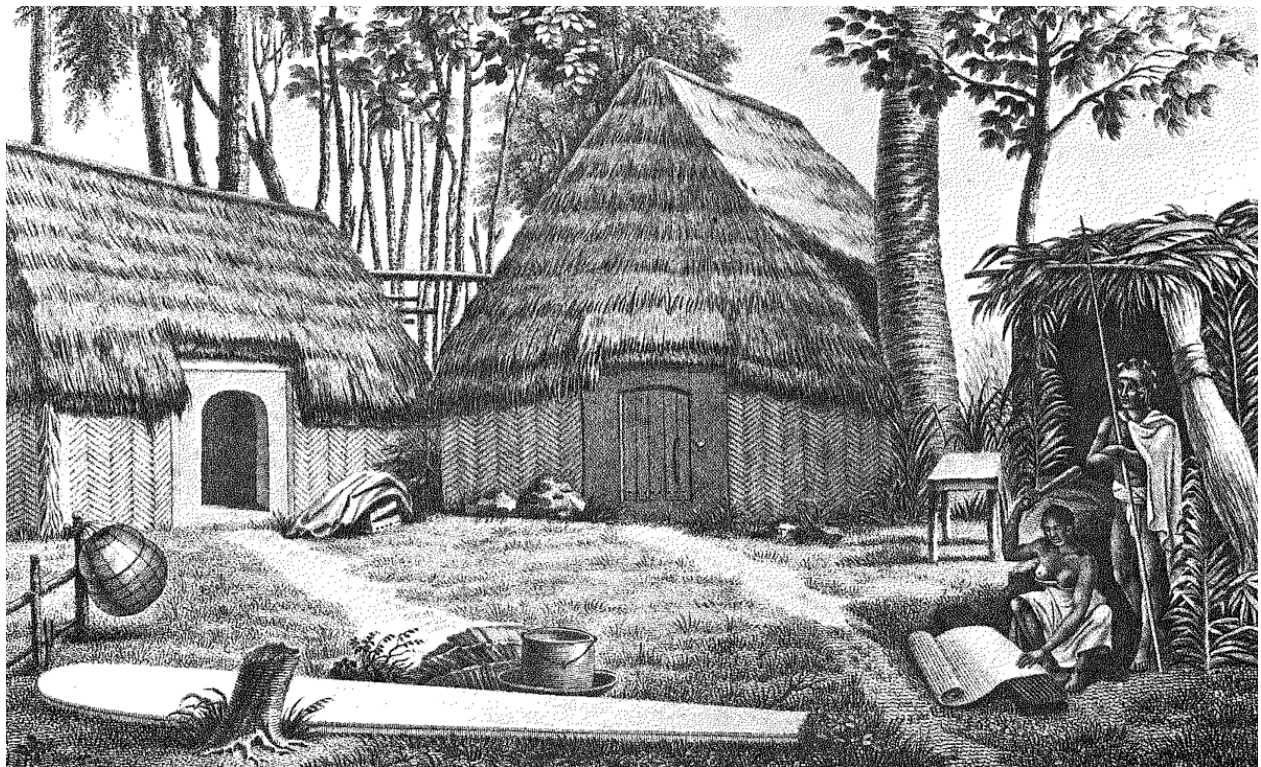
In addition to the wild produce of the country, we bought in the Sandwich Isles salt, cordage, fabrics, and a great number of weapons, fishing tackle, cloaks, coverlets, capes, masks, nets, musical instruments, needles, thread, tools, bracelets and earrings, household utensils, carved wood, with which they beat their fabrics. In short, everything that was new to us and which could be regarded as a curiosity in Europe. (Rozina et al., 1978, p. 130)

These references are mere mentions, suggesting that these items were probably considered mundane and, beyond their utilitarian function, did not require further elaboration. In his visit to Hawai‘i in 1819, the French cartographer Louis-Claude de Saulces de Freycinet provided an early account of his interaction with ali‘i with the following mention: “after the meal, a platter is placed over the calabash containing poi, and is surmounted by another calabash to hold it down, and all of this is wrapped and fastened into a suspended open mesh” (Freycinet & Kelly, 1978, p. 64). Although this description lacks specific detail, this account is clearly describing a kōkō; however, little more can be discerned.

Accompanying this early mention of a kōkō is an engraving based on sketches by J. Alphonse Pellion. As seen in figure 12, a calabash suspended in a net appears in the left foreground of the engraving, which seems to resemble the net described by de Freycinet. Interestingly, the vertical and horizontal lines of the kōkō in the image are more characteristic of a kōkō pu‘upu‘u, as opposed to kōkō pū‘alu, which tend to reflect diagonal lines. It should be noted that this image contains several irregularities, which are probably the result of artistic license by the engraver. This would explain the plaited thatching of walls and the peculiarly shaped doorways and doors, which are not characteristic of Hawaiian construction during the period depicted.

Figure 13

The houses of chief Kraimokou, Prime Minister of the King



Note. Villeroy, after A. Pellion (ca. 1819). *The houses of chief Kraimokou, Prime Minister of the King*. From Freycinet, 1978, p. 9. Engraving depicting Kalanimoku standing in the doorway of one of his houses in the company of his wife Likelike on the right, with gourd suspended in netting, left foreground.

In September 1840, Charles Wilkes, Commander of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, made its way and arrived in Hawai‘i. Wilkes appears to have been particularly interested in the use of kōkō by Kānaka and takes the time to describe the use of ipu (*Lagenaria siceraria*) for

traveling. His narrative includes multiple engravings that depict the use of kōkō pū‘alu by maka‘āinana (commoners) and includes the following description:

Their usual mode of carrying burdens is to suspend them with cords from the ends of a stick...instead of baskets, they use a kind of gourd, which grows to a large size, and seems peculiar to these islands. (Wilkes, 1844a, pp. 410–411)

The former kindly offered to take all the preliminary steps in reference to the arrangements with the natives, and to procure suitable traveling equipments[sic], in the shape of large calabashes, &c. These last are deemed at the island a most necessary appendage for travelling, and are admirable adapted for the purpose., being exceedingly light and having great capacity. When in the care of a native, although extremely fragile, they are quite secure; they are surrounded by a net made of fine twine or sennit of the cocoa-nut. (Wilkes, 1844b, pp. 95–96)

Figure 14

Travelling calabashes of Hawaii



TRAVELLING CALABASHES OF HAWAII.

Note. R. H. Pease, after J. Drayton, drawn on wood by J. H. Manning (ca 1840). *Travelling calabashes of Hawaii*. From Wilkes, 1844b, p. 115. Engraving depicting gourds surrounded by a mesh net.

Figure 15

Mode of Carrying Burdens



Note. R. H. Pease, after J. Drayton, drawn on wood by J. H. Manning (ca.1840) *Mode of Carrying Burdens*. From Wilkes, 1844a, p. 411. Engraving depicting kōkō pū‘alu suspended on ‘auamo (yoke).

Figure 16

Pali, Oahu



Note. John B. Neagle, after A. T. Agate (ca. 1840). *Pali, Oahu*. From Wilkes, 1844b, p. 55. Engraving depicting gourds surrounded by kōkō pū‘alu.

A Repository for Mea Makamae

Ke kaha ‘ōhai o Kaiona.

#1714

Kaiona’s place where the ‘ōhai grows.
Kaiona is a benevolent goddess whose home is Mt. Ka‘ala and vicinity.
The ‘ōhai grew in profusion there.
Because of her graciousness, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop
was compared to this goddess in songs.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 185)

For the fifty years following Charles Wilkes’ 1840 expedition, the literature is void of any references to carrying net and kōkō pu‘upu‘u. During that same period, however, ali‘i like His Majesty Kalākaua, saw fit to showcase these nets when photographing the royal collection. The number of chiefly nets that existed would not be realized until after 1884, with the passing of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, last legal heir of the Kamehameha Dynasty and great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I (Black, 1965; G. S. Kanahale, 1986b; Williams, 1999). Coinciding with the overthrow in 1889, Pauahi’s American settler husband, Charles Reed Bishop (Cooper, 1985; N. Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, 2014; Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992) would establish the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in her honor (Rose, 1980). Starting with an extensive collection of royal family heirlooms from Pauahi’s estate, the Museum would come to possess many royal objects, including over one hundred kōkō pu‘upu‘u (Brigham, 1892; Stokes, 1906; Summers, 1990).

Charles Bishop would appoint William Tufts Brigham as the first curator of the Museum, and his first task was to account and assess the artifacts in the collection. His inventory would be published as in *The Catalogue of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History*, wherein Brigham (1892) offers his assessment:

Among the chiefs, nets made of various complicated meshes and knots were used to carry the large ipu or umeke. While commoners must use a plain net made of coconut fibre, so commanded the all powerful kapu, the nobility could show their quality the complication of knots and meshes, and an addition to the material of cord made of waoke. The two fibres were often combined and olona sometimes displaced waoke. (p. 40)

In total, Brigham would classify 120 kōkō pu‘upu‘u and provide brief notations regarding construction materials and exhibition status. Of these kōkō pu‘upu‘u, twelve are noted to be associated with the collection of Queen Emma, the wife of Alexander ‘Iolani Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), to which Brigham (1892) acknowledges, “Queen Emma had a fancy for

collecting these curious nets, and to her the Museum owes many of the most interesting” (p. 40).

As the twentieth century approached, the impact of foreign intrusion in Hawai‘i was unmistakable, and the threat of extinction for Kānaka had become a dangerous reality (Stannard, 1989; K. G. T. Young, 1998). A census in 1900 confirmed that the Hawaiian population was reduced to fewer than 38,000 Kānaka (OHA, 2017; Schmitt, 1977). Acknowledging the changing times, and perhaps considering the looming extinction of Kānaka, Brigham (1906) would reflect:

In the whirl and rush of the twentieth century there is little time for the natural work of human hands fashioning a basket, plaiting a mat or knotting a net; the people who can only make these things as their ancestors did long generations ago are passing off the stage. (p. 1)

To preserve what remained of traditional craftsmanship and Kānaka material culture, Brigham set about documenting the workmanship and practices that contributed to the artifacts within the Museum’s collection.

Arriving in Hawai‘i in 1899, and coinciding with the implementation of Brigham’s preservation efforts, a young Australian named John Francis Gray Stokes would be tasked “to organize the museum’s library and collections” (Wianecki, 2018, p. 105). Earning a reputation for thoroughness, from meticulous attention to detail, Stokes would eventually be appointed as the Curator of Polynesian Ethnology, becoming further recognized for his fieldwork in surveying and mapping of ancient heiau sites (Flexner et al., 2017; Stokes, 1991). His contribution to Brigham’s (1906) *Memoirs of the Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History, Volume II, No.1*, is a chapter entitled *Hawaiian Nets and Netting*. In addition to providing a general overview of net types, tools, and lashings for huawai (water gourds), Stokes delivers an in-depth examination of kōkō, accompanied by detailed illustrations⁶³ and photographs, and an itemized inventory of kōkō in the collection. Uncharacteristically detailed for a manuscript of the time, Stokes (1906) would acknowledge his motivation for his painstaking effort:

Since this essay is intended to place on record this part of the natives’ art now forgotten,

⁶³ Stokes (1906) credits “Mr. L.G. Blackman for his careful and painstaking drawings” (p.162).

and the usefulness of which has entirely ceased, and also to give a catalogue of what is now available in this Museum to students of ethnology, greater attention has perhaps been given to detail than a general description would call for. (pp. 112-114)

Recognized as the only comprehensive examination of kōkō pu‘upu‘u, it has proven invaluable for the perpetuation and revitalization of the craft. In light of Stokes’ comments of “forgotten” and useless, the irony is not lost on practitioners who have used his document to preserve the art.

Indeed, while Stokes’ work is noteworthy and has fostered the resilience of kōkō pu‘upu‘u, it is not without its problems. By his own admission, Stokes (1906) concedes, “it has been necessary to make liberal use of the native names, which at the present day are liable to be inaccurately applied” (p. 114). Undeterred by his limited understanding of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, and consequently Hawaiian cultural knowledge, Stokes proceeds to apply Western reasoning and rationales to invalidate Kānaka beliefs and cultural truths. Granted that Stokes, and his research, are products of the time, the corrosive effects are no less damaging (Grande, 2004; Ngūgĩ wa Thiong’o, 1986; Said, 2014; Silva, 2017; L. T. Smith, 2013). Returning again to Ngūgĩ’s (1986) statement that the consequences of the “cultural bomb is to annihilate a person’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage...and ultimately in themselves” (p. 3).

In *Hawaiian Nets and Netting*, Stokes (1906) frames his examination of kōkō pu‘upu‘u around the belief that the tradition is long dead. Planting the seeds that the cultural practice is forgotten and meaningless has the profound effect of diminishing the value placed on traditional customs and beliefs (Lee-Morgan, 2019; L. T. Smith, 2013). Displaced values, in turn, generate a deep ambivalence toward cultural practices and their related objects. As Ty Kawika Tengan (2008) explains in his book, *Native Men Remade*, “Hawaiian objects, once valued for their utility within particular historical and cultural contexts, have now become valued commercially and socially, precisely as symbols of Hawaiian history, culture, and identity” (p. 138). Additionally, some Kānaka believe that objects associated with ali‘i, like kōkō pu‘upu‘u, are kapu and should not be possessed by maka‘āinana. In reconciling these conflicting feelings, museums become the logical solution for preserving and safeguarding cultural artifacts that are significant yet considered obsolete or impractical. Jurisdiction over the relics further validates the notion of outdated beliefs while, at the same time, privileging the institution with control over the narrative. As demonstrated by the fabricated and skeptical narrative crafted by John Stokes

(1906):

it might appear that the puu was a conception entirely Hawaiian, for none of the other members of the Polynesian race seem to have possessed such a knowledge. However, some doubt has occurred to the writer as to whether it is even native. (p. 131)

Skeptical of the testimonies of kūpuna,⁶⁴ Stokes (1906) is perplexed that early haole explorers like Freycinet and Wilkes make no mention of seeing royal nets, especially considering that “some of the kōkō pu‘upu‘u were too remarkable to have escaped observation” (p. 132). Remarking that the pu‘upu‘u knot resembles the European noose⁶⁵, Stokes hypothesizes that the pu‘upu‘u knot may be a foreign introduction:

Foreign sailors have closely associated with the natives since 1778, and the sailor with his knowledge of knots on the one hand and the native on the other eager to learn the foreigner’s ways would make it a simple matter to introduce a new method into their work. (Stokes, 1906, p. 132)

It is known that the natives were taught plain knitting by the missionaries, who came here in 1820, and proved apt pupils. It may be that the natives owe the knowledge of puu to Juan Gaetano’s Spaniards of about 1550... (Stokes, 1906, p. 134)

In the absence of any evidence to substantiate Stokes’ reservation for crediting Kānaka with the origination of the pu‘upu‘u knot, these statements should be considered pure speculation. That is not to say that his skepticism is irrational, but considering that his doubt is based on a belief that Native sources are “unreliable” and “not to be trusted,” only reflects his realist ontology in favor of a Eurocentric worldview. To be fair, it should also be noted that Stokes (1906) concedes:

However, no matter what origin, even if the knot were of foreign introduction, the natives had seen its adaptability to their work, and by their adoption of it into the manufacture of their articles, they have surely given it a domicile sufficiently Hawaiian. (p. 134)

Notwithstanding this acknowledgment, the researcher is committed to believing claims by

⁶⁴ “All the older natives conversed with and enquired of claims that the puu was very ancient—long antedated the advent of Captain Cook. Still, too great reliability cannot be placed in these claims” (Stokes, 1906, p. 132).

⁶⁵ Stokes (1906) uses the term “hangman’s knot” (p.132) which is also referred to as the Gallows Knot, Scaffold Knot or Noose depending on how it is tied (Ashley, 1993, p. 204). Unique to the pu‘upu‘u knot is the inclusion of a second sliding loop formed within the wrapped portion of the knot. This variation does not appear among the 3854 knots catalogued in *The Ashley Book of Knots*; which is considered by many as the most comprehensive record of knots known today.

kūpuna that the pu‘upu‘u knot is a Kānaka conception that originated i ka wā kahiko (in antiquity). This position is also due in part to archeological evidence, which suggests that intricate knot tying appears to have occurred during the period preceding European contact.

Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u and the Archeological Record

Huli ka lima i luna, make ‘oe; huli ka lima i lalo, ola ‘oe.

*Turn the hand upward, you die;
turn the hands downwards (work) you live.*

(Abbie Napeahi, 20 January 1997 in Meyer, 2003, p. 171)

In her extensive examination of cordage from the Bishop Museum, Summers (1990) identifies twenty-four kōkō remnants recovered from archeological excavations, three of which she classifies as kōkō pu‘upu‘u. One kōkō pu‘upu‘u fragment, made of ‘aha (*Cocos nucifera*) was discovered in a rock-shelter on Hawai‘i Island.⁶⁶ Simultaneously, the other two came from excavation site Ka-C10-2-3 at Nu‘alolo Kai⁶⁷ on the island of Kaua‘i (Summers, 1990). One of the kōkō pu‘upu‘u fragments was made with hau (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) and found at a depth of 0-41cm (0-16 in.). In contrast, artifact Ka-C10-2-3:K13-66, was made with ‘ahu‘awa (*Cyperus javanicus*) fibers and “was found at level IV⁶⁸ and probably is of precontact age” (Summers, 1990, p. 118). Lastly, a 2011 excavation at Makauwahi cave, also on Kaua‘i, would yield sixty-one remarkably well-preserved knots, “that were barrel shaped and consisted of three turns in their making, similar to a very small ‘hangman’s noose” (Sailors, 2014, p. 17). A similar use of the “three-turn slipped knot” appears in B. P. Bishop Museum (catalog item #10978), which is a fine-meshed kōkō with Kaua‘i provenance⁶⁹ (Sailors, 2014). Individual knots and six intact pieces of the kōkō were excavated “at levels 2.7, and 2.8 meters below datum...and based on associated radiocarbon dates is thought to span a time frame of approximately 1425 AD to 1660 AD” (D. Burney & Pila Kikuchi, 2006; Sailors, 2014, p. 19).

⁶⁶ Artifact Ha-B23-9:F1-P2-53-23, is associated with the 1965 excavation of a bluff shelter at Kahakahea, South Point, by Lloyd Soehren (1966), originally designated H65 (Summers, 1990). “There are two radiocarbon dates from this site, one from the fourteenth century, the other dating to the fifth century (Kirch, 1985, p. 87).

⁶⁷ First settled ca. AD 1300, the extensive settlement and former community of fishers, farmers, and craftsmen, is tucked beneath the cliffs of the Na Pali coast and was first excavated between 1958 and 1964, where over 18,000 artifacts were collected (Field & Graves, 2015).

⁶⁸ At the excavation site, Graves et.al., (2005) identify Level IV at 50 to 74.5cm below surface and approximate activity at that level to have occurred between AD 1500 to 1700.

⁶⁹ Item #10978 is said to have been collected by Kaua‘i sugarcane merchant Alexander McBryde, who is known for purchasing a large tract of land at Lawai Kai from Queen Emma in 1886, which is also in close proximity to Makauwahi cave (Hoerman & Spear, 2009; McGerty & Spear, 2009; Sailors, 2014).

Given the dispersal and approximate dating of these artifacts, it is reasonable to conclude that the modification of nets with embellished knots occurred during the pre-contact period. While it may not provide definitive proof that kōkō pu‘upu‘u construction had advanced to the level of royal nets exhibited in the B. P. Bishop Museum’s Ethnographic collection, it does demonstrate that some level of knotting innovation had commenced at least 100 years before the first British ships “stumbled upon” Hawaiian society in 1778 (Trask, 1999, p. 5). These innovations may have coincided with the social and political shifts witnessed during the Haho period when ‘aha was undergoing its metamorphosis as a sacred symbol of the ruling class (Fornander, 1980; S. M. Kamakau, 1992; Kikiloi, 2012b; Valeri, 1985).

Evidence of Persistence

Stokes’ refusal to accept claims by Kānaka might have also led to his failure in recognizing that kōkō pu‘upu‘u craftsmanship may have continued to be practiced, and perhaps even evolved, into the time of his research. Expressing a desire to learn the exact process and the authentic names of the netting styles, Stokes (1906) attempted to find knowledge holders; however, as he states, “that enquiry among the older generation of living natives elicited almost no information concerning the manufacture and use of kōkō, particularly the kōkō pu‘upu‘u, as these articles have been out of use for many years” (p. 130). While it appears that Stokes was unable to locate first-hand accounts concerning kōkō pu‘upu‘u terminology, he contradicts himself by stating: “There are a few natives in Honolulu who make koko for sale to tourists, but they unfortunately did not acquire the art by inheritance, merely having picked it up by unravelling some old specimen” (pp. 130–131).

Although Stokes does not elaborate on his criteria for authenticating the craftsmanship of the Kānaka, it raises questions regarding his deduction that the kōkō pu‘upu‘u were somehow inauthentic. The researcher has contemplated three hypothetical scenarios in considering how Stokes’ arrived at this conclusion. The first, and most reasonable path to Stokes’ deduction, is that he inquired of the “natives” who confirmed that they “reverse-engineered” an old kōkō pu‘upu‘u and were able to replicate the original. If this were the case, a faithful imitation would refute Stokes’ (1906) claim that he could find “no information concerning the manufacture and use of kōkō pu‘upu‘u” (p. 130). Second, without soliciting, if Stokes only observed the souvenir nets, and noting that they are significantly different from kōkō pu‘upu‘u in Museum’s collection, he assumed that they are poor replicas. In this scenario, could it be possible that he had observed a previously uncatalogued style? If this were the case, it would refute his claim

that “these articles have been out of use for many years” (p. 130). Finally, if Stokes confirmed through observation and inquiry that the Kānaka had simply used an old artifact to create their version of a kōkō pu‘upu‘u, wouldn’t the genuineness of the object be validated by the intent and inspiration of the craftsman? It would appear that his criteria are overly critical, even for the standards of his day.

In contrast, Kānaka accept a far more liberal view regarding the acquisition, validation, and perpetuation of traditional knowledge. As discussed in chapter two of this thesis, Kānaka understand that knowledge is preserved within the genealogical cords that connect us to our kūpuna. In addition to the ‘ike that is embedded in all narrative forms and transferred from past to present, it is also in the physical objects, places, and experiences that are shared by every generation (D. A. Chang, 2016; Chun, 2011; Handy & Pukui, 1972; Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Louis, 2017; Oliveira, 2014; Pukui et al., 1983)

The extent of Stokes’ search for kōkō pu‘upu‘u knowledge holders is unknown. However, the probability that it was an exhaustive effort is doubtful given the challenge and expense that would have been incurred. His continued assertion of forgotten knowledge appears to be supported by his claim that Kānaka could not answer his questions; however, there is also a strong likelihood that his informants may have been reluctant to answer his questions.

There are many attractive patterns in the koko puupuu, to which no native in these days is able to attach any significance or name. One old native, after being questioned in vain, remarked disgustedly: “The haole (foreigners) want all the time to put a number or name on everything, but these to the natives are just koko” (p. 134).

It would seem that including this quote was meant to demonstrate the inability of the Kanaka to answer Stokes’ questions. On the other hand, it may indicate that the Kanaka simply chose to withhold the information, perhaps out of frustration construing Stokes’ inquisition as impolite and rude. For Kānaka, this social faux pas is known as “nīele,” or “to ask seemingly irrelevant questions; annoyance at such questioning” (Pukui et al., 1983, p. 157). While the irritation conveyed in this exchange seems relatively insignificant, it clearly communicates the sentiment of the time. A sentiment that is perhaps best expressed by Kanaka scholar and intellectual historian Kepelino (2007):

Ahu kupanaha ia Hawaii imi loa. E noii wale mai no ka haole-a, aole e pau nā hana a Hawaii imi loa. He wahi mea ano ae ka ’hoi ia, he wahi mea ano ai ka! hoi ia! Ahu ka hepa ia Hawaii ka moku nui! (Kepelino, 2007, p. 143)

Many are strange things to be learned about Hawaii. However diligently the foreigner seeks he cannot find out all. He gets a fragment here and there! Then goes home! A heap of absurdities is all he has to show from great Hawai‘i! (Translation by Pukui and Beckwith in Kepelino, 2007, p. 142)

Undoubtedly, the negative sentiment expressed by Kānaka was compounded by the sobering realization that foreigners, like Stokes, were only interested in preserving a culture that was heading toward extinction. Ironically, the impending tragedy was also brought on by those now interested in documenting and archiving it. Perhaps this is why Stokes was working hard to emphasize the “lost knowledge” narrative, and dismissing the artisanship of Kānaka of the day; after all, the Western concept of preserving rare artifacts becomes less practical when those artifacts are more common than first thought.

Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that Kānaka had not forgotten the pu‘upu‘u knot, nor had it ceased to be useful. Looking beyond the simple fact that kōkō pu‘upu‘u craftsmanship continues to be perpetuated today, it is clear that Kānaka had few inhibitions adopting new materials and evolving new techniques to preserve and maintain ancient beliefs and practices. Not only is this evidenced by the rapid adoption of Western technology like writing and literacy, but as Beamer (2014) acknowledges, “...the ali‘i were able to adapt foreign systems while maintaining their Hawaiianess,” which is to say, “that Native Hawaiians are in a constant state of evolution” (p. 13). As he goes on to explain,

I also believe that preserving and practicing culture is of greater importance than theorizing about practicing culture. But I do not consider myself or my analysis to be traditionalist. I believe that living cultures are dynamic and always in a state of change. *I believe the dichotomies of the traditional and modern with all their connotations, are false.* They compose the conceptual shackles that preserve European hegemony and often reinscribe links between the colonizer and the colonized, occupier and occupied. (K. Beamer, 2014, pp. 13–14)

Fortunately, like Beamer, many like-minded Kānaka have long resisted seeing their world through the monochromatic and uncompromising lens of the haole. Concerning the adaptation of kōkō pu‘upu‘u, innovation would come from a combination of necessity and practicality. By the 1900s, few Kānaka were still cultivating and making cord using traditional fibers, so practitioners turned to imported cotton cord. Not only was the convenient alternative readily available, but it also has visual and mechanical characteristics similar to wauke (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) (Summers, 1990).

Changing times also prompted at least one Kanaka to adapt traditional net-tying into a form of self-expression. The only evidence supporting this adaptation comes from a newspaper article from Honolulu's Evening Bulletin on 27 October 1910, which includes a spectacular photograph of a Kanaka attired in a netted shirt, as seen in Figure 17. The article names the stoic figure as Antone Kao'o. It goes on to describe his preparations for a fifteen-mile race where "there are many Honolulu people who consider the old Waialua Horse has a great show against Soldier King" (Bulletin, 1910a, para. 1). While Kao'o would lose to King (Bulletin, 1910b, para. 1), a rematch four months later, would give the 48-year-old Kao'o the title of "champion long distance runner in the Islands" (Hawaiian Star, 1911). Furthermore, while no information is given about his netted shirt, more than eighty articles about Kao'o appear in 'ōlelo Hawai'i and English newspapers between 1909 and 1920. All praising "Mika Akoni Kao'o" (Mr. Antone Kao'o) for his speed as a kūkini (swift racer) and his skill as a Kumu Hula (Kuokoa, 1911).

Undeniably, Kao'o personifies the resilience of a Kanaka who was able to maintain ancient beliefs and traditional practices, while adapting and innovating in the "modern" world. A true renaissance man, at his passing, Kao'o would be described as "one of the last old time Hawaiian troubadours and veteran Honolulu athletes" (Bulletin, 1928b). In addition to being recognized as a well-known chanter, musician, and composer, he was also a "skilled fisherman trained in the ways of the old Hawaiians who depended on the sea for a major portion of their food supply" (Bulletin, 1928b).

Sadly, with all the technological advancements and modernization that came with becoming a contemporary society, it did little to improve life for Kānaka, many of whom experienced further displacement and alienation. A fact conveyed in Kao'o's obituary, which appeared on the front page of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on 9 January 1928, and describes the funeral attendees:

Figure 17

Antone Kaoo



ANTONE KA00
The wonderful old Hawaiian runner, who has won several Marathon races and who will, on Sunday next, race Soldier King over a fifteen miles race.

Note. Unknown Photographer (1910). *Antone Kaoo*. Newspaper photo from Evening Bulletin (27 October 1910), p. 8. Kanaka in netted shirt, depicting Antone Kao'o of Waialua O'ahu.

Hovering about is a little old Hawaiian woman, who says she is his cousin and only living relative. Three other persons are there, a Hawaiian man and two young Hawaiian girls. Their relationship, if any, appears indefinite. There are no others...[i]t may have been that Honolulu had forgotten Antone in the hurry and flurry of these modern days. (Bulletin, 1928a)

Figure 18

Death Summons 'Waialua Race Horse'



Note. Unknown Photographer (ca.1910). *Death Summons 'Waialua Race Horse'* Newspaper photo from Honolulu Star-Bulletin (9 January 1928), Section 1, p.1. Two images of Mika Akoni Kao'o as they appeared in his obituary.

It is unlikely that very many Kānaka would have described life at the time as “hurry and flurry.” Beaglehole (1937) summarizes the sweeping changes that resulted from “a century and a half of intense cultural pressure.” He states, “the Hawaiian has changed—from a stone age to an age of machinery, from a rigid class society to a capitalistic democracy, from the morals and religion of pagan Polynesia to those of Main Street” (p. 149). As Kānaka, like Kao'o, were fading from memory, others struggled to survive; still, others remained resolute in keeping traditions alive.

In 1932, George Paele Mossman would open Lalani⁷⁰ Hawaiian Village in Waikiki (Sakamaki, 1932), which he intended to be a “living museum, archive school and tourist entertainment center” (P. T. Young, 2014, para. 2). While critics condemn these modern venues as exploitative (Trask, 1999), Lalani Village was “the first Hawaiian institution of its kind” (Kelsey, 1938, para. 1). Not merely a display of dancing Kānaka to entertain tourists, it was a cultural center where “classes in language, chant, hula, crafts, and some of the ancient rituals” (Kanahele, 1979, p. 3) were offered to anyone interested. A risky proposition considering the negative sentiment toward all things Hawaiian, and the shunning of the culture, by Kānaka and haole alike (Kealoha, 2012; Kodama-Nishimoto et al., 2009).

Cultural expert and Hawaiian scholar George Kanahele (1979), “came to know him quite well,” since his father and Mossman were close friends, and in hindsight, would acknowledge that Mossman “was ahead of his time by three decades” (p. 3). Explaining his motivation, Mossman stated: “The old people with the knowledge of the old Hawaiian customs are rapidly dying; and their knowledge is dying with them. Our task now is to preserve everything we can” (Alexander, 2018, p. 69; Reynolds, 2013, para. 1). Having studied the “the essentials of hula tradition from Sam Pua Ha‘aheo⁷¹” (G. Alexander, 2018, p. 70), Mossman assembled a variety of cultural experts, most notably the court chanter of Kalākaua, James Kapihanui Kuluwaimaka Palea,⁷² who would live at the village until his death in 1937 (Advertiser, 1937).

Regrettably, neither the public nor Waikiki was ready for the great cultural reawakening that Mossman had envisioned. As Kanahele (1979) clarifies:

His was a voice in the wilderness that could not be heard above the din of oaths of allegiance to America. For the 1930s and ’40s was a period of red-white-and-blue Americanization. Everyone tried to be good Americans, which meant that you best submerge any feelings of non- or un-American. The word “ethnicity” was unheard of. Being different, i.e., being Hawaiian or Japanese or Chinese, and so on, was not the in-thing to do. (p. 3)

⁷⁰ Kanahele’s (1979) article uses the name “Leilani Village,” which appears to be incorrect, since Mossman named the venue to honor his wife, Emma Ke-līi-*lalani*-ku-lani [emphasis added] Lewis (Kelsey, 1938; K. Turner, 1975).

⁷¹ Sam Pua Ha‘aheo (b.1885-d.1952) is a noted kumu hula from Kahana, O‘ahu who studied under Kamowai, Niuola‘a, Akoliko, Kaiwiho‘ona, and Kanuku (Kaeppler & Tatar, 1993; Oler, 1987).

⁷² Recognized as one of the greatest Hawaiian chanters in recorded history (Berger, 2012), Kuluwaimaka (b.1837-d.1937) was known for his remarkable memory, and the ability to recite the entire 2102 lines of the Kumulipo (G. Alexander, 2018; Beckwith, 1972; Reynolds, 2013).

Nonetheless, in the six years that Lalani Village existed, it would be “the center of revival, especially in the living form of Hawaiian life and culture” (Kelsey, 1938, para. 1). Succumbing to the rising tide of commercial development, upon the announcement of its closing, photographer and ethnologist Theodore Kelsey would lament:

“Old Iron Sides” of a war to preserve, especially in living form, the perishing native culture of Hawai‘i—has been sold! Yes, instead of a Hawaiian paradise—whose native children of the land are soon to be driven forth, it seems—a big, modern hotel is to stand in its stead, another thorn in the side, that tends to make Waikiki an excellent imitation of a Mainland beach resort such as our visitors can enjoy at home. (Kelsey, 1938, para. 1)

Mossman’s death in 1955 (P. T. Young, 2014) meant that he would not see the Hawaiian renaissance that he had envisioned. However, his aspirations would help sustain cultural practices and inspire other Kānaka to continue his work.

In 1960 Malia Solomon and her husband Herman would open Ulu Mau Village, at Ala Moana, on the outskirts of Waikiki, and eventually relocate the village to Kealohi Point at He‘eia nine years later (P. T. Young, 2017, para. 13). In somewhat “similar spirit and style of Lalani Village” (G. S. Kanahale, 1979, p. 3), the Solomon’s endeavored to carefully curate “a glimpse of what life in Hawai‘i was like 200 years ago” (Tanahy, 2015, para. 1). “Emphasized aspects of the culture that others had not” (G. S. Kanahale, 1979, p. 3); Malia Solomon held particular interests in long disregarded crafts like kapa-making and weaving, which through her personal research, she would be instrumental in reviving (Tanahy, 2015).

One of the artisans that would come to Ulu Mau was master coconut weaver Paul “Pua” Aona. Born in 1929, “Uncle Paul” had taken in interest in weaving at about the age of sixteen, a year before “a car accident that made him lose the sight of his left eye,” and by 1973, the vision in his right eye would be almost totally impaired (Akui & Allen, 1979, p. 12). For the most part, Aona’s weaving skills were self-taught. Even without the aid of sight, he possessed the uncanny ability to continue weaving “items such as hats, mats, fans, baskets, coasters, rings, [and] birds...” (Akui & Allen, 1979, p. 12). He was also able to develop methods to recreate items that he had never seen before. As Valentine Ching describes in an article discussing Aona, who taught him how to tie kōkō pu‘upu‘u, he explains: “Working by feel, with an antique koko, he’d figure out how to recreate a net for an *ipu wai* (water gourd)” (Gilmore, 2010, p. 22). As it would turn out, Malia Solomon had come to possess the remnants of an old kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

Through trial and error, Aona and Ching would work together and reproduce their first kōkō pu‘upu‘u (Ching, personal communication, 2019).

In contrast to Mossman’s efforts in the 1930s, the social climate in Hawai‘i had begun to shift. By the 1970s, the islands were in the midst of a Hawaiian cultural renaissance. A process that empowered Kānaka to reclaim and revitalize practices that were considered lost and obsolete. This conscious rejection of Western indoctrination would begin in the mid-1960s, with oli or chant, that could accompany hula (Kaeppler & Tatar, 1993). Slowly, the movement primed other areas of interest and expanded into the revival of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, canoe sailing and celestial navigation, lua (Hawaiian martial arts), as well as traditional healing through both reconciliation or ho‘oponopono and natural medicine known as lā‘au lapa‘au (Abbott, 1992; Chun, 2011; Holmes, 1981; Paglinawan, 2006; Pukui et al., 1983). The foundation of each branch of cultural growth was the fundamental arts and crafts needed to sustain this cultural revolution. To be fair, this process of Kānaka decolonization was not unique to Polynesia, but indeed, it was more than collective reminiscing, as Trask (1999) points out:

All across the Pacific Islands, and for the past forty years, Natives have been decolonizing their minds. Hawaiians, too, were participating in the same decolonizing process, often mistakenly referred to as “cultural revival.” Anthropologists and politicians readily use this term because it has no political context: the primary emphasis is usually on trivializing quaint practices and beliefs rather than on supporting conscious Native resistance to cultural imperialism. But decolonization is political at the core because it functions to unscrew the power of the colonizing force by creating a new consciousness very critical of foreign terms, foreign definitions, and foreign solutions. (p. 90)

The new consciousness came at a critical time when many kūpuna and other knowledge holders could still provide first-hand perspectives and recall traditional processes and practices. In 1997, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs endeavored to compile a directory of weavers and fiber artists published as *Nā Lima Mikioi*, “skilled hands do fine work” (Boyd, 1997, p. 3). It is certain that this directory only represented a small cross-section of active craft-people, as the majority of respondents claimed to reside on O‘ahu and Maui, and the remainder hailing from Hawai‘i Island and Kaua‘i. A total of thirty-five practitioners voluntarily provided biographical information for the report. Amazingly, many of those who self-identified as haumāna (students) twenty-three years ago are recognized as masters and living treasures today.

Although none of the practitioners openly claim any familiarity with kōkō pu‘upu‘u construction, Sarah Kealoha Ha‘o Camacho, a kupuna from Maui, was tying kōkō pu‘upu‘u up until her death in February 2001 (Advertiser, 2001). A brief meeting in 2000, between Kealoha and Keali‘i Reichel, the Cultural Specialist and Curator for Maui’s Bailey House Museum, would provide Reichel, a glimpse of the fundamental mechanics for tying the pu‘upu‘u knot (Reichel, personal communication, 2018). Sadly, Kealoha would pass before the two practitioners could meet again; nevertheless, from memory and with the diagrams and instructions in Stokes’ (1906) *Hawaiian Nets and Netting*, Reichel would be able to unravel the mystery of the intricate knot.

Both Ching and Reichel are advocates of sharing traditional knowledge. Each has offered a variety of kōkō workshops and taken on individual haumāna, in the hopes of perpetuating the craft. However, as Ching states: “I’ve tried over six or eight years to pass this on, but it’s so difficult: There are only lashes and hitches, but it’s hard teaching knots to people” (Gilmore, 2010, p. 22).

While the kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u community remains small, it continues to persist, alongside many other traditional practices and art forms. This resilience and sustained growth was confirmed in 2007 by the PA‘I Foundation’s *Native Hawaiian Artists & Cultural Practitioner Needs Assessment Survey*. Seeking to identify the “pressing needs among artists and practitioners, identify possible solutions and provide a database for communication and outreach efforts” (Takamine, 2007, p. 1), one hundred and twenty-two practitioners, artists, and craftspeople responded to the survey. In addition to identifying resource needs for their practice, each respondent providing detailed information about their teachers and those who have influenced their work. While many notable Kānaka are identified among the responses, including Paul Aona and Keali‘i Reichel, perhaps more significant are the numerous kūpuna and close family members credited for encouraging the perpetuation of many traditional practices. Serving as further evidence that Kānaka never “abandoned” their culture, nor considered any part of it “useless” or “lost.”

Indeed, the perpetuation of cultural practices is more than the revival of crafts from a bygone era. Although Kānaka have engaged in this type of cultural recovery and perpetuation for generations, as this literature review demonstrates, physical artifacts, like kōkō pu‘upu‘u, are not static objects, relics, or curiosities to be kept in the glass cases of museums. Not only do

these cultural treasures represent significant connections to our past, but they also personify the perseverance of our kūpuna. Within the context of Trask's (1999) statement, through the reclamation of these art forms, we become acutely aware of the false narratives used to dominate and oppress. These tangible objects have endured as vast archives of intangible cultural knowledge that continue to empower Kānaka. As we preserve to reconcile our past, we inevitably discover and rediscover truths, both new and old. Through these discoveries that Kānaka are further empowered to question, challenge, and ultimately reverse the damaging effects of cultural imperialism.

Chapter Summary

This literature chapter surveyed the persistence of kā kōkō pu'upu'u into contemporary times. While very little has been recorded about these chiefly carry nets, the academic literature published in 1906 includes several unsupported assumptions and seeks to label kōkō pu'upu'u as obsolete and irrelevant. In addition to addressing these inaccuracies, this chapter has demonstrated the resilience of Kānaka in resisting colonization and cultural imperialism through the reclamation and resurgence of cultural practices and beliefs.

The substantial literature reviewed in this and the preceding three chapters is a valuable contribution to knowledge in that it reflects the relationship of kōkō pu'upu'u as an ēwe or tether to fundamental cultural understanding, as well as a piko or focal point for significant historical individuals and events. Beyond mere artifacts, kōkō pu'upu'u connect us to the heritage of our kūpuna, and like the iwi of those kūpuna, nourish our relationship with our ancestors. Finally, they are physical reminders of the resilience and the koko or lifeblood of our people. This relationship is explored further in the next section of this thesis, which presents the data collected and analyzed for this research.

Section Three: **Niki‘i na ‘Alihi — Tie the Topmost Loops**

This section presents the empirical data of this research divided between Chapters Seven, Eight, and Nine. Chapter Seven discusses the physical examination and documentation of thirty-one kōkō pu‘upu‘u artifacts located outside of the B. P. Bishop Museum collection. These examinations provided an opportunity to connect, first-hand, with the labor of our kūpuna, and to better understand if the practice of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u has changed significantly from ancient times. In addition to offering a dedicated space to honor the craftsmanship of our ancestors, even more significantly, these examinations provide the unique opportunity to add their long-silent voices to this research.

Furthering the objective of this research as an important contribution to knowledge, Chapter Eight re-examines kōkō pu‘upu‘u from the subjective Indigenous cultural perspective of the kumu, or teachers of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u. This is followed by Chapter Nine, which presents the perspectives of three contemporary haumāna or students of the craft. These perspectives resist and dispel misconceptions about this unique Hawaiian cultural art form and its sustained existence. This aim is accomplished by presenting the voices of five notable kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners, in which their individual and combined mo‘olelo offers a unique perspective about the contemporary reclamation, revitalization, and relevance of kōkō pu‘upu‘u in modern times.

Chapter Seven

Na Mea Makamae: Examination of Kōkō pu‘upu‘u Artifacts

Li‘u i ka pa‘akai.

It is well seasoned with salt.

Deep, profound, as of skill or knowledge.

The wisdom of the kūpuna is preserved in the artifacts.

(Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 208)

As the ‘ōlelo no‘eau or proverbial saying that opens this chapter suggests, the foundation of understanding the workmanship and ingenuity of the kūpuna begins with examining what they left for us. It would be irresponsible to discuss the cultural significance of kōkō pu‘upu‘u without actually seeking out genuine artifacts that were knotted at the time of the ali‘i while seeking out these articles serves two overarching objectives. First, and most importantly, our kuleana (responsibility) is to account for these artifacts as part of our mo‘okū‘auhau. Kōkō pu‘upu‘u are physical objects that have been left in the care of the living. Like our iwi kūpuna (ancestral bones), these royal objects are imbued with the mana of their makers and the ali‘i that they were intended for. Secondly, these articles communicate valuable mo‘olelo that enlighten contemporary practitioners. The labor and ingenuity of our kūpuna are voiced through their craftsmanship, and it is the truth of their mo‘olelo that drives this thesis.

Approach to the Research

Artifact examination began with a search of the ethnographic and photographic catalog to identify and distinguish known examples of kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Though the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum holds the most extensive collection of kōkō pu‘upu‘u in existence, this collection is well cataloged and accessible via published documents and online databases. However, in comparing the kōkō pu‘upu‘u inventories published by William Bingham in 1894 and John Stokes in 1906, seven kōkō pu‘upu‘u are unaccounted for in the later catalog. While there are a variety of reasons for this inconsistency, it is unlikely that Stokes erred, considering his reputation for thoroughness and meticulous attention to detail. This writer concluded that the omitted nets had been removed from the Museum’s collection due to loan or exchange with other institutions. Without direct access to B. P. Bishop Museum or their internal records, the researcher opted to focus on locating and examining other possible kōkō pu‘upu‘u specimens outside of the well-documented collection of the Hawai‘i’s most prominent Museum.

Starting with the *Directory of Historical Records and Repositories in Hawai‘i*, 5th edition (2014), institutions were sorted based on their identified subject specialization. Institutions that

had no direct connection to Kānaka history or Hawaiian cultural preservation were removed from the contact list, while other institutions that met the profile were added. In February 2018, forty Hawai‘i based libraries, museums, and archival institutions were contacted via email. Accompanying an explanation of the research topic, the inquiry included a diagram and a request to view any kōkō pu‘upu‘u and review photographs or other documents that might depict or describe these cultural objects. Institutions from all inhabited Hawaiian Islands were contacted, except for Ni‘ihau, which does not have a museum. Given its historical association with Kaua‘i, artifacts from Ni‘ihau are customarily housed in either of the two museums on Kaua‘i. Bailey House Museum in Wailuku, Maui, Hānaiakamalama or Queen Emma Summer Palace in Nu‘uanu, O‘ahu, and the Hawai‘i State Archives in Honolulu affirmed kōkō pu‘upu‘u specimens in their collections and authorized physical examinations.

An additional search for images and references to kōkō pu‘upu‘u via books, online resources, and museum catalogs lead to inquiries with British Museum in London England, Berlin Museum in Germany, the Smithsonian Museum in Washington D.C., and the Peabody Essex Museum (PEM) in Salem Massachusetts. Of these museums, Berlin Museum did not respond to repeated requests, while the PEM collection was inaccessible due to significant renovations, and museum staff were unable to provide any detailed information about the items in their collection. Both the British and Smithsonian Museums confirmed that kōkō pu‘upu‘u are housed in their collections and could be made available for inspection.

In total, thirty-one specimens were located and examined, of which, fifteen were identified as kōkō pu‘upu‘u, eleven kōkō pū‘alu, and five anomaly kōkō that are described and discussed further in this chapter. While initial classification was based on overall appearance and construction material, knotting technique, design aesthetic, and possible origin were included in the cataloging process. When appropriate, the major components (piko, hānai, and pū) of each kōkō were measured and photographed. Several kōkō pu‘upu‘u were deemed too fragile to handle, and in those circumstances, documentation was limited to non-intrusive photographs to minimize further damage to the kōkō. The information compiled may one day be added to a permanent record for accountability and preservation of kōkō pu‘upu‘u knowledge.

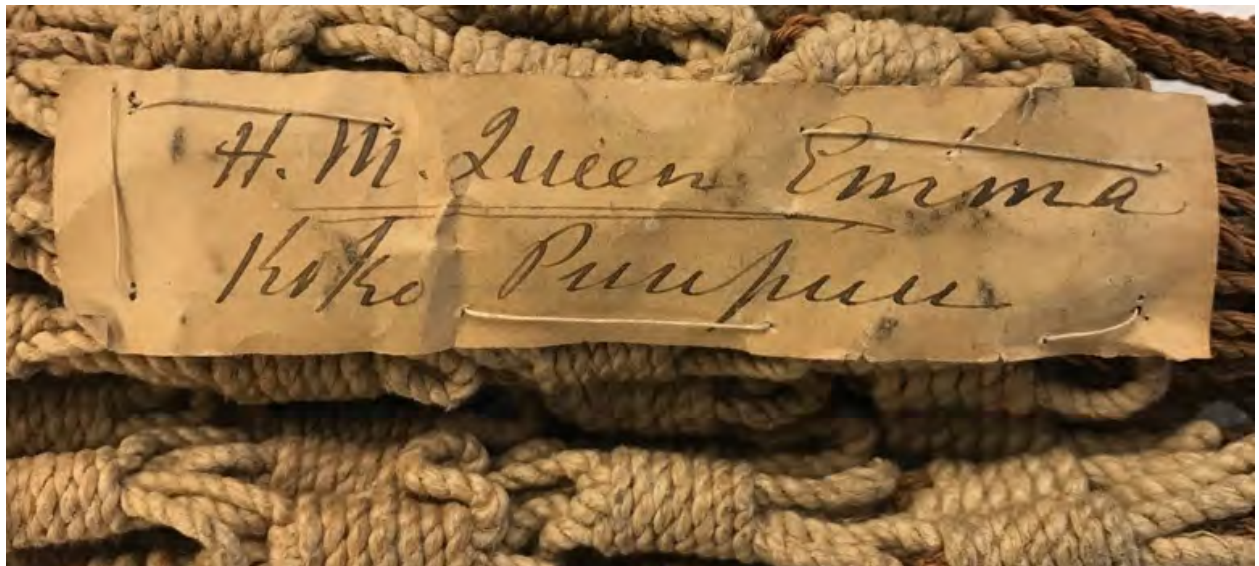
British Museum, London, England

On 21 March 2018, the researcher visited the artifact warehouse of London's British Museum and was privileged to examine four kōkō pu'upu'u held in their collection. Presented on a large examination table, the distinctive barrel shape of numerous pu'upu'u knots were easily identifiable upon entering the study room. Based on the distinct color of each net, it appeared as though each was constructed of a different fiber cord and that one kōkō pu'upu'u was incomplete or had been damaged at some point. Accession information provided by the British Museum indicated that the kōkō pu'upu'u arrived in pairs, the first two in 1898, followed by the acquisition of the second pair in 1936. While this experience was rewarding, any satisfaction was stymied in knowing that these kōkō pu'upu'u were imprisoned in a foreign land, behind cold stone walls, and that more than likely no other Kanaka had seen or held these objects in more than one hundred and twenty years.

In addition to the visual confirmation of their authenticity, a paper label sewn to one net further validated the authenticity of that kōkō pu'upu'u. Written in elegant penmanship, as shown in Figure 19, the label reads: "H. M. Queen Emma Koko Puupuu."

Figure 19

Paper label: "H.M. Queen Emma Koko Puupuu"



Note. Unknown maker or date of manufacture, (ca.1898). Paper label sewn to kōkō pu'upu'u, in the collection of the British Museum, London, England.

Photographed by the author on 21 March 2018.

Courtesy British Museum Archive.

While this is a clear indication that the kōkō pu‘upu‘u had originally belonged in the collection of Her Majesty Queen Emma, wife of Alexander ‘Iolani Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), it also corroborates the claim by Brigham (1892) that, “Queen Emma had a fancy for collecting these curious nets” (p. 40).



A small numbered tag attached to Queen Emma’s net would reveal how the British Museums acquired the kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Boldly printed with the numbers 4412, the tag corresponds with the Brigham catalog from 1892, which specifies the small niu (coconut) and wauke (paper mulberry) kōkō pu‘upu‘u was not on exhibition at the time of Brigham’s inventory. A second, partial kōkō pu‘upu‘u, made entirely of green-colored wauke was also acquired by the British in 1898, with an attached tag displaying the numbers 4396. No other acquisition information was available for these two kōkō, other than they were part of an exchange with the B. P. Bishop Museum, with an accession date of 28 April 1898.



On an unspecified date in 1936, the British Museum took possession of two previously undocumented kōkō pu‘upu‘u; however, at the time they were received, no information was provided regarding their original acquisition or their arrival in England. Both kōkō are significantly larger than those received from the Bishop Museum exchange and reflect skilled workmanship of unknown origin. The kōkō pu‘upu‘u, pictured in Figure 20, is the larger of the two and is constructed entirely of two-ply ‘aha niu (coconut fiber cordage) with a right-hand twist. Slight inconsistency in cord thickness and spliced segments indicate that the ‘aha was manufactured by hand. A subtle but consistent color variation can be seen between the lower half of the kōkō pu‘upu‘u, which appears darker and gradually transitioning to lighter colored cord near the equator of the net. Given the large size of the kōkō, the researcher estimates that it was designed to accommodate a ‘umeke (vessel) of at least four feet in diameter.

Figure 21 shows the second kōkō pu‘upu‘u of unknown origin, which appears to be tied with machine-made, three-ply, cotton-fiber cord. Although the cord is a clear indication that the kōkō was manufactured after Western contact, the application of introduced materials to traditional objects reflects the adaptability of Kānaka in utilizing available resources. It appears that the use of cotton was not indented to diminish the quality of the final product, in that the consistency of the cord allows for greater precision and uniformity of each knot.

Figure 20

Previously undocumented kōkō pu‘upu‘u of two-ply ‘aha niu



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Kōkō pu‘upu‘u of natural coconut fiber cord, in the collection of the British Museum, London, England. Photographed by the author on 21 March 2018. Courtesy British Museum Archive.

Figure 21

Previously undocumented kōkō pu‘upu‘u of three-ply cotton cord



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Kōkō pu‘upu‘u of natural fiber cotton cord, in the collection of the British Museum, London, England. Photographed by the author on 21 March 2018. Courtesy British Museum Archive.

Bailey House Museum, Wailuku, Maui, Hawai‘i

Another example of fine kōkō pu‘upu‘u craftsmanship with non-traditional fibers is on permanent display at the Bailey House Museum in Wailuku, Maui. Examined on 9 May 2018, the kōkō, seen in Figure 22, is also made entirely of rigid three-ply cotton cord and indicates the craftsmanship of an experienced kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioner with a particular eye for symmetry and detail.

Figure 22

Kōkō pu‘upu‘u of three-ply cotton cord



Note. Unknown maker, or date of manufacture. Kōkō pu‘upu‘u of natural fiber cotton cord, in the Bailey House Muesuem collection, Wailuku, Maui. Photographed by the author on 9 May 2018
Courtesy Bailey House Museum

Figure 23

kōkō pu‘upu‘u of three-ply cotton cord



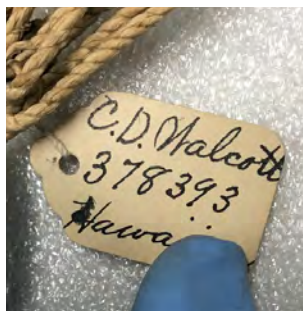
*Note.*Unknown maker, or date of manufacture. Detail of visible woven splice used to connect the ends of two separate cords of kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Photographed by the author on 9 May 2018
Courtesy Bailey House Museum

While uniform knots and consistent spacing are indicators of a practiced craftsperson, the artisan who created this kōkō pu‘upu‘u also uses subtle techniques which appear to emulate the appearance of kōkō pu‘upu‘u tied with traditional materials. The piko and lower third of the net are darker than the upper section and appear to have been dyed with an ochre-colored pigment, similar in appearance to reddish-brown ‘aha niu. The upper two-thirds of the kōkō employed a slightly lighter weight cotton cord of natural color, which resembles wauke or olonā cord. Interestingly, this is the only kōkō examined where a Western splice is used to connect the ends of two cords. While it is unknown if the splice was created during the manufacturing process or created by the net tier, it is intriguing that the maker of this kōkō pu‘upu‘u opted to leave the skillfully woven transition openly visible. The typical treatment for these types of modifications, which is evident elsewhere in this net, involves hiding the transition in the wrapping of the preceding pu‘upu‘u knot so that the adaption is unnoticeable. Accession documents indicate that this kōkō pu‘upu‘u was first loaned to the Museum on 5

June 1957 from Minerva Kalama⁷³ of Makawao, Maui, and about a month later, it and several other items were gifted to the Museum and became part of their permanent collection.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

A visit to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., was on 14 May 2018, provided the opportunity to examine thirteen kōkō held at the Museum's storage and conservation center in Suitland, Maryland. The collection is divided, with six kōkō pū'alu and seven kōkō pu'upu'u, which, according to accession notes, were acquired from two sources. Like the kōkō pu'upu'u at Bailey House Museum, a paper tag accompanying one net gives the name C. D. Walcott. At the same time, the catalog notes indicate that the kōkō pu'upu'u was gifted to the Museum in



1937 by Mrs. Mary Walcott. A brief search of the Walcott name revealed that Mary Vaux Walcott and her husband Charles Doolittle Walcott had a lifelong association with the Smithsonian and were significant figures throughout the early history of the Institution. C. D. Walcott was a well-known paleontologist who became the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution in 1907 and held the post until his passing in 1922 (Rabbitt, 1989). His wife Mary was a respected water-color artist whose illustrations were published by the Museum in 1924 (Smithsonian, 1996). How the Walcott family came to possess the kōkō pu'upu'u remains a mystery. However, it appears that fifteen years after her husband's passing, Mrs. Walcott elected to donate the kōkō pu'upu'u, which is made entirely of wauke.

Museum accession notes further indicate that the six remaining kōkō pu'upu'u were acquired by Nathaniel B. Emerson and then transferred to the Smithsonian following the Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition in 1909. Although Emerson's reports do not disclose the origins of the kōkō pu'upu'u, all appear to be of Hawaiian origin and are tied with wauke, olonā, and niu. These fibers are consistent with examples found in the Bishop Museum collection, except for four rare examples that incorporate hair in their construction. Remarkably, one kōkō pu'upu'u, collected by Emerson, is constructed with cord made from coarse black fibers which appear to be horsehair, as seen in Figures 24 and 25. In addition to the incorporation of hair, this kōkō pu'upu'u is distinct in that it is also tied with olonā and nui, and is noted as the only kōkō in

⁷³ Minerva (Landford) Kalama (1883-1982) and her husband Samuel Enoka Kalama (1868-1933) were prominent and respected community activists and philanthropists on Maui (K. Collins, 2020; Kalama, 1977).

the Smithsonian collection that utilized three different types of cord. Tragically, close inspection revealed significant damage to horsehair fibers, which appear to have become brittle with age, preventing extensive examination.

Figure 24

Kōkō pu‘upu‘u with horsehair cord



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Rare kōkō pu‘upu‘u featuring two-ply cord of black horsehair, in Smithsonian collection.

Photographed by the author on 14 May 2018
Courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Figure 25

Detail of damaged horsehair fibers



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Coarse horsehair fibers and damaged cord disconnecting from kōkō pu‘upu‘u in Smithsonian collection.

Photographed by the author on 14 May 2018
Courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, O‘ahu, Hawai‘i.

On 17 May 2018, this research led to a visit to the Hawai‘i State Archives in Honolulu, O‘ahu, in the hopes of locating and examining photographs or documents that depict or reference kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Expectedly, the request for evidentiary documents met with negative results; however, surprisingly, a partially completed kōkō pu‘upu‘u, as seen in Figure 26, did exist in their collection and was made available for examination. Three unique features of the net became immediately apparent. First, it is assembled entirely of dark red ‘aha niu, which likely indicates that each fiber was hand-selected from mature coconuts, which are often difficult to work with due to their brittleness. Second, as seen in Figure 27, the two-ply ‘aha is

exceptionally fine, consisting of strands of three or four individual fibers twisted together to form one continuous length of cord. Lastly, the net is the smallest example of any kōkō pu‘upu‘u examined, with the hānai (body) consisting of five rows of knots; measuring three inches from piko to the top-most row of knots.

Figure 26

Extremely fine kōkō pu‘upu‘u



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Fine kōkō pu‘upu‘u measuring seven inches in length from piko to ‘alihi. Photographed by the author on 17 May 2018. Courtesy Hawai‘i State Archives

Figure 27

Detail of fine handspun two-ply ‘aha niu



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Detail of fine, two-ply ‘aha niu, comprising of 3 to 4 fibers per strand. Photographed by the author on 17 May 2018. Courtesy Hawai‘i State Archives

Though the kōkō is incomplete, long ‘alihi (top-most row of loops) are present, which typically indicate the net was near completion. The presence of the ‘alihi also suggests that this kōkō pu‘upu‘u was intended to carry a small vessel; perhaps no more than six to eight inches in diameter. Accession information was not available at the time of examination; however, Kamehiro (2009) claims in *The Arts of Kingship* that this particular kōkō pu‘upu‘u was collected by the Hale Naua Society⁷⁴ during the reign Kalākaua.

⁷⁴ Re-established in 1886, during the reign of Kalākaua, the Hale Nauā was charged with the protection of cultural wisdom and traditional knowledge, which included the preservation of significant artifacts of material culture (Kamehiro, 2009).

Hānaiakamalama: Queen Emma Summer Palace, Nu‘uanu, O‘ahu, Hawai‘i

Following the appointment at the Hawai‘i State Archives, arrangements had been made to examine a collection of kōkō artifacts at Hānaiakamalama otherwise known as Queen Emma Summer Palace, in Nu‘uanu, O‘ahu. Items that are not on active display are stored in the basement of the small palace, which also serves as a research and conservation space for items in the collection. Held in the vault are eleven kōkō, with a twelfth net on permanent display in the Museum. Visually, only two of the kōkō at Hānaiakamalama resemble all other kōkō pu‘upu‘u examined for this research, each possessing the distinctive pu‘upu‘u knot. Both kōkō pu‘upu‘u, as seen in Figures 28 and 29, are tied with a combination of ‘aha nui and cotton cord, as opposed to the incorporation of olonā or wauke that would have been traditionally used.

Figure 28

Kōkō pu‘upu‘u of ‘aha niu and cotton



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Unidentified kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Sectioned appearance is known as paukū. Photographed by the author on 17 May 2018. Courtesy Hānaiakamalama Summer Palace

Figure 29

Kōkō pu‘upu‘u of ‘aha niu and cotton



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Unidentified kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Layered design is known as oni‘oni‘o. Photographed by the author on 17 May 2018. Courtesy Hānaiakamalama Summer Palace

The incorporation of three-ply cotton cord for all or part of each kōkō was a common element at Hānaiakamalama collection, except for one kōkō pū‘alu, which is composed entirely of ‘aha niu.⁷⁵ Naturally, the presence of cotton in eleven of twelve kōkō is a clear indication of post-contact manufacturing. Simultaneously, the condition and provenance⁷⁶ of the group date its accumulation to the late kingdom period. Employing Stokes’ method of kōkō classification, five of the nets are pū‘alu, characterized by the dominant use of the sheet-bend or netting knot for their construction. Of those kōkō pū‘alu, three are tied with the standard umi‘i but are distinctive in that each knot incorporate three to five additional wraps.

As shown in Figures 30 and 31, this distinguishing characteristic is worth noting since each knot retains a barrel-shaped appearance, similar to the pu‘upu‘u knot that was customarily reserved for more distinguished carry nets.

Figure 30

Kōkō of cotton with distinctive pū‘alu knots



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Kōkō of cotton with distinctive multiple wrapped pū‘alu knot, resembling the pu‘upu‘u.

Photo by Jane Suphan, 19 April 2018

Courtesy Hānaiakamalama Summer Palace

Figure 31

Detail of multiple wrapped pū‘alu knots



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Detail of multiple wrapped pū‘alu knots that resemble the knot used for kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

Photo by the author on 17 May 2018

Courtesy Hānaiakamalama Summer Palace

The manipulation of the knot, in this way, gives each knotted intersection a barrel-shaped appearance with a profile that mimics the pu‘upu‘u knot. Given that several examples of this method of kōkō construction are also found in the Bishop Museum collection, these nets in

⁷⁵ Based on its fragile condition and the use of ‘aha niu throughout, it is possible that this kōkō pū‘alu is older than the other nets in the collection.

⁷⁶ According to Jane Suphan, the Collections Assistant at Hānaiakamalama, the origin of the kōkō at the summer palace is attributed to Queen Liliuokalani, who had personally collected the nets. After the Queen’s death in 1917, several objects were transferred from her estate to the palace, including the kōkō (personal communication, 17, May 2018).

themselves are not necessarily unique. However, it begs the question of whether or not Kānaka considered this knot variation as pu‘upu‘u? The logic being, if the term “pu‘upu‘u” literally means: heaped up, swollen, or knotty; does this style of net meet the standard to be called kōkō pu‘upu‘u? Conceding that this question is not the focus of this thesis, the writer will leave its resolution in the hands of practitioners and experts in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i to decide. Nevertheless, the reader should be aware that irregularities and inconsistencies, similar to this, further confuse the matter if not raise more questions.

Remarkably, another inconsistency was found among five kōkō in the Hānaiakamalama collection, which is distinctly different from all kōkō pu‘upu‘u examined at the other institutions. This variation is not described in Stokes’ (1906) *Hawaiian Nets and Netting*; however, they may very well be the kōkō that he considered inauthentic and referred to as souvenirs. Regarding the construction of these particular kōkō, all use identical cotton cord, similar in texture and appearance to cord used throughout the Hānaiakamalama collection. This finding suggests that the kōkō were all tied during the same period. Additionally, consistency in their appearance and style indicates a high likelihood that all of the examples may have originated from the same artisan. A comparison between a traditional kōkō pu‘upu‘u, as seen in Figure 32, and the variation found at Hānaiakamalama, in Figure 33, shows their similarities.

Figure 32

Traditional ‘aha niu and olonā kōkō pu‘upu‘u



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Detail of traditional kōkō pu‘upu‘u tied with ‘aha niu and olonā, expanded to view six-sided maka (netted eyes). Photographed by the author on 14 May 2018
Courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Figure 33

Kōkō variation made with cotton cord



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Detail of cotton kōkō expanded to view six-sided maka (netted eyes). Photo by the author on 17 May 2018
Courtesy Hānaiakamalama Summer Palace

Perhaps best described as an emulation or facsimile kōkō pu‘upu‘u, the unique six-sided maka (netted eyes) that are distinctive of traditional kōkō pu‘upu‘u are also reproduced in the Hānaiakamalama variation. The side-by-side comparison of the traditional pu‘upu‘u knot, as seen in Figures 34, and the variation found at Hānaiakamalama, in Figure 35, also reflects the similar appearance of both styles of pu‘upu‘u knot.

Figure 34

Detail of traditional pu‘upu‘u knots



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Detail of traditional pu‘upu‘u knots tied with ‘aha niu and olonā. Photographed by the author on 14 May 2018
Courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Figure 35

Detail of adapted pu‘upu‘u knots



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Detail of adapted pu‘upu‘u knots tied with natural and dyed cotton cord. Photo by the author on 17 May, 2018
Courtesy Hānaiakamalama Summer Palace

While these kōkō share common visual elements, the knot tying techniques are significantly different and reveal two clear distinctions. The first departure is subtle, merely concerning a difference in circumference of the wrapped portion of each knot. Since the internal structure of the traditional pu‘upu‘u knot requires additional cord to complete the knot, the body of the knot appears bulkier and consequently retains a slightly thicker appearance. While this visual difference is relatively subtle and virtually unnoticeable without a side by side comparison; whereas the second inconsistency is noticeably more conspicuous.

In simplest terms, the traditional pu‘upu‘u knot, as seen in Figure 36, constricts on itself and can maintain its shape without any additional knots to keep it from unraveling. In contrast, as seen in Figure 37, the wrapped portion of the Hānaiakamalama variation is purely aesthetic and requires the addition of two half-hitches at the base of each knot to prevent it from unraveling. It would appear that the artisan who created these kōkō may have been unfamiliar with the traditional method of tying the pu‘upu‘u knot and consequently developed this unique method to replicate what was known to exist. Although the result is not an exact duplication of the original, it further demonstrates Kānaka persistence and the willingness to adapt and innovate for the sake of perpetuating traditional practices.

Figure 36

Detail of traditional pu‘upu‘u knot



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Detail of traditional pu‘upu‘u knot, tied with ‘aha niu.

Photographed by the author on 14 May 2018
Courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Figure 37

Detail of pu‘upu‘u knot variation



Note. Unknown maker, origin, or date of manufacture. Detail of pu‘upu‘u knot variation with half-hitches used to secure knot at its base.

Photo by the author on 17 May 2018
Courtesy Hānaiakamalama Summer Palace

Although we may never know if the kōkō at Hānaiakamalama are the same type that Stokes deemed false in 1906, the notion is not inconceivable given their condition, composition, and association with Queen Lili‘uokalani. Suppose we are to presume that his conclusion was based on either the use of non-traditional materials or the differences noted above. Do these differences merit his verdict that they are inauthentic? Again, while this question is not the focus of this thesis, the writer posits that Stokes’ conclusion is flawed. This assessment is based

on Stokes' failure to acknowledge the mana'o, or intentions and desires of the artisan, as well as the 'ike (understanding) of the recipient. To clarify, if the craftsperson intended to replicate a kōkō pu'upu'u, and likewise, if the recipient considers the kōkō as authentic and accurate to its form and purpose, then it is not the privilege of an outsider to invalidate those beliefs or question the authenticity of the cultural object. While there is little doubt that the Kanaka craftsperson was deliberate in emulating an object of royalty, in discerning the 'ike of its receiver, perhaps we should ponder the person credited with assembling this collection of unique and innovative kōkō pu'upu'u.

Chapter Summary

The physical examination and documentation of several kōkō pu'upu'u artifacts was the focus of this chapter and created an opportunity to honor the labor of our kūpuna while adding their voice and mo'olelo to this research. Presenting this data in chronological order also gives context to the intentional approach and systematic discoveries revealed during this portion of the data collection process. While anomalies were identified among the kōkō pu'upu'u examined, findings concerning fiber use and tying technique appear consistent with kōkō pu'upu'u described in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum collection. This uniformity might suggest a small community of practitioners was responsible for producing kōkō pu'upu'u for the ali'i. Likewise, the contemporary kā kōkō pu'upu'u community consists of a small group of individuals who perpetuate this practice. Chapter Eight examines the mo'olelo of two respected Hawaiian cultural practitioners and kumu (teachers) who are credited with reawakening and slowly revitalizing this unique Hawaiian cultural art form.

Chapter Eight

Key Informant Interviews — Nā Kumu

Nānā i ke kumu.

Look to the source.
(Pukui et al., 1983)

To better understand the perpetuation of kōkō pu‘upu‘u as a unique Hawaiian cultural art-form, qualitative interviews with two kumu or teachers of this practice were conducted. Privileging the perspectives and first-hand knowledge of these Kānaka, as well as their experience in perpetuating kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u, these key informants are considered legitimate authorities on the topic. Their personal introduction, experience, and motivation to perpetuate kōkō pu‘upu‘u, as a practice, are relevant to understanding the persistence and resilience of this craft in the face of cultural oppression and imperialism. This chapter honors the leo (voice) of two kumu who could very well be considered the last two Kānaka to prevent kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u from falling into obscurity.

Endeavoring to honor the unique wisdom and leo of each key-informant, the researcher has intentionally chosen to keep each participant’s voice intact, wherever possible. Presenting the interviews in this way serves to maintain the integrity of each participant’s mo‘olelo while also preserving the personality and uniqueness of their perspective. Additionally, minimizing the researcher’s voice within the abridged narratives allows the reader to fully appreciate each practitioner’s authentic and generous contribution to this research.

On its face, there appears to be minimal commonality between these two key informants, who are simultaneously connected by a singular focus. While there are multiple ways to explore their diverse experiences, the researcher has chosen to focus specifically on their individual experiences in discovering and re-awakening kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u. This process allows the researcher to identify commonalities between their introduction, reclamation, and perspectives on this practice’s perpetuation in contemporary Hawaiian society. The information collected further supports the aim of this thesis as a culturally appropriate re-examination of the topic within an Indigenous paradigm.

A thematic analysis of the collected narratives is provided at the conclusion of the chapter and is the space where the researcher’s voice is more prominently featured. Highlighting significant aspects of the participant’s voices, the analysis continues to follow the thematic framework of

the Kā ‘A‘aha methodology. While the significance of this process is clearly outlined in the methodology chapter of this thesis, the rationale for this approach is meaningful to the practice of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u in that it also respects the net tying process by emulating the systematic and intentional sequence used to create each kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

Narrative of Valentine Kamealoha Ching

**He lawai‘a no ke kai pāpa‘u; he pōkole ke aho;
he lawai‘a no ke kai hohonu he loa ke aho.**

#725

*A fisherman of the shallow seas uses only a short line;
a fisherman of the deep sea has a long line.*

*A person whose knowledge is shallow doesn’t have much,
but he whose knowledge is great, does.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 80)*

If it’s Hawaiian, I think I can make almost anything! I’m a craftsman trying to be an artist. The trouble with me is, and it’s the same with kōkō, you probably do the same thing, you look at each knot, and you go, “I can do this better!”

So, uncle Val, how did you come to learn kōkō pu‘upu‘u?

So, in the summer of ‘70 or ‘71, I go to Ulumau Village, where my wife works in the gift shop. So, I go down around this walkway and mostly to the left and to the right, there’s a slight slope, there about five to six kūpuna, craftsman lauhala⁷⁷, kapa, and this one guy, who’s in a malo⁷⁸. He’s the only guy. I said, “Hey man, I know this guy.” I seen him on the beaches, he was a lifeguard, but I also saw him at Ulumau Village when they was at Ala Moana on the Waikiki end. It was a small little cultural park. They had some real authentic artifacts there and real cultural practitioners. And they had demonstrations, but mostly was one tour. And this wahine, the lady that did it (Ulumau Village), Malia Solomon was her name; she was bold, she was an entrepreneur, a businesswoman, and her forte was the culture. But they moved from there to He‘eia, and, bam! I see these three ladies, I sit down and talk story with them and then, the Hawaiian man had some visitors talking to him. He was making dyes, and he had the kapa tools out, the kua and the ‘ie kuku,⁷⁹ and he was talking stories with these visitors. And, he was the last guy I got to meet, and then, by the time I got there, he was wrapping up his kōkō net and putting ‘em away. I said, “what is that?” And he said, “Oh, I show you, you interested? I show you. I teach you. But nobody interested!”

⁷⁷ Leaf weaving of the Pandanus or screw pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*)

⁷⁸ Loincloth.

⁷⁹ Anvil and mallet for making kapa barkcloth.

“Yeah,” I go, “I know you, you know, from down the beach.” He tells me, “yeah, I used to be a lifeguard, but I’m going blind, yeah, I can barely see.”

Paul Aona and I was close for three years; while I was in the fire department. So, Paul died over 20 years ago, about 21 years ago. This guy always had one pocket knife, and he was always playing with a ti leaf or a coconut leaf. When he went blind, his main source of income and door openers was coconut leaf weaving. He went around the world. They invited him, all expenses paid to Germany and Europe. So, he traveled quite a bit from around age 40 till he died around age 66. I picked his brain clean. Boy, he was hard to handle, he kolohe⁸⁰. Good fun guy, but wow. Man, he would wake me and my wife up, all hours of the night, and I would take him wherever he like go.

Well, the story from him is Auntie Malia Solomon had this antique remnant of a kōkō, which I seen, all broken up, and it was in a bag or a plastic container. Anyway, it was all eaten by moths or whatever. So, about a third of it, and there’s no ‘alihi, no handle. Some of it is open. Him, blind, was taking ‘em apart and feeling ‘em, and he invents his way. He took it apart, felt it, and tried to replicate it.

He was about 80%, 75% blind. He could see movement in front of him and stuff, but he came from the school of hard knocks. I asked him, “where you learn all that this from?” Some of it on his own, and then he told me the story. So, in those 10 years that he and I bounce around between each other, especially the first three years. We got by, through inventing and adapting. And so, anything, kōkō or, and me is, “you like, know, I’m going to show you, if I don’t know, we’re gonna figure ‘em out.”

John Stokes makes several statements about kōkō pu‘upu‘u like English sailors taught this knot to Kānaka and that commoners like the maka‘āinana would make kōkō pu‘upu‘u for the ali‘i. What do you make of these claims?

The kōkō is uniquely upper-class kahuna. Nobody, in his right mind, the mahi ‘ai⁸¹, going make one of those things because, uncle and I said it in not a very nice way, “No dumb ass going waste his time making this for decorate his house.” Cause he gotta eat, he has to buy oil for

⁸⁰ Mischievous.

⁸¹ Farmer.

his lamp, you know. He gotta buy flour, sugar, and tobacco. This thing was special, I mean, that's a lot of work.

The timing of the kōkō, during Kamehameha's time, while he's uniting the islands, it was an industry. But, it's only part-time, because there's the daily life, they get up, they plant, they harvest, they fish, they pray. But, the guy that made the kōkō was one special person, cause he touching the ali'i's personal belongings.

The Ashley book and the history of ropes and knots, it's that time from around 1780 to 1850, whaling and seafaring is going downhill for the sailor. He's not important anymore. That was sad. There's these guys, there are less ships leaving the East Coast and the ports of England and Europe. Sailors, like artists or craftsmen, or anybody; the baker, you know, from the bread, he makes a cupcake, from the cupcake he makes a long-john and he puts cream in 'em and so on. So, these sailors, they're the ones that teach the wahine how to crochet. During my mother's and grandma's time, crocheting was big and was new. But, the first teachers were the sailors. But you look at everything that they did in the museums, the literature on seamanship, riggers, and sailors, but this thing is, this is so far out of the mainstream of craft, the kōkō is...I'm saying this thing is Hawaiian!

In trying to learn more about kōkō pu'upu'u, John Stokes goes and talks to fishermen who are making 'upena type fishing nets, but he runs into a dead-end, and they respond that they don't know anything. Do you think that those fishermen back in 1906 didn't know how, or just didn't want to share with him?

He was looking in the wrong place. The guy that knew where they were, the real artists and craftsmen, and the bull-shitters, cause he was out there collecting for something like 25-30 years, Emerson. Emerson was friends of the [Bishop] Museum, but they wen burn him, and I don't see anything in his writing or acknowledgment to Emerson. Emerson knew who to go see, but Emerson was a collector, a damn good collector, and he knew how to go barter with the people. He knew how to get information out of them. He would spend 5 cents to buy a piece of junk to get info to get one the next better one.

Stokes was the next generation of anthropologists and historians. His work is fantastic for the times. But boy, like you say, some of the things that he says, it's kind of...it's just the times, but of course, with that mentality, you're not going to get help. See that net, the system was gone.

So, who had them, and who was handing them down? By that time of Stokes, the Hawaiian man was struggling. Up until the turn of the century, the daily life is, they seen 'em but had individuals that was granted the right to make kōkō.

Traditionally, do you think cordage and knots, and the binding process, that kōkō pu'upu'u and those things had special significance to the Hawaiian culture?

I would think, different varieties of net that was more decorative and intricate would be like kapa, it's an expression of the craftsmen. So, an artist, they're gonna say, "Oh, this came from the Windward side, or this came from this family." You never gonna hear the individual be recognized, by the ali'i. "What's his name that made this?" They're gonna tell you where came from, cause probably several hands was in that sitting down. You see 'em in Micronesia, when they make cord, Mau⁸² guys. But you know, again, the question always for me is, "who's the person that made this?" Now getting back to the net. We never going be there, we never going know but, I going tell you, it's not too far from its original makings, that it's not Hawaiian. It is Hawaiian to me.

Are we missing the forest through the trees by focusing so narrowly on the kōkō pu'upu'u; should we consider the other components that make the kōkō pu'upu'u complete?

Well, you recording this? You're fucked up!

Why is that?

Cause you're just like Keali'i and me, but he get the answer because he's been like that, more in-depth. He never going be satisfied with the answer, but as one kumu hula, and gifted with other talents, singing, chanting, and with the capacity to retain respect, but yet challenging. I'm going to tell you something. He's fucking crazy! You fucking crazy, and I'm fucking crazy! And you can write that down!

So, my question, do you think that this craziness has helped kōkō pu'upu'u? Is that the reason when Stoke says, "oh, this practice is dead," and yet in 2019, we're having this conversation?

⁸² Famed Micronesian navigator Mau Piailug (1932-2010) from the Carolinian island of Satawal.

All my life, I was in the hunt for help, you know, to meet other craftspeople that would share. There was books out there, but I wanted them. The artists, they get, not secrets, they get tricks to the trade, you know? Like the lauhala weavers, the aunty that I hung around with through kapa, Kupuna Stevens, was her name. She said, “you know, you’re always wondering. Oh, what if had pencil back for the Hawaiians, or what if they had this, or what if they had that?” She go: “It’s the same thing like me, when I ulana and, I making lauhala.” I said, “What?” She go, “look at all this; what you see?” “I see a whole lot of mess that I ain’t interested in.” And she tells me, “you know, what my ancestors did, they never have paperclip and clothespin. These clothespins is one big help!” So, she go, “What you think happened?” I said: “I don’t know, if never have clothespin then, some kids got slapped in the head, and they have to help their mother hold.” And she go, “you right, cause that’s how I was raised: ‘get over here and put your finger here! And then move and okay.’” And she says that’s how was. Pretty soon, “take that out, put ‘em in, go down under, then keep going.”

But, getting back to making stuffs, or learning, or teaching, you going get good teachers. You going get fantastic teachers. You’re going to get one-of-a-kind teachers, that you’re always going to remember them. And at my age, I going to be 74, I dwell on that a lot since I met Keali‘i. I did this paipo⁸³ board thing, and then you had this ceremony for me. So, you know, I asked, I’m reaching out by myself and seeing, you know, everything is coming together, which was not my intention, but hopefully I did good and that someone’s gonna make good of it. You here today, brother, this is fantastic, what you’re doing. I’m surprised that Mark⁸⁴ is that far into making cord. When he’s ready, which I hope is soon, he’s gotta be grasped by you guys and sit down, and this has to go past him.

In terms of teaching and perpetuation, how do you think that kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners should approach this?

It wasn’t that I was looking to teach, it was that there were people that wanted to learn, but didn’t want to put in that time. Now, what you guys did with me on Maui, I did that about five, six times, one-on-one. Here’s some needles, here’s a plastic container, here’s some cord. Here’s what we do, there’s how we do it. Okay. “I see you next week?” Well, “hello?” “I cannot make ‘em, next week?” “Okay.” There goes a box, you know, it’s \$15, \$20.

⁸³ Short surfboard or a body board from two to four feet long, also known as kioe.

⁸⁴ Mark Kapono, cord maker and self-taught fiber artist from O‘ahu.

But it's the commitment; it's not there. But you've seen it; one in ten, going grasp 'em. Two in ten is going to be easy, but, and then you gotta work on down the way and spend more time with them.

The ones I talked to, the owner of Ulumau, cause she knew a lot of craft-people, artists. She was into politics, business, she had her hands in all kine. She knew her Hawaiian, but she was one businesswoman. It was about making money. But she knew her stuff, and uncle Paul, he wasn't interested in the research, but he learned it there, taking apart an old one. I asked her; she said, "I seen 'em, but I couldn't find nobody." So, Paul did 'em, and he showed, from what I understand, a couple of aunties from Paoa⁸⁵ and, they wen learn plenty from him, these three ladies. Now, from what I understand, one of them went Maui, and that was da kine's mentor, Keali'i's.

What about for practitioners today? Should we just be offering and trying to find anybody willing to learn and teach them, or should we be focusing on Kānaka?

I think what you guys did in honoring us guys⁸⁶, which was like, "Wow, man!" I couldn't believe it. I think how you guys are way beyond me with Keali'i, and whatever you guys did, going come from you guys, cause soon after Keali'i was with me, he went to Windward College, he went to Hilo College, and I'm sure he went to Maui's College. But, you guys are the main core, keepers of this gift. You guys going decide what you going do with 'em. I not. All I know is I had to share what I have and pick somebody's brain and get them going. I never know was going to take off like this, but man, am I pumped up because I mean this guy just took my head off when he ran with the very little he came here with.

How do you feel about the commercialization of kōkō pu'upu'u?

Oh, the artist going always starve. If you gotta eat, you gotta do what you gotta do to eat. The sad part is, I put the first nets, and did a big demo for Maile Meyer. About 15, maybe 20 years ago, when the bookstore was on School street...Native Books. So, yeah, I had about 30 ipu in there. Most of them came from what I found out of Stokes and Dodge. Some adaptions because there was nobody out there. And they sold them all, except for a couple of small ipuwai, but,

⁸⁵ Paoa Valley on O'ahu

⁸⁶ On 28 July, 2018, a kōkō pu'upu'u exhibition and ceremony honoring notable members of the Hawaiian community took place at the Bailey House Museum, in Wailuku, Maui.

they took 50%. So, they sold everything for \$1500, and I got a \$750 check. But, I also got some favors now when I go in there, for helping her.

How do you feel about innovation and practitioners changing things? Should we try new things or stick to tradition?

The six of you at the Bailey House hō'ike, you look at the demonstration you guys put up, and that's it right there. Some beautiful contemporary stuff covering bottles and other types, because that was the Hawaiian's way.

Valentine Kamealoha Ching: Interviewed at Kane'ōhe, O'ahu.

At age 73, Uncle Val's life experiences have given him a foundation of knowledge that is difficult to fathom. Named after his father, who was born on Valentine's day, Uncle Val divided his youth between Papakōlea and the world-famous Waikiki Beach on O'ahu. Like his childhood idol, Duke Kahanamoku, Uncle Val has always been drawn to the ocean. In the water, he would train with and compete against some of the greatest watermen of Hawai'i, including Soichi Sakamoto, Richard "Sonny" Tanabe, and many other Hawai'i legends synonymous with swimming and surfing. Recognized as one of the earliest contemporary experts of paipo-board surfing, Uncle Val was also actively involved in many events that shaped what we recognize as the Hawaiian cultural renaissance. In addition to being a knowledgeable and skilled craftsman, he was also part of the first pa (group) to study Hawaiian martial arts and participated in the early research of Dr. Ben Finney, which would prove to become the foundation of the Hokule'a and the Polynesian Voyaging Society.

Narrative of Keali'inaniaimokuokalani Reichel

**‘Ike ke ali‘i i kona Kanaka,
a ua ‘ike no ke Kanaka i kona ali‘i.**

#1213

*The chief knows his servant;
The servant knows his chief.*

Outsiders do not understand our relationships to our chiefs,
and we do not care to discuss it with them.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 132)

Aloha, my name is Keali‘i Reichel. I live on Maui. I am Kumu Hula of Hālau Ke‘alaokamaile. Chanter. Dancer. Composer. Kōkō pu‘upu‘u-er. Ulana‘ie-er. Kapa-er. I like being well rounded. You know, proficient in many but master of none... (laughing)...

So, Keali‘i, how did you come to learn kōkō pu‘upu‘u?

This goes back to the mid-’80s, maybe just beyond that just a little bit. I was working at the Bailey House Museum, and I’ve always had an interest in kōkō pu‘upu‘u. I didn’t know what it was called, but after doing some reading and again, Stokes continues to be that baseline ‘ike that we can launch off of because I think he’s the only one that’s written anything extensive whether that be correct or not. In those days, I was much younger, and you believe everything you read (laughing). So, I saw that, and I knew that that particular art form was rare even back then.

Then fast-forward to Bailey House Museum, and we had a craft fair that we used to do every year, and we would bring in different kupuna to come and share their wares. And one didn’t have a ride, so I went down to her house to pick her up. She wasn’t even known for kōkō pu‘upu‘u she was known as a weaver, as a lauhala weaver, Kealoha Camacho from Nahiku. So, I went to go pick her up, and she wasn’t ready. I stepped into her house and waited, and I looked, and she had all these kōkō pu‘upu‘u hanging around the perimeter of her living room. And I knew they were kind of new cause they were all cotton and stuff and so when she came out I said, “oh, aunty you make this?” And she goes, “oh, yeah, I just make.” She had one on the table, and she sat down, and she did a few knots, and I kind of remembered the sequencing. We made an appointment later on, bumbye⁸⁷ to actually sit down and learn, so we left it at that. I took her to the craft fair, and a few months maybe had passed, and she passed. So, I never had that opportunity, but she gave me one of her kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

⁸⁷ Eventually.

So, that was that, and then I don't know why something drew me back to Stokes. So, I decided to try and emulate what he had, using his explanation of the knot. I was able to actually recreate a piko and the plain pu'upu'u knot over the course of several weeks. Then, since I knew how to do it, I got distracted. I like being a self-starter and stuff, cause I did the same stuff with 'ie 'ie⁸⁸ and a few other things but no teacher you just do.

Anyway, so I knew I could do it, but I got distracted. Fast-forward a few years later, and I see an article in Hawaiian Airlines on Uncle Val Ching, and they had pictures of his kōkō pu'upu'u, and I was like, "eh, I think I know how do dat!" I was on my way to Japan, and when I got there, I had lots of free time, and so I decided to pick up some string and revisit it. I was able to recreate a full kōkō pu'upu'u while I was in Japan. Unbeknownst to me, we were Facebook friends, but I didn't know who he was. So, I sent him a message, and that's how our relationship started. I went to go meet him, he showed me how to do the 'alihi better, and actually, he taught me how to finesse the cord, not force your will on the cord. He's been doing it for decades, and although I'm kind of self-starter, I really relied on Uncle Val to smooth all of the kinks out of my technique; and it was interesting because my technique is different from his technique. So, I think that's kind of how it started.

Then, once he started to help finesse my work, it really became critical for me; it became almost an obsession, and that was probably, I would say 2011. Then, I realized there were other styles, so I decided to try and recreate those, so that was an active, very alone process because he couldn't help me. He hadn't cracked any of the other ones, and we didn't know of anybody else that did. So, I locked myself in my house, and for months I would crack each one and either finish a full kōkō pu'upu'u or at least videotape a few rows. The same thing with the piko, and so once I started doing that then I was in contact with Betty Lou Kam and sent her pictures of my work, so it was from that point that she was able to open up the drawers at Bishop Museum and let me go nuts in there.

How do you feel about the notion of John Stokes that kōkō pu'upu'u, was common knowledge to maka'āinana?

⁸⁸ Endemic woody vine (Freycinetia arborea), used for basket weaving and on the hula alter.

I'm leaning towards, not as much believing him, and maybe that's what he was told, but he couldn't find anybody to make, or nobody wanted to help him. It could very well be that, but as we move along this path and I think like with every art form, as you become more proficient with your hands, you become more proficient with your na'au,⁸⁹ and your mind, and your intellect when it comes to that. Your vision expands, and when you look at old photographs, and you look at backgrounds, and you see there's a kōkō pu'upu'u there, it's not just a pū'alu, it's a pu'upu'u. And whether that person was ali'i linked or not as according to Stokes, you just never know.

With that said though, it's the kōkō pu'upu'u aspect and that particular technique. If it was so common, we would have seen more of it. A lot of people still practice doing just regular nets, and even pū'alu to a degree, but the actual pu'upu'u technique, you don't see for some strange reason. It just didn't perpetuate, and if it did perpetuate, it would be within a family. If you need a net, the pū'alu is (snaps finger) quick, very, very fast. Because, people gotta work, and you know how long these things take, as opposed to a pū'alu which you can whip up a pū'alu in half a day. So, that could be a factor as well, so I am kind of moving away and thanks to people like you, Taupouri,⁹⁰ Hanalei,⁹¹ you know who actually think about, and take a look at, and fill in the blanks, and question Stokes' work, which is, I think, important. We're finding that...maybe not, maybe it's not how he says. But again, we have to mahalo him, because no more him, we wouldn't be where we are, and it would take much longer.

He then goes on to say that kōkō pu'upu'u knowledge is lost and forgotten.

I really think that that kind of broad statement was quite popular, or quite common, and still is in a sense when we talk to people. Like I said before, I believe that either he couldn't find anybody, because obviously, there were people who knew how. It wasn't lost, otherwise again, we wouldn't be having this conversation. People were making kōkō pu'upu'u up until the 80s, as far as we know. I agree, I thought it was a lost art, I thought nobody knew how to do it until I went to auntie's house and I was like ooh! Fast forward to now, and you see that in specific or certain families, people still did it. You know, it could be that he didn't know where to look, he was too lazy to look, and because he couldn't find anybody, he said: "it's a lost art."

⁸⁹ Intuition, feelings.

⁹⁰ Dr. Taupouri Tangaro, Professor of Hawaiian Culture and Arts, Kumu Hula, and kōkō pu'upu'u practitioner, living in Hilo, Hawai'i Island.

⁹¹ Hanalei Marzan, kōkō pu'upu'u practitioner, fiber artist, and Cultural Resources Specialist with the B. P. Bishop Museum, O'ahu.

The interesting thing is, with kōkō pu‘upu‘u, or even other “lost art forms” is that very few really were lost. According to Kealoha Camacho, her grandfather taught her. Her grandfather was a fisherman, and they were in an isolated area. You have people up until the 1930s and 40s maybe even today that utilize ‘ie‘ie fish traps, it just isn’t common anymore. So, that was a broad blanket statement, and in a sense, it was good since it forced him to record all of this for us. It also created a challenge for us to revive it.

What I find fascinating with these kinds of art forms is, how was it passed? Who passed it, and what was the need? Who needed kōkō pu‘upu‘u and who decides? Things like that, and perhaps like with Auntie Kealoha, I don’t know if she has ali‘i lineages. Her grandfather was a fisherman, so whether somewhere down in her line there was a kōkō pu‘upu‘u-er for a lesser ali‘i in that area. But what I do find interesting about her family, is that according to her, she was the last keeper of their burial cave out in Nahiku. And when she was young, she said, her grandfather made her follow him, and they had to dive into the water and come up underneath. And you can only do it at low tide, and when the ocean wasn’t rough. And had stuff inside that cave. So, I don’t know if they found it or if they were appointed somewhere down their line. If that has anything to do with the ability to make kōkō pu‘upu‘u, I don’t know. As far as their status, cause to me if you’re a kōkō pu‘upu‘u-er and if we are relating kōkō pu‘upu‘u only to ali‘i usage, then to me, the person who makes it, has to have some sort of rank.

I think we will continue to rediscover that. I think we’re close. I think there’s a veil that we can barely see-through, but we can see it over there. It’s like when people asked me what is kaona in a mele and you know it’s like you take this thing was that a water bottle and you put a sheet over it you know it’s a water bottle, the shape, but you don’t know what is in the water bottle. That’s kaona. I think that’s where we are at. We know the shape, and that sheet is getting thinner and thinner, and it’s exciting.

And what about his claim that English sailors probably introduced the pu‘upu‘u knot to Kānaka?

My gut tells me, “no!” And I always follow my gut! I might not know the intellectual answer to this, but you cannot tell me that with all of our abilities, to lash and to create, and the importance of the cord and knotting. Refining more and more as we move along, even from

this day forward, you know how important cordage and knots, you can't tell me that we never figured that out. He could be right, but it doesn't feel right to me.

So, you know, you clearly have somebody who was not a practitioner. His worldview is different, coming from Australia, and he is "holier than thou." Examining the savages and not giving credit where credit is due. Who did that? Thor Heyerdahl and Kon-Tiki, with Drift theory, yeah. Hello?! Maybe you guys went drift over here, but we never drift over here. For the longest time, that's what people thought. That was the dominant perspective, and we had to work hard to prove him wrong. Personally, I think that's where this is, but we just don't have enough 'ike right now. So, I'm relying on my gut.

Then, the interesting thing is, and I'm not sure if you have that piece of work that was written by Damon Sailors. That's a really good example of the 'ike to challenge the perspective. It's like ipu heke.⁹² We know that's a Hawaiian invention. It doesn't exist anywhere else in the world as an instrument of that shape and usage. So, I think my gut is that it's ours. With all the cordage things that we've ever had for 2,000 years, that we never have this? It doesn't seem correct to me.

But if we are to believe Stokes, which context did our kūpuna see from these sailors? If they didn't really use this knot, when did they see it, and in what context? Do you have those kinds of knots on the ship? Do you have that kind of knot in the rigging? I don't know, I'm not a rigger. So, if they didn't see that knot, if it wasn't used anyplace on the ship, then where did it come from?

Do you believe that there's a relationship between kōkō and other secular or sacred aspects of Hawaiian knowledge, Hawaiian culture?

When you think of the cord itself, whether it be 'aha, kaula, or aho, I think the cord is an elevated form, because of its religious connotations and for ceremony. Yet we still have cord that you have to live with every day. You have to make your fishnets, and you have to lash your canoes. I think the interconnectedness depends on the type of cord that it is, and what kind of ceremony it is required for. So, the overreaching and embedding of the cord throughout society is kind of overwhelming when you really think about it. We started with kōkō pu'upu'u, but

⁹² Gourd drum, unique Hawai'i, with an upper and lower sound chamber, made from two gourds.

now we're looking at the importance of the cord and the 'aha because it ties to the ali'i, it ties to deities, and it ties to every day mundane stuff. So, there doesn't seem to be a section in the fabric of our kūpuna's social structure and community structure that didn't have cord.

When you take a look at some of the traditional chants for Kana and the references that they make to spider webs and different kinds of cord, they don't separate the mundane from the sacred in a sense. So, it gets a little bit confusing, you have to be able to take it all in and really pull in all of those different thought processes to make a conclusion for this particular moment in time. If we keep moving along, in our age, and if we keep on this track, things might become clearer. So, when you bring in all these different energies, from the different kinolau⁹³, you create that holistic connection, and it tells us that the deities don't work alone. Almost all of them, when you have your different mo'olelo, there's usually always others, multiples, and each one has their specific realm. Whether it be Kāne and Kanaloa, which is interesting because you have these two guys who are totally opposite, but they're buddies. Their link is 'awa, and water, and usually, people wouldn't associate Kanaloa with water, but that's how it works. So, same thing with this, when you look at the old chants, and you see, especially again, Kana is a really good example of the listing of things and his body forms, yet the plants are not his. Fascinating!

Has this craft, in learning kōkō pu'upu'u connected you to other aspects of Hawaiian culture and practices?

The end result is not just putting it up for display, but can I use this thing and make it viable for my personal life? If I do this, then it connects into my hula world, which now we're taking that challenge with our students. They're hula people but again to teach them simple cordage making techniques or knotting, or whatever the case may be, expands their horizons as to what 'aha is and the importance of the cord. Once you can educate non-cordage people who are in a specific area of practice, then I think that it can only strengthen their practice, because they can take that process and apply it to their practice. It's like how the ho'oponopono people look at our cordage stuff and knots, and how they see a connection to explain and create imagery. Because you know us as Hawaiians, we tend to learn better through imagery. Some of us can look at a book and follow the directions, follow the recipe, but the vast majority of us it's much

⁹³ Body forms.

easier when you can speak it, and show it, and make it an all-encompassing thing with your kumu. Make it a human experience instead of one that is just from the book.

So, who do I go to personally when I need help with this kind of stuff? I usually go to my grandmother. My grandmother, she had good hands. So, oftentimes, I go, “grandma, okay, help me with this” and that kind of stuff. So, I still have a connection with somebody else instead of me, myself, and I. The eureka moments often come when you’re totally focused, and nothing else happens. The hard part for me is that when the eureka moment happens, you don’t know your process until it happens, and then you go, “oh, how did I do that?” So, then you have to take that knot and deconstruct it. Working backwards, you cross your fingers that you can recreate that eureka moment. It really does take your breath away when it occurs, because you worked so hard and your brain cells pop, and then it happens, and you go: “Oh! Oh my god, oh my god!” It’s the same thing with composition. Sometimes in the most inopportune times, I could be shopping, and a tune will come; a phrase will come, and you gotta be able to latch onto it, no matter where you are. Because that’s when the kupuna “doink” you, and if you don’t grab it right away, and figure out a way to keep it, it’s gonna go. I’ve lost many songs because I wasn’t ready. The kūpuna came and said here, and then gone.

But you have to give yourself credit too, as the Kanaka, because you are the vessel. They can only operate through a vessel. You have to allow that, and part of that is, are you a smart enough vessel? Are you a worthy vessel? So sometimes you gotta pat yourself on the back a little bit, because you choose, as a practitioner, you choose. Then once you decide, and you know that you’re on the right path, you get “doinked.” And if you no like, if you not on the right path, you going get cracks in one way or another. So, I hope that we, in whatever we do, we become good vessels, so that you can open yourself up and grab what you can from the kūpuna or not. It’s not just me, it’s a part of me.

In terms of teaching and perpetuation, how do you think that kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners should approach this?

Even our own people, they don’t know about our own knotting traditions and our cordage traditions. The only ones I can think of, outside the kōkō pu‘upu‘u, are those who do lashing, and those who make fishnets. We’re all very similar in our thought process, but even in all of those practices, the group is small, smaller than the general Hawaiian community-at-large.

So, getting our own first, to examine and take a look at the importance of cord, I think that's the first step.

Once you can get them to understand how deep and how amazing cord is, getting them to take a look at all of the connotations, then for me, all of the other stuff that comes underneath. The hana no 'eau,⁹⁴ the ceremonial aspects, and all of those things are going to click and make sense. But also recognizing that not everybody can do this. That's the thing, not everybody can. You gotta have the eye, the hand, you know? You can learn the technique but, will you be proficient in it? And so that's where I start to get a little sticky. It's like hula, plenty people like dance hula but, it's not gonna happen then get those who wanna go straight to hula pahu without going through all of the basics, and all of that kind of stuff. And this might be a whole different can of worms that I'm opening, but their whole thing is I'm Hawaiian I should know this (kōkō pu 'upu 'u). Yeah, you Hawaiian, but you gotta know the basics first. If you can, then I'll give you the kōkō pu 'upu 'u. But If I don't give, don't be coming back to me saying "bleh, bleh, bleh, I Hawaiian, I should get this." No! just being Hawaiian isn't enough.

Uncle Val used to make fun of me because I never know how to pū 'alu. I never know how do any other kind of knots since I went straight into kōkō pu 'upu 'u, because there was nobody really teaching it, so I had to rediscover it on my own journey, for myself. But, even when I started on this journey to kōkō pu 'upu 'u, I knew a little bit about the significance of 'aha and cordage. Still, through the journey of doing the technical kōkō pu 'upu 'u, I became much more cognizant of cordage, and its position and kuleana⁹⁵ in our culture. Then, adding on top of that, I knew a little bit about Kana to some degree, but until I read the story, I was like: "Oh! Ohhhh..."

It's the Papakū Makawalu⁹⁶ action when everything explodes, and you go, "oh my god, all these things are connected!" In the creative process especially, when you transform one thing

⁹⁴ Art and artistic aspects.

⁹⁵ Significance, function, relationship.

⁹⁶ Expanded perspective. Papakū Makawalu is a Kānaka theory, methodology, and praxis first introduced by Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahēle, based on the ability of our kūpuna to categorize and organize our natural world and all systems of existence within the universe. Grounded by the concepts of papakū, which connotes the dynamic Hawaiian worldview of the physical, intellectual, and spiritual foundations from which life cycles emerge and, makawalu (lit. eight-eyes; discussed in Chapter Two), referring to discovery by way of multifaceted examination. It is the belief that

into another. So, we transform plant material into cord, and then we're taking cord and creating something out of that. The interesting thing that I find is that almost everything that is made, man-made in our specific society, has a piko. Whether that's a hale, that's a kōkō pu'upu'u or pū'alu or a hawele⁹⁷ there's a piko. Gourds have piko. Almost everything, so that's another avenue, another rabbit hole that we should explore at some point. It's fascinating, most 'ie'ie weaving and most lauhala weaving also have piko where they all start. There's exceptions, of course, with anything. Wherever there's a kapu, there's a noa⁹⁸. So, there are no absolutes, but you gotta trust...

What about for practitioners today? Should we just be offering and trying to find anybody willing to learn, or should we be focusing on Kānaka?

I think that it's a responsibility to teach this, I didn't think so at first because you know every teacher has their own personal baggage. I'm very confident in hula, I'm very confident in chant because I've been doing it for a really long time. The fact that I happen to be in the right space at the right time, you know, in the sense that I had lots of time to explore this avenue, but only doing it for a few years, I didn't feel qualified to do so. You don't do that with hula, and you don't do that with chant, in a sense. You can teach certain levels of hula, and then the highest levels of hula sometimes aren't taught because some students, a lot of students, aren't ready. Not all students going be kumu hula. Same thing, I had that baggage, that kuleana, when it came to this, which is why I said "no." But, I also knew that there weren't many of us doing it and if I get hit by a bus, somebody will have to redo everything that I worked really hard for, so that's why I said yes to our particular cohort. And you know, people like yourself, who gotta do em for some reason and you're all self-starters, you go out, and you go seek, and you prove yourself by your approach, your skill level, where all of those kinds of things come into play. There's a lot of people who are in love with the idea of learning something, mainly because it's Hawaiian. That's not a bad thing, it's a good thing, but oftentimes, I would say the majority of the time, once they come to the reality of that particular practice, what's required, whatever that practice requires, sometimes it's hard, and they know they cannot. They find that they're not the kind, and so because "my time is valuable kind of thing," I get to pick and choose who I teach.

knowledge is infinite when inquiry includes multifaceted examination from a multitude of perspectives, observations, and reflections.

⁹⁷ Binding, or net lashing for a hue wai (water gourd).

⁹⁸ Free of restriction or prohibition.

When you start teaching this, you're gonna find that you want to get this out to the lehulehu,⁹⁹ but in what form and how? So, for me I'm just grouchy about it, and I'll teach it, and I'll continue to teach it, but I'll be very, very picky. I want to know why you want to learn this? I want to know what is your connection? I want to see what kind of skill you have in your hand, and if I'm going to sit with you for any length of time, you have to be able to make sure that my time, and I hate to say this but, I have to make sure my time is not wasted. I've come across people like that in the hula world, and the chant world and, even in the kōkō pu'upu'u world, and so I want to make sure you go through the vetting process, so that's one way to look at it. But yet it has to be taught, and it has to be spread, but it has to be spread correctly. What that entails? I don't know.

Fortunately, there are those who are of the same level that you can talk to, and you can bounce ideas off of, and make comparisons, so the more, the merrier. But again, there is a need to be careful in keeping in the same mindset and keeping it at a specific level of excellence as best as we can. Instead, if we let everybody know how, we gonna see some ugly-ass kōkō pu'upu'u! And you can print that! You going see ugly-ass kōkō pu'upu'u of inferior work. I would much rather have a practice of ours be limited to those who can and who have the talent and keep it at a real high level. As opposed to making it known to everybody, and then you gonna see all kinds of stuff, and that might eventually happen, and that's kind of sad but maybe not, that I don't know—same thing with hula dancers and stuff. I don't know, it's an interesting place to be, and I think we're in a good place. It's an exciting time to be a kōkō pu'upu'u-er.

How do you feel about the commercialization of kōkō pu'upu'u?

That's a real personal thing, and personally, I get hard time with that. I've sold a few but not for myself. I give them away mostly, and it's just that everybody's line is different and stuff. Part of me is glad that I see it at like stores in Na Mea Hawai'i or when you go Merrie Monarch craft fair because, you know it lives in a specific place, and that person relies on the Western concept of making money; in order to survive, to feed the family, to pay rent, or whatever the case may be. So, from that vantage point, cause then I can say that for everything. I can say that for kapa. I can say that for ki'i.¹⁰⁰ I can say that for poi boards. I can say that for every other Hawaiian thing that we go and purchase from people. I guess, for us, because we're so

⁹⁹ Multitudes, great number, population, the public, numerous.

¹⁰⁰ Carved images.

connected to it, and that we know how hard it is, and we know how rare it is, at this particular moment in time, it's sometimes hard to put a kind of value on it.

Do you think the association of kōkō pu'upu'u with ali'i is what makes it hard to put a value?

I think it's more, because I feel protective. I think that's what it is. After all, it doesn't bother me if you have lei hulu.¹⁰¹ People are making lei hulu and selling them. People are making 'ahu'ula, and weapons. Lots of different practices that were associated only with ali'i, and people acquiring these whether they were Hawaiian or not. Or those who are practitioners but don't know how to make that item yet. Or maybe they'll never make that item, but they need that item for their practice. You cannot expect them to just give it to you, and so what is the system today? Money! I think that the selling of a kōkō pu'upu'u, for me, is just one of those kinds of things. But I'm perfectly fine going to craft fair and going buy one 'ahu'ula from that guy selling 'ahu'ula. So why shouldn't it be okay for this, and this is my personal baggage?

How do you feel about innovation and practitioners changing things? Should we try new things or stick to tradition?

I think it's a little bit of both. For me personally, I think it's important if you can keep them separate, and then once you're proficient, then you can say "okay." Maybe we have to create a whole genre of the mixture of the two. Taupouri when he makes his pā'ū¹⁰² skirts and stuff like that, some of that is macramé technique, so he's blending; and if somebody like him exists today, there has to have had more Taupouri in the old days.

I think that's where Taupouri is kind of brilliant because he's brought it to the human. We are the vessel, and once he did that, my mind went, "boom!" Mind blown! Because he's right, he's absolutely right, and that changed my perspective, even though I'm not even thinking clothes and wearables, that's his talent. I still like making traditional kōkō pu'upu'u. I do my thing. I stick with my tradition, and I think what he's doing is absolutely necessary! I liken him to Akoni Mika,¹⁰³ and you know he was most well-known as a kumu hula, and there's a picture of him wearing a jersey, but it was all made of kōkō pu'upu'u. I'm stuttering because that's what

¹⁰¹ Traditionally, feathered objects were associated with gods and ali'i. Lei hulu were also reserved for those of ali'i status. Further discussion on this topic can be found in Chapter Three.

¹⁰² Traditional skirt, as in pā'ū hula (dance skirt) or ornamental lashing, named Pā'ū-o-Lu'ukia. Further discussion on this topics origin and use can be found in Chapter Four.

¹⁰³ Mr. Akoni, (referencing Antone Kao'o, and the image of him in the netted shirt ca. 1910).

Taupouri is doing. He didn't even know, he just did it. I'm like, "okay, okay, mind blown!"

Keali'i Racheal: Interviewed in Kahului, Maui.

Born in Kihei, and growing up between Pā'ia and Lāhainā, Maui, Keali'i grew up as part of the first generation following the cultural renaissance and has been at the forefront in the revival and perpetuation of Hawaiian culture for almost forty years. He is widely recognized as a world-class performer, best-selling recording artist, multiple award-winning Kumu Hula, prolific composer, renowned chanter, choreographer, dancer, educator, scholar, crafter, fiber-arts expert, and "kōkō pu'upu'u-er." While a passion for 'ōlelo Hawai'i would lead to his appointment as one of the founding directors of Pūnana Leo O Maui,¹⁰⁴ natural interest and proficiency in reawakening various hana no'eau would position him to become the Cultural Resource Specialist and curator of the Bailey House Museum, in Wailuku, Maui.

Thematic Analysis of Participant Narratives

The data analysis presented in the section draws from the authentic experiences of these kumu as shared through their genuine mo'olelo. While there are many possible approaches for examining these rich narratives, the researcher has chosen to focus specifically on their individual experiences in learning and reawakening kā kōkō pu'upu'u. This process allows the researcher to identify commonalities between the introduction and reclamation practices of both kumu and consider their perspectives on the general perpetuation of other traditional practices in contemporary Hawaiian society.

Further endeavoring to realize this thesis's aim as a culturally appropriate re-examination of the topic within an Indigenous paradigm, this analysis follows the thematic framework of the Kā 'A'aha methodology. Emulating the systematic process used to create each kōkō pu'upu'u, Ku'u Ēwe is the umbilical which metaphorically represents the foundational cord that connects these kumu to their knowledge. Ku'u Piko, or the navel, acknowledges the na'au or intuition as a guide in reclaiming this practice as a cultural art form that is truly unique to Kānaka. The third theme, Ku'u Iwi, assess the bones or elements affiliated with preservation, whereas the final theme, Ku'u Koko, acknowledges the lifeblood or contemporary relevance of kā kōkō pu'upu'u.

¹⁰⁴ The first Hawaiian language immersions preschool on Maui.

Ku‘u Ēwe: Reawakening kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u

He noio ‘a’e ‘ale no ke kai loa.

#844

*A noio that treads over the billows of the distant sea.
An expression of admiration for a person outstanding
in wisdom and skill. The noio is a small tern.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 92)*

In recalling the circumstances that brought these kumu to learn kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u, both men would acknowledge that neither of them had intentionally sought out the practice. Additionally, they would recall seeing kōkō on rare occasions, and while each had participated in a wide range of cultural practices in both formal and informal settings, neither had considered learning kōkō pu‘upu‘u until it presented itself to them. Although these introductions would occur more than thirty years apart and on separate islands, there is little doubt that their engagement with the craft would not have happened if not for the influence of others.

Throughout his interview, Uncle Val reflected fondly on childhood experiences that connected him with the ocean and his childhood idols, including his grandmother and many other Kānaka, who would shape his cultural worldview. These Kānaka would inspire him to pursue his interest in Hawaiian practices and crafts, just as the Hawaiian cultural renaissance was being realized in the late 60s and early 70s. Experiencing many pivotal events first-hand, Uncle Val would become critically conscious during a movement that placed Kānaka as the epicenter of a social, political, and cultural revolution. This period also allowed him to build relationships with influential Kānaka, like Malia Soloman and Pua A‘ona, who were actively working to reclaim and reawaken Hawaiian practices and crafts.

As a member of the first generation following the Hawaiian renaissance, Keali‘i would be shaped by the aftermath of this cultural revival, which also unlocked the doors to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. With greater access to cultural artifacts, Keali‘i sought to learn and perpetuate the beliefs and practices of his kūpuna. He acknowledges that his ancestors continue to teach, inspire, and guide him:

So, oftentimes, I go, “grandma, okay, help me with this,” and that kind of stuff. So, I still have a connection with somebody else instead of me, myself, and I.

This reflection highlights the complex and multi-layered nature of Kānaka learning and ancestral sources of knowledge. These practitioners held fluid views of acquiring knowledge

while rejecting Stokes' belief that the lack of a teacher impacts a practice's authenticity. Empowered by their kūpuna and the experiences of others, both of these kumu would be guided to understand and reawaken kā kōkō pu'upu'u as an authentic Hawaiian practice. Coming from different eras and backgrounds, these men shared a wide range of transforming and politicizing experiences. It could be assumed that these experiences contributed to their determination to live authentically as Kānaka and to honor their ancestors and their traditions. It would also be a mutual curiosity that would ultimately draw these two men together, forming a foundation of experience and knowledge that would prevent kōkō pu'upu'u from falling into deeper obscurity.

Ku'u Piko: Reclaiming Cultural Practice

Ku ke 'ehu o na wahi 'auwa'a li'ili'i.

#1900

How the spray dashes up before the fleet of little canoes.

Trifling things are as dust to the experts.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 204)

When asked to reflect on the notions of John Stokes and his skepticism about the genuineness of kōkō pu'upu'u as a uniquely Hawaiian craft, both of these kumu reason that it would be nearly impossible to consider kōkō pu'upu'u as anything other than Hawaiian. While the kumu also acknowledge a broad range of possible origins of the pu'upu'u knot, they agree that Stokes' notion of a possible European origin is speculative and appears to be an oversimplified solution to the question. With a lifetime of experience in lashing and knot tying, Uncle Val points to the lack of corroborating evidence to demonstrate the application of the pu'upu'u knot in any European or Western context. From this perspective, he believes that there is no disputing that kōkō pu'upu'u is uniquely Hawaiian. Likewise, Uncle Val affirms that Kānaka, as rational and pragmatic people, would not have devoted time and resources unnecessarily, unless it was to elevate the ali'i. He further affirms that the practice of tying kōkō pu'upu'u would have been exclusive to the Hawaiian elite:

But you look at everything that they did in the museums, the literature on seamanship, riggers, and sailors, but this thing is, this is so far out of the mainstream of craft, the kōkō is...I'm saying this thing is Hawaiian!

The kōkō is uniquely upper-class kahuna "No dumb ass going waste his time making this for decorate his house." This thing was special, I mean, that's a lot of work.

When asked why Stokes might conclude that kōkō pu‘upu‘u knowledge was already “forgotten” while he was conducting his research, Uncle Val first considers that Stokes’ search for practitioners was insufficient. Still, he also considers the hardships faced by Kānaka at the turn of the century:

...it’s just the times, but of course, with that mentality, you’re not going to get help. See that net, the system was gone. So, who had them, and who was handing them down? By that time of Stokes, the Hawaiian man was struggling. Up until the turn of the century, the daily life is, they seen ‘em but had individuals that was granted the right to make kōkō.

Sharing Uncle Val’s sentiment, Keali‘i agrees that Stokes’ claims are inconsistent with the Hawaiian cultural values, beliefs, and practices he has studied throughout his life. As an esteemed kumu hula and devoted practitioner, there is little doubt that Keali‘i is informed by his own experiences. He also expresses an attentiveness to his personal intuition, which Kānaka often believe materializes from the na‘au or gut.

My gut tells me, “no!” And I always follow my gut! His worldview is different, coming from Australia, and he is “holier than thou.” Examining the savages and not giving credit where credit is due.

While making this statement, Keali‘i placed his hands over his midsection, near his piko. This subtle gesture further affirms that he is deliberately aware of these cultural instincts; as a trustworthy guide for ‘ike and personal knowledge. He then goes on to provide his perspective on the claims that kōkō pu‘upu‘u were considered obsolete more than one hundred years ago.

I really think that that kind of broad statement was quite popular, or quite common, and still is in a sense when we talk to people. I believe that either he couldn’t find anybody, because obviously, there were people who knew how. It wasn’t lost; otherwise, again, we wouldn’t be having this conversation.

The interesting thing is, with kōkō pu‘upu‘u, or even other “lost art forms” is that very few really were lost. According to Kealoha Camacho, her grandfather taught her.

In becoming critically conscious of kōkō pu‘upu‘u, and seeking to establish an accurate history for these cultural objects, it becomes clear that Stokes, though well-intentioned, was perhaps ill-informed and noticeably deprived of the benefit of scientific and technological advancements that are available today.

Then, the interesting thing is, and I’m not sure if you have that piece of work that was written by Damon Sailors. That’s a really good example of the ‘ike to challenge the perspective.

While it is unlikely that a definitive history of kōkō pu‘upu‘u origins will be revealed anytime soon, both of these kumu feel that this matter is inconsequential to the authenticity of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u as a Hawaiian practice. Consequentially, rather than focusing on Stokes’ errors, Keali‘i is also mindful of the value of his work:

That was a broad blanket statement; in a sense, it was good since it forced him to record all of this for us. It also created a challenge for us to revive it.

But again, we have to mahalo him, because no more him, we wouldn’t be where we are, and it would take much longer.

These statements not only acknowledge Stokes’ contribution to preserving kōkō pu‘upu‘u knowledge but demonstrate Keali‘i’s sincerity in recognizing that knowledge can come from a variety of sources. This perspective is especially pertinent in light of the fact that Stokes himself questioned the authenticity of cultural knowledge that did not come from a living source.

Ku‘u Iwi: Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u as an Expression of Resilience

Mai kāpae i ke a‘o a ka makua, aia he ola malaila

#2065

*Do not set aside the teachings
of one’s parents for there is life there.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 224)*

When the kumu were asked to reflect on the resilience of kōkō pu‘upu‘u in contemporary times, both kumu indicated that while kōkō pu‘upu‘u represent significant aspects of Hawaiian culture, history, and tradition, more importantly, these objects reflect a connection to the community. For Uncle Val, this relationship is revealed in the perspective that kōkō pu‘upu‘u,

as a tangible object, is a product of community labor. In as much as kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u is a solitary craft, where practitioners frequently work alone, there remains a perpetual connection to those who provide the essential components:

...like kapa, it's an expression of the craftsmen...[but] you never gonna hear the individual be recognized, by the ali'i. They're gonna tell you where came from, cause probably several hands was in that sitting down.

This perspective affirms that kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u is much less about the accomplishment of a single person but the achievement of a diverse community of specialists. It is this broader community that ultimately forms the foundation of any craft. Though Uncle Val's perspective is not unexpected, coming from a Kanaka with a distinguished career in the Honolulu Fire Department, it also distinguishes the deep values held by Polynesian voyaging cultures and Indigenous island communities. Ultimately, this holistic relationship is vital to the well-being of both the practitioner and the extended community.

Informed by his deep and diverse understanding of Hawaiian story-telling and the transmission of mo‘olelo through mele and hula, Keali‘i highlights the relevance of kōkō pu‘upu‘u in terms of intangible cultural knowledge that connects culture to the craft:

When you take a look at some of the traditional chants for Kana and the references that they make to spider webs and different kinds of cord, they don't separate the mundane from the sacred...

If I do this, then it connects into my hula world, which now we're taking that challenge with our students. Once you can educate non-cordage people who are in a specific area of practice, then I think that it can only strengthen their practice, because they can take that process and apply it to their practice. It's like how the ho‘oponopono people look at our cordage stuff and knots, and how they see a connection to explain and create imagery.

That the perceptions of both of these Kānaka would focus on the importance of kōkō pu‘upu‘u in terms of cultural beliefs rather than commercial value is telling. Their expression that kōkō pu‘upu‘u represent holistic relationships between community and culture demonstrates a

reverence for these objects, which challenges Western beliefs of commodification and commercialization. Tragically, both kumu also concede that their idealistic perspectives are tempered by the modern reality of economic survival in a capitalist world. As Uncle Val succinctly states when asked about his feelings about the selling of kōkō pu‘upu‘u:

The artist going always starve. If you gotta eat, you gotta do what you gotta do to eat.

Agreeing that the issues are complex, historical, and profoundly personal, Keali‘i goes on to explain:

I’m glad that I see it at like stores in Na Mea Hawai‘i or when you go Merrie Monarch craft fair because you know it lives in a specific place, and that person relies on the Western concept of making money; in order to survive, to feed the family, to pay rent, or whatever the case may be.

Although these kumu are reluctant to sell their kōkō pu‘upu‘u, the risk of losing these objects to archives and museums greatly outweighs the possibility that Kānaka might choose to capitalize on this knowledge to offset their own economic burdens. While these kumu acknowledge the challenges of cultural imperialism faced by Kānaka, they are not deterred from perpetuating this practice.

Ku‘u Koko: Perpetuation of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u

E kuhikuhi pono i na au iki a ma na au nui o ka ‘ike

#325

Instruct well in the little and the large currents of knowledge.

In teaching, do it well; the small details are as important as the large ones.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 40).

Just as Stokes’ documentation of kōkō pu‘upu‘u was critical to the preservation of the craft, without the efforts of these kumu to reawaken the practice, it is unlikely that this research would have been realized. To this end, it is also evident that these kumu recognize the importance of perpetuating kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u, as demonstrated by their efforts to share their knowledge with others. Especially meaningful to our conversations was discussing the challenges faced by these kumu in finding suitable haumāna or students.

It wasn't that I was looking to teach; it was that there were people that wanted to learn, but didn't want to put in that time. Now, what you guys did with me on Maui, I did that about five, six times, one-on-one. Here's some needles, here's a plastic container, here's some cord. Here's what we do, there's how we do it. Okay. "I see you next week?" Well, "hello?" "I cannot make 'em next week?" "Okay." There goes a box, you know, it's \$15, \$20.

But it's the commitment; it's not there. But you've seen it; one in ten, going grasp 'em. Two in ten is going to be easy, but, and then you gotta work on down the way and spend more time with them.

Uncle Val clearly states that it is not hard to find enthusiastic people who want to learn about kōkō pu'upu'u; however, finding individuals with an inclination toward knotting and a commitment to understanding the slow and tedious process is far more challenging. In contrast, having personal reservations about teaching kā kōkō pu'upu'u, Keali'i explains his dilemma and the realization that the knowledge needed to be passed on.

I think that it's a responsibility to teach this. I'm very confident in hula, I'm very confident in chant because I've been doing it for a really long time. I didn't feel qualified to do so. You can teach certain levels of hula, and then the highest levels of hula sometimes aren't taught because not all students going be kumu hula. But, I also knew that there weren't many of us doing it and if I get hit by a bus, somebody will have to redo everything that I worked really hard for.

Echoing Uncle Val's frustration with finding committed students, Keali'i also identifies individual predisposition and mindset as other barriers to finding suitable haumāna.

There's a lot of people who are in love with the idea of learning something, mainly because it's Hawaiian. once they come to the reality of that particular practice, what's required, whatever that practice requires, sometimes it's hard, and they know they cannot. They find that they're not the kind, and so because "my time is valuable kind of thing," I get to pick and choose who I teach.

I want to make sure you go through the vetting process, so that's one way to look at it. But yet it has to be taught, and it has to be spread, but it has to be spread correctly. What that entails? I don't know.

That's the thing, not everybody can. You gotta have the eye, the hand, you know? You can learn the technique but, will you be proficient in it? And so that's where I start to get a little sticky. It's like hula, plenty people like dance hula but, it's not gonna; happen then get those who wanna go straight to hula pahu without going through all of the basics, and all of that kind of stuff. And this might be a whole different can of worms that I'm opening, but their whole thing is "I'm Hawaiian, I should know this (kōkō pu'upu'u)." Yeah, you Hawaiian, but you gotta know the basics first. If you can, then I'll give you the kōkō pu'upu'u. But If I don't give, don't be coming back to me saying "bleh, bleh, bleh, I Hawaiian, I should get this." No! just being Hawaiian isn't enough.

In addition to a general propensity to working with cordage and knots, these kumu also identify desirable qualities like; dedication, patience, and humility as fundamental attributes for a haumana to become proficient in kā kōkō pu'upu'u. As elusive as these qualities might be, in an overconfident society that desires immediate gratification, cultural practitioners, like Uncle Val and Keali'i, appear undeterred in their search for haumāna who are willing to commit to the study of traditional practices, techniques, and tradition.

Critical Consciousness

Lawe i ka ma'alea a kū'ono'ono.

#1957

*Take wisdom and make it deep.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 211)*

Finally, considering the further impact of how kōkō pu'upu'u connect Kānaka to their culture, Keali'i provided a profound observation related to his own journey.

Even our own people, they don't know about our own knotting traditions and our cordage traditions...getting our own first, to examine and take a look at the importance of cord, I think that's the first step.

Once you can get them to understand how deep and how amazing cord is, getting them to take a look at all of the connotations, then all of the other stuff that comes. The hana no'eau, the ceremonial aspects, and all of those things are going to click and make

sense. But also, recognizing that not everybody can do this. That's the thing, not everybody can. You gotta have the eye, the hand, you know?

Through the journey of doing the technical kōkō pu'upu'u, I became much more cognizant of cordage, and its position and kuleana in our culture. Then, adding on top of that, I knew a little bit about Kana to some degree, but until I read the story, I was like: "Oh! Ohhhh..."

It's the papakū makawalu action when everything explodes, and you go, "oh my god, all these things are connected!" In the creative process especially, when you transform one thing into another. So, we transform plant material into cord, and then we're taking cord and creating something out of that.

From this perspective, the practitioner's journey into kōkō pu'upu'u is less about the traditional practice of transforming the mundane cord into a revered article from antiquity. It is a notion that kā kōkō pu'upu'u encompasses more than just nets, but includes the broader connection to both physical and spiritual worlds. As part of his personal realization, Keali'i asserts that kā kōkō pu'upu'u should not be viewed as merely a craft for producing tangible objects. The practice itself becomes a catalyst for connecting with 'ike kūpuna. It has allowed him to become critically conscious of the vast interconnectivity between our tangible heritage and the intangible cultural knowledge of our ancestors. Essentially, our kūpuna have given us the instructions to reawaken all cultural knowledge, and it is through our sustained engagement in these traditional practices, we are better able to reclaim our culture and empower Kānaka.

Chapter Summary

This data chapter presented qualitative interviews from two respected Hawaiian cultural practitioners and kumu from the kōkō pu'upu'u community. Their unique perspectives regarding kā kōkō pu'upu'u alongside many other cultural practices further this research in understanding the resilience and preservation of kōkō pu'upu'u as a unique Hawaiian cultural art-form. Privileging their perspectives as first-hand knowledge-holders, these Kānaka are considered legitimate authorities on the topic. Beyond a commitment to preserve ancient artifacts, their desire to understand kōkō pu'upu'u further connects us to our kūpuna and cultivates a stronger relationship with that heritage. Their lived experiences, and the accompanying mo'olelo, are fundamental to this research in that it represents the vital link to

the recovery and revival of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u and other traditional cultural practices. The chapter that follows continues to explore these relationships by examining the mo‘olelo of three haumāna (students) who have committed themselves to learning and sustaining these traditions.

Chapter Nine

Key Informant Interviews — Nā Haumāna

Ma kāhi o ka hana he ola malaila.

#2090

Where work is, there is life.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 227)

Validated by their knowledge and personal experience in learning kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u, this chapter presents the sentiments of haumāna (students) who represent the ongoing progression of kōkō pu‘upu‘u from obscure object to respected Hawaiian practice. Like their kumu, the individual efforts of these students have contributed to a collective understanding that kōkō pu‘upu‘u continue to be culturally relevant in contemporary times. In addition to their knowledge of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u, each participant is also recognized for their proficiency with ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and aptitude in other traditional Hawaiian arts and cultural practices. This expertise provides additional insight into the historical, social, and religious aspects of the craft and further enriches the conversation.

Remarkably, while their ages, upbringing, and backgrounds bear little resemblance, the diverse personal experiences and independent interest of these haumāna is significant and compels this research to consider the relationship of kōkō pu‘upu‘u, and other traditional practices, in contemporary Hawaiian society. Though separate from each other, the shared perceptions, beliefs, and interpretations of this community of collaborative scholars further support the aim of this thesis as a culturally appropriate re-examination of the topic from an Indigenous paradigm. Additionally, this approach serves to identify and correct misconceptions that have persisted due to Western cultural imperialism. Following the previous chapter’s format, abridged narratives for each participant are presented within the context and sequence in which they were recorded. A thematic analysis of the collected narratives is also provided at the conclusion of this chapter.

Narrative of Taupōuri Tangarō

‘Ike ‘ia no ka loea i ke ku‘ahu.

#1208

An expert is recognized by the alter he builds.

*It is what one does and how well he does it
that shows whether he is an expert.*

(Pukui, 1983, p. 131).

Let me say first of all my name is Taupōuri Tangarō, and I am glad to be part of this process, to add life and quality to what we’ve inherited and to expand that into the next generation and okay let’s begin...

How did you come to learn kōkō pu‘upu‘u?

Simply said, Keali‘i Reichel in 2013, that’s when I began to learn kōkō pu‘upu‘u, the technicality. Prior to that, in the ‘80s, I may have been at age

Figure 38

Ki‘i with plaited fiber skirt



*Note. Unknown maker or date of manufacture. Wood carved statue with plaited skirt.
Photo by the author, 7 July 2017
Courtesy Bishop Museum*

17, I was at the Lyman House Museum¹⁰⁵ in my junior year as part of an internship, and I was exposed to – you know it’s a Mission Museum. Still, in a lot of ways, it has a very strong cultural foundation, and there I saw kōkō pu‘upu‘u. I don’t remember seeing it as a child growing up on O‘ahu, the Bishop Museum used to take these transportable displays around, which were actually quite effective because many of us in the country didn’t get access to the Museum and the things there. I believe I may have seen a kōkō pu‘upu‘u, a net carrier, but never really paid attention. It was at age 17 when I realized that they were beautiful, but I never saw myself doing kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

I danced hula all my life, and we never talked about kōkō pu‘upu‘u, but I saw this cordage skirt, here, this is in fact, this is the book I actually saved money, and I bought it. I saw this corded skirt, and in fact, it’s not kōkō pu‘upu‘u it’s a cord a corded skirt on the ki‘i,¹⁰⁶ and that stuck with me.

¹⁰⁵ The Lyman Museum and Mission House in located in Hilo, Hawai‘i Island.

¹⁰⁶ Image, statue, or idol.

At age 19, I began dancing with Hālau o Kekuhi,¹⁰⁷ and in maybe the early to mid-1990's we did a hula drama called Kamehameha Pai'ea, wherein Aunty Nālani¹⁰⁸ taught us to make a cord skirt. So again, when you look at this ki'i and all this antiquity attached to it, you don't see skirts, corded skirts. It's esoteric, it's not part of the public domain. It's not part of the discussion, so I never saw myself trying to achieve that, but I think something was triggered at age 17 when I first saw this so, something was already in my body. Then in my early 30's, when Nālani taught us how to make these skirts. It was macramé, macramé type, and I didn't care if it was macramé, I just knew it was a corded skirt. It took me a step closer to fulfilling, but I put it aside, then I started my doctoral school in 2002. I believe my doctoral journey, for some reason, I needed to pick up the corded skirt, and so I started making these 'ulana¹⁰⁹ kind. Just 'ulana because it was closer to being Hawaiian than the macramé, and it put cord back in my hands. Then, it was in 2013 when I asked Keali'i. He posted something on Facebook, and I've known him since the '80s, and that's so Hawaiian that sometimes you know someone, but you don't know what it is exactly that they do. I was like how come I missed the fact that he did kōkō pu'upu'u?

In 2013 when I saw Keali'i's post, I wanted to learn kōkō pu'upu'u, but even then, I was reluctant to ask him. Finally, I got the nerve, and I said, "I would really love to do kōkō pu'upu'u, and would you please teach me?" And see, the funny thing is we're reared to give, give, give, we're not reared to request. It's really difficult for us to request, and he did come and teach me. The first piece I did is the ugliest. It's a small one, but I did the whole thing in that one day; he taught me in a few hours. I think he attempted teaching people, but they couldn't get it, no matter how interested they were. They couldn't get it, and so he was happy that I was able to get it. Then I told him: "Keali'i, I have to tell you something, I want to learn kōkō pu'upu'u not to make carriers. I'm not interested in making carriers." You know him, he's really conservative. In my estimation, some of the work he's done far exceeds what's in the collections. He's that mechanical, and I'm not mechanical, I'm much more organic than he is. So, he got a little nervous.

It's one thing to duplicate the artifact, and another to take cultural liberties. So, he goes, "well, what are you planning to do with these?" I said, "I want to make clothes." And he started to

¹⁰⁷ Following in the tradition of Kumu Hula Edith Kanaka'ole, Hālau o Kekuhi is a celebrated and well-respected hālau, located in Hilo, Hawai'i Island.

¹⁰⁸ Kumu Hula Nālani Kanaka'ole, daughter and successor to Edith Kanaka'ole.

¹⁰⁹ To plait, weave, knit, braid.

twitch. I'm like, "oh my gosh, that's the end of our friendship." He started to stutter, "okay, if anybody can pull it off, you can." And what he meant by that was, I come from a strong hula foundation. You need to have a strong foundation to innovate because if you're innovating and there's absolutely no foundation that the Hawaiian world can recognize, you're setting yourself up for failure and ridicule. Really, you're put in a bad space. But because I come from a solid foundation, nobody questions my placement in that foundation, that was grounds for him to release that. I was innovating, but I was an informed innovator. He knows that he's responsible for my knotting. It's not I give you the knot, and you do whatever you like. He's responsible. That's another cultural thing.

There's a kuleana, there is that connection. He's now my kumu for this, and until he releases me, he has to answer for all of my pros and cons. He owns that part of that. So, he was nervous. I made the cord, I made a set of pa'ū and kūpe'e,¹¹⁰ and he came back, and I showed it to him, and he goes: "the audacity." So, the name of the pa'ū is "The Audacity." And from then on, I just went and made capes, and played with kā'ei.¹¹¹ Exactness is really not...I think exactness is what anthropologists would like for us to do. But I've traveled the Indigenous world of the Pacific, and I live in my Indigenous world here, and we're about modifying and innovating. It's a process, and so long as it's an informed process, it's anchored, we're anchored, then we're fine. So that's the short story of how I learned kōkō pu'upu'u.

In the early 1900s, Stokes concludes that kōkō pu'upu'u knowledge is forgotten and useless. Any thoughts?

One, I don't know what he defines as forgotten. Forgotten is no longer in memory. I think we cannot forget the memory. Memory just sleeps. So, we can never forget. We can become unconscious of it, but too, we have the artifacts. In our culture, even if just one person remembers, even by learning from the artifacts, the nation has not forgotten. So that's a different take. The other part, the usefulness, at one point, I do believe it wasn't useful. Maybe it was useful in a philosophical way or just as a way of reminding us that this was an artwork that we're no longer doing, but the old people did it. So, I think in that way it was useful; that it gave us some value that our ancestors did something that was a little different. But not to the point that we wanted to learn it. That is a Hawaiian process. If you don't have a need for it, let

¹¹⁰ Bracelets or anklets, a common adornment worn by hula dancers.

¹¹¹ Belt, sash, or baldric worn as a status symbol; or in battle, used to protect the midsection.

it sleep. Just because we're not doing it, does not mean that we have forgotten it or that it's not valuable. Perhaps it's not practical at that moment, but even our heiau systems, there was a period of the year where we would have it fallow. We didn't just maintain it, we just let it reclaim itself. Then, when we needed it, we rebuilt it. We refurbished it we added a wall or something. So, I think he was an outsider that really didn't necessarily have enough cultural foundation to understand the greater context of the psyche. It was easy for him to say that because he didn't see people walking around with it. So, I think it's honest; this is his truth.

I just learned this, we visited the Choctaw and the Chickasaw, they talked about knowledge sleeps. It's only sleeping. They're waiting for the right person to wake them up. So, they never used the words "we forgot," so I'm going to be using that. It's sleeping. It's time to sleep.

All you need is the tiniest bit. We have a saying, "ola ka manini i ka hi'u" all you need is a little bit of the fish, and you can recreate the whole fish.¹¹² You can recreate the whole manini, even if you only have the tail. All we need is a little clue. When I look at my work, they were just little clues that nobody gave me. Up until Keali'i, they were just little clues, all pointing in the same direction. So, Keali'i was one of those clues, just so happens, it came with the body.

Like 'anakala¹¹³ with his shirt?

This is the one that came; although Keali'i trusted me, he was worried about what I was creating. Then in 2015, Leilani Nguyen found this in research she was doing. It was confirmation because I never saw anybody wear kōkō pu'upu'u before. It was then that Keali'i, began to realize that sometimes the purpose comes first, then the justification, the validation comes after.

So, this came, and I was like, "okay, I'm not that far off." I was taking some cultural risk, and I was ready to take the punches when people say, one, "you not Hawaiian, you shouldn't be doing this." I could justify that. The other was, "this is kōkō pu'upu'u, you shouldn't be wearing it." And I could even justify that given the little I had, but then when this came out, I didn't need to justify it.

¹¹² A reference to the manini or common reef surgeonfish (*Acanthurus triostegus*), and a play on the term hi'u, or tail section, where hi'u kahi, a single fishtale, figuratively means having limited knowledge.

¹¹³ Referring to the photo of Antone Kao'o and the netted shirt (see fig. 18, p. 147).

He goes on to allude that English sailors may have introduced the pu‘upu‘u knot to Kānaka?

I do know that when the Hawaiians saw the calico print, our ‘ohe kāpala¹¹⁴ became smaller. They mimicked. They were able to mimic amazing things. I wouldn’t say that kōkō pu‘upu‘u is a hundred percent from mimicking one of the sailors, but I wouldn’t factor that out because everything else the Hawaiians mimicked well. Everything, even our hula, our hela,¹¹⁵ was similar to what they saw the sailing people do. That’s part of the Indigenous process, you take what comes from the ‘alihi, the horizon and you indigenize it. So, if he wants to say that we didn’t create our own, we didn’t create it, that we took it from the sailors, that would be wrong. Because the sailors don’t make, they might make the barrel knot, but you haven’t seen them making these (pu‘upu‘u) knots.

We don’t have a problem. If you enter into our waters, it’s ours. And the Maori do that. They come here and listen to all our tunes, then they go home, and they adapt it, and they have no problem saying, “that’s Hawaiian.” It’s the oceanic ways, the Indigenous way. We don’t have a problem with that. I would say that if there is truth to it, then we have reflections of that. But it begs the question, those same sailors went to other parts of Oceania, how come they didn’t take it? How come they didn’t grow it? Our kapa water prints, look at our ipu heke, where do you think they’re from? We haven’t seen the ipu heke anywhere else. And it didn’t come from the haole world. So, you know Hawaiians can create new stuff. Not to say it has not been influenced.

Stokes bases his conclusion on the absence of evidence or description from early contact.

You know, the Europeans did have access to the ali‘i but, they didn’t have access to their inner circle. The ali‘i were not stupid enough to expose their inner world. We see this in the hula world. You dance in front of a ku‘ahu¹¹⁶ for many, many years before you even begin to understand what the ku‘ahu is. We know that’s in Hawaiian families today. You can be learning how to do all these things, but you will never know why until you’re much older. So, the ali‘i

¹¹⁴ Bamboo stamp; referring to kapa barkcloth printed with ‘ohe kāpala.

¹¹⁵ Hula step; “one foot is placed at about a 45-degree angle to the front and side, with the weight on the opposite hip and with that knee bent; the foot is then returned to the original position and the step is repeated with the other foot; to dance thus” (Kaepler & Tatar, 1993, p. 121).

¹¹⁶ Alter, dedicated to a deity and used for religious ceremony related to a particular practice/craft.

may have had access, but many may have never seen Keōpūolani¹¹⁷ because of her kapu. I think it's weak to think that if the explorer didn't see it, it didn't exist?

They gave their 'ahu 'ula,¹¹⁸ but they also gave a lot of ki'i. I really respect that the Hawaiian gave. The chiefs were in total control of their world, and I have to respect their gifting, no matter how nice that cape is. I don't want to recap on someone's gift. But it is interesting in that, so the cord, because it was not seen, was it more valuable? What I have a problem with was the foreigner thinking they seen everything. They did not gain access to the burial caves. No one at that time was taken to the burial caves where the most prized things were. We don't know what's there and it's not our place to know what's there. But also, if the cord belonged to the chief, they are an extension of his' iewe.¹¹⁹ Unlike the capes, the cord for some reason at the heiau, they didn't have a hale' a 'ahu¹²⁰ or hale 'ahu 'ula, but they did have a hale 'aha. And the chief had the māki'ilohelohe and the hula 'aha, the 'aha hulahula, we have these ceremonies about the cord. So, the cord, although the feathers may have been a little bit more brilliant, the cord could have possibly been a little bit more sacred and, therefore, not in a public domain.

Do you think that kōkō pu'upu'u, was common knowledge to maka'āinana, as Stokes suggests?

In hula, for instance, certain hula families only allow access if you're a blood relative; and even then, not everyone is given access. The historical narrative, the oratory of that family was not entrusted to everyone by default of being blood relative, it was given to particular ones that they called the punahele.¹²¹ Given that, and using that as a foundation, I do know that kōkō pu'upu'u culture may have belonged, I'm actually quite confident, belonged to a trained few; especially because they were associated with the ali'i. And you know with the ali'i, they didn't have slaves to carry their luggage, they were all relatives! You had to be born into that line, so that those who carried the food or clothing, carried the values of the family, of the ali'i. So, the 'ā'ī pu'upu'u,¹²² those callused necked people, were a line of ali'i. You couldn't qualify,

¹¹⁷ Highest ranking wife of Kamehameha I.

¹¹⁸ Feather cloak or cape.

¹¹⁹ Umbilical cord and metaphorical connection to ancestors and descendants.

¹²⁰ Clothing in general, garment; house for clothing.

¹²¹ The favorite, or chosen one, who was entrusted with certain knowledge or tradition.

¹²² Steward, butler; lit. callused collar; the chief's steward is said to carry this named because of calluses (pu'upu'u) caused by the 'auamo (carrying yoke), that was balanced on the shoulders.

you had to be born into that station and those calluses, because you carried, those calluses became the trophy of service to the chiefs. So, to answer that question, I believe it was not in the general public's knowledge. In fact, commoners couldn't even touch it. You couldn't touch anything that were ali'i. You could die, because depending on the rank of anything, if the ali'i had that shadow kapu, everything that was possessed by that ali'i had that kapu also. I do know that some of those kōkō pu'upu'u, in relationship to the rank of the ali'i, they were as kapu as the physical. They were an extension of the ali'i himself or herself. So, I don't believe that it was in the general public.

I see the reason is, he (Stokes) comes from a world where things are myopic, either this or that. We see, and I learned that from the hula world, that when we build the ku'ahu, we become the ku'ahu. So, that ku'ahu needs to be clean, and the ku'ahu can't be clean unless you're clean. When we make imu, you have that uncle that when he makes imu, that food comes out perfect. Because at that point, he himself becomes perfect. Perfection can only give birth to perfection. A pu'upu'u can give birth to a kōkō pu'upu'u, so I do believe that the person that carried it was the person that made it.

Do you believe that there's a relationship between kōkō and other secular or sacred aspects of Hawaiian knowledge and Hawaiian culture?

I do know, one – my students, or even the people, the few people that come in and work with me on cord work, if they're pregnant, I discourage them based on the grounds that we don't let pregnant women make cord or lei or wear a closed lei.¹²³ So, I extend that to the kōkō pu'upu'u. With other cord applications, that's what guides the females that are pregnant and working with that. Now did only men make kōkō pu'upu'u? I don't know maybe a hundred years ago, two hundred years ago? But right now, even women have to make imu,¹²⁴ and men have to make kapa.¹²⁵ I don't have no problem, I don't "genderize." I do know that traditionally, when a woman took on a male task, and this is what I learned from the Maori, they have to whakatāne. They have to ho'okāne; they have to trigger their male energy to perform this task. So, it's not gender, it's energy, and sometimes the men have to ho'owahine. They have to become feminine to understand the role of kapa. Where did I learn this from? In

¹²³ It is believed that working with cord or wearing a closed lei while pregnant can cause unborn child to become entangled.

¹²⁴ Underground oven where men traditionally cooked food.

¹²⁵ The making of barkcloth, was traditionally reserved for women.

hula. We don't come from a school where there is a strong division, where men have to look like this, and women have to look like that. When we are dancing hula, you look like what the chant tells you to look like. If the chant is about an old lady, then you become that old lady, and you better sound like an old lady.

I don't want the kids to learn this as a craft like you can go to Ben Franklin¹²⁶ and learn it. Then that's like picking up a video and learning hula. Then what's the need for the human transmission of knowledge? Because it's not just about the mechanics, it's never just about the mechanics, it's about the relationship. Keeping the sinew going from one generation to the next, and adjusting the tension of the sinew. How you lash one canoe is not how you lash another canoe. They hit the waves differently.

If all I did was teach hula, I wouldn't have this room.¹²⁷ We use hula, and the cord, as a medium to look at Indigenous wellbeing for the community and you. And this cord place extends that, even if I didn't inherit the kapu that came with it. I use what I already know, I transfer it to the kōkō pu'upu'u. So, a lot of my hula culture is now transferred to the kōkō pu'upu'u. One: you don't step over the cord because we don't step over anything. Two: if you're frustrated, you don't just leave the cord tangled, because you're going to get psychologically nuts.

We learn that in hula. You never touch other people's things unless they invite you. So those are the basics, and you know our kids, our Hawaiian kids are not getting this at home. Now they have to come to college, and we have to teach each other's children. So, it would have been, I maximize that through the cord, because not all students are hula geared, but the same processes. Whether it's cord, hula, hei,¹²⁸ or food manufacturing, it's about the human connection. You have to be clean. Even psychologically. You should not be preparing food if you're angry, because you're gonna cause people to get sick.

Have there been any personal insights about tradition or Hawaiian knowledge?

When I first put on "The Audacity," and I danced in it, it was at that point I realized that there was some destiny playing in this. Now I do know I descend from a Tangarō line, a Tangaroa

¹²⁶ Common store known for selling crafting supplies.

¹²⁷ Referring to his beautifully renovated office and teaching space, on the campus of Hawai'i Community College, Hilo, Hawai'i Island.

¹²⁸ String figure, cant's cradle, lit. net, snare, to ensnare, entangle.

line of priests. And the cord is associated with Kanaloa, it's really a negative and when I say it's a negative action, it's not to be taken in the Western world, you know where we have to have positive and negative. Working with cord, you're dealing with the Kanaloa. You're dealing with the life cycle, and often times this cord, in many myths around the world that is, you hold onto the cord and go into the deep cave. You let go of that cord, you're never coming out. It has its archetypal images and supports elsewhere, but when I wore that cord, it was then that I realized I was truly a Tangarō, given that I only inherited so many clues. But I began to relax to the fact that I will never, it's not my place to know everything. Hold onto the pewa¹²⁹ of that manini. It's when I put that cord on...and then my world got to see me in it.

Do you feel that kōkō pu'upu'u reflects a traditional Hawaiian philosophy of knowledge or epistemology?

In my world, it does. If kōkō pu'upu'u is just taught as a craft like we do feather lei and kāhili,¹³⁰ then all it is, is a Ben Franklin craft, it's just a knot. The tangible piece to me is not important; it's the process. The process is what makes it Hawaiian, and I can mirror that in our Hawaiian Studies courses. The teachers that just teach from the book, they don't throw their personal story in, they don't tell stories about their families. It's just, "Emerson said this, memorize it! Pūku'i said this, memorize it!" Vocabulary and phrases and terms. The students become very frustrated. I've been in academia for 20 years, they join other degrees. They're looking for the human quality, and sometimes they find it in the haoles. Not all Hawaiians want to be in Hawaiian Studies. What the students are looking for is the human connection. That's what we teach here. We use the cord to validate and to clarify and strengthen the human connection, not in the human timeline but in the human cycle. That's what makes it sacred. Other than that, it's just a piece of cord.

In terms of teaching and perpetuation, how do you think that kōkō pu'upu'u practitioners should approach this?

We're careful who we teach. Keali'i didn't want to teach just anyone kōkō pu'upu'u, I had to sort of say, "Keali'i we could die, and what of all this work?" and I just sort of pressured him. This is where we have to understand that kōkō pu'upu'u has come outside of the realm of ali'i. It's like some of the hula pahu, that were reserved for heiau tradition, but once the ali'i closed

¹²⁹ Another term for the tail of a fish.

¹³⁰ Feather standard that was a traditional symbol reserved for ali'i, but common in crafting workshops today.

that heiau system, that pahu didn't die, it was lomilomi 'ia.¹³¹ It allowed the hālau could pick it up. I believe we're following the same pattern. Do we know everything about 'Au'a'ia, the dance of human sacrifice? No! We will never know everything about it, but do we stop doing it? No. We do it because what we've done is given it new meaning, and as the language becomes more normalized, then so do those chants. We don't get rid of the artifact because we can't understand it. Keep it, because one day that kupuna and the knowledge that is in it, is just waiting for the right person to wake up to it. It's sleeping; we just gotta wake it up.

Which says that Hawaiians were very selective with what they shared. They didn't give everything; they gave something because it's our culture to give, but they didn't necessarily give the whole Genesis through Revelation of it all. Because even when people want to learn certain things, let's say they want to learn the cord, you give them the simple cords to do. Because psychologically, they may not be ready, or if they want to learn hula, we test them with the simpler stuff first to see their maturity. We don't just cast the pearls.

Some students come and say: "I want to learn." (in reply) "Oh? Try macramé." It's not about sitting two hours with me learning the knots, there's a whole process that comes with this. This cord-work has to make you a better person. I didn't learn it that way from Keali'i. He taught me the mechanics. But he didn't have to teach me that, you see, I think that's one of the reasons he taught me cord, was because I was able to transfer everything I knew into the cord. The cord wouldn't be practiced outside my cultural base.

How do you feel about the commercialization of kōkō pu'upu'u?

I think it makes them happy. Sometimes I see myself as entering into that world, but I'm not an entrepreneur, and personally, I cannot make for a market. When I have to make, I wanna make it when I wanna make it. I'm not like Sig Zane,¹³² you know, because they're designed, certain cultures are designed. People think it's racist, but certain cultures are designed to put out their industry, they live for that, that's what drives them. So, I'm not that. Kōkō pu'upu'u is meditative for me, it puts me in a state, and if I have to make it because I have to make it, then I'm not gonna want to make it. It's the same for hula competition. Just because I don't enter a competition, that doesn't mean I'm against it. I'm actually in support of competition, I'm just

¹³¹ To rub, press, squeeze, knead, massage, or to mix or reshape with hands or fingers.

¹³² Contemporary fashion designer who draws from Hawaiian culture and elements of nature for inspiration. He is also the husband of Nalani Kanaka'ole, previously mentioned.

too lazy to commit to competition and their standards. I have my own standards. I do think it needs to be commercialized, but that's just, I think, how it enters the world. It should be through multiple realms. One of them is through the commercial. Some people will never make it. They just wanna buy it, that's fine. If people are skilled and make kōkō pu'upu'u, then let that be their main job. Why go work for Uncle Sam? And I always say: "Why are you gonna go work for the person that you can't stand? Then, the work that you love, there is no time left to do it. Switch it!"

So, I really do think if people can make it, like Hawaiian music, we sell Hawaiian music worldwide. We contribute that to the world, we contribute hula to the world. We have to contribute something, so let kōkō pu'upu'u be one thing we contribute. But it's not going to be everybody's kuleana to see the sacred, it's going to be only a handful. Like hula today, most people dance hula and do it for the secular, the very topical experience, and there's a handful of people that know it for its ritual content. But you know, when we look at Hawaiian families, many of them know how to help with the imu, you always gotta have one person that knows how to do the imu. Not everybody needs to know everything. You need the community because some person will know this chant, and some people will know this knot, and some people will know this how to plant this, and they have secrets about planting that. We need a lot of people. I have no problem with selling stuff, I can't see myself in the market though.

How do you feel about innovation and practitioners evolving the art over time? Should we try new things or stick to tradition?

How do you think I'm gonna answer that question?

Oh, I'm pretty sure I already know.

Both. I think we cannot lose if...how many knots do we have in the collection?¹³³ I think if we look at those unique knots, and we know them as "kūpuna." If let's say, we have twenty kūpuna knots, that twenty kūpuna knots should be what we call the "legacy knots." They are the knots that we should learn. We should be able to duplicate those before we jump into innovations. It's like hula, and I'm using hula as the model, as the template, because before we're taught choreography, we have to spend many years dancing the old dances that we inherit; and in the

¹³³ The B. P. Bishop Museum collection contains several examples of kōkō pu'upu'u which contain increasingly complex unique knot variations; all of which utilize the pu'upu'u knot as a foundation.

dancing, we learn how to choreograph. I think, if all we did was, go to hula and start choreographing, you wouldn't have hula. You would just have modern dance. That's my take, and this generation immediately wants to go to that knot.¹³⁴ That was the last knot I learned. I knew I was gonna learn it eventually; I just didn't know when. Good thing I was busy enough trying to memorize how to do pretty knots, and nice knots, and make knots like Keali'i, which I still can't. Maybe when you put together an 'aha,¹³⁵ that can be one of those things; let's identify the traditional knots. Why don't we create a basic curriculum? What I don't want to create is the sole provider-ship. We're not monotheistic. Let's get away – that's dangerous when you have a sole provider, that's not good, you gotta have multiple providers. We need to get together, and we gotta agree, very loosely, on what are some of the knots, and let's create a process, let's have a dialogue. We don't have to agree to the process, let's agree to have something so that we can advance Kana¹³⁶ systematically. We're famous for not getting all our ducks in a row, but as soon as one of the kids does something, we're like you know, "who's your teacher?" We like to knock them down, but the fact is, we could've done something to better that. So, instead of pulling the crabs down, why don't we help support each other up?¹³⁷ I think that's one of the things, we should get together, even if just to conceptualize an Oceanic cord gathering, an 'aha. It's interesting they call all of our ceremonies, 'aha.

In fact, the 'aha that is associated with the 'aha niu, which is what 'aha is, it's niu cord, the coconut had to do with migrations. The earlier kinolau of coconut was not Kū; it was Kanaloa, from the ocean. It had to do with the nodes, the bamboo, the mai'a. All of those had to do with Kanaloa, the piko, the octopus. It had to do with levels of consciousness, and then later on, when the Kū and Lono came in, then they assumed some of the older kinolau. The kinolau that were Kāne, Kanaloa were reassumed under it. But the coconut had to do with Kanaloa, it had to do with a deep unconscious. So, when you entered into an 'aha, it just wasn't about the second deities you had to enter to the full cycle so, let's enter into the full cycle and see in the 21st century and see. Grab a few people together and see, I think we have enough people to create an 'aha. But also, it's a time when we need to learn from each other, and if anything, we can learn from the Hawaiian studies in language revitalization. What are the values? And

¹³⁴ Taupōuri is referring to a specific pu'upu'u knot, considered the most complex and technically difficult to tie.

¹³⁵ Meeting, assembly, gathering, or conference.

¹³⁶ The kupua (deity) of cordage and metaphorical reference used for cord work.

¹³⁷ Common Hawaiian metaphore, when several crabs are put into a bucket, they will sabotage eachother by pulling others down and utimately preventing any from escaping.

let's systematically begin to put things in place, so we can move, especially because the cord is not just about the cord.

Have you been to the Marshall Islands? Have you heard about their weaving university? The Bishop Museum was the holder of the finest specimens of Marshall Island weaving, which they had stopped making. But it was distinct, and so they came to Bishop Museum for help because all they had was one woman, whose grandmother wove and she had the rudimentary knowledge but, it was nothing like what the epitome of it. So, they pulled together, with the support of Germany and some other foreign countries, they created a weaving university. Well, it was twenty years ago, and what had happened was they were able to recover. Now they can weave very much like the specimens they have at the Museum. What they found out was, as they revived the weaving, they actually associated and embedded in the weaving, unconscious to the modern people, was the support of the psychological systems. What started with just the women, they were able to create support groups for domestic violence and other social inequities. Through their weaving, they were sorting out their woes, and they were remembering procedures and medicines. Like: "oh, my baby is sick." "Oh, my grandmother used to do this." All through the weaving, they talk about sleeping memories, it all came back. Now, the men are there, and everybody's remembering through the weaving. When weaving was removed, all the attachments were removed with it. When they recovered the weaving, all of it came back. It makes me think, if we stop weaving, what else are we stopping? If we stop doing cord work, what else are we stopping? Or if we do the converse, if we bring back the cord, what else is going to come? And now we need the olonā, we need the mythologies. Not just memorizing the myth – what does it mean? The myth is always instruction, your spiritual instructions. So, what does it mean? It's not enough to know the myth; I can recite the myth. Who cares if you can recite it I can read it. I'm interested to see what else is going to be reborn because we picked up the cord and the kōkō pu'upu'u is coming alive again. What else was sleeping and is going to come out of the dormancy and become active?

How do you see kōkō pu'upu'u growing into the future?

I think if they want to relook at the entire culture of kōkō pu'upu'u, the discussion has to begin with the cord makers. We need to include the cord makers because, if no cord makers, no kōkō pu'upu'u. To get their twenty-first-century Indigenous take of what it is to make cord these days. It's a whole shift. It's like hula people, we need to invest in the carvers cause not all schools are designed for carving, the 'ulī'ulī the implement makers, and the chanters. For kōkō

pu‘upu‘u to survive, we have to begin to look at olonā, because we haven’t done olonā. Who’s doing olonā, and how can we invest in olonā and wauke? Who are our cord makers? So, there’s this other person named Mark Kupono. He is doing these knots and working with hau cord that he is making.

I think kōkō pu‘upu‘u, the knot, the culture of knotting is not onto itself it never existed onto itself. We need to have the calabash growers. We need to know the people that have the skills. We put a lot of effort into the individual, but the arts are about community, and I think we need to grow the community. Like the hula person in the old days, we never have to make our lei our kapa. The hula person just had to dance, the families made it. But at one point, the family got real jobs, so now the hula person had to learn how to make kapa make lei, and that became the standard, so the standard shifted from a community to the individual. I do believe that now the standard for kōkō pu‘upu‘u is on the individual, but for it to be truly a living culture, we have to grow a community.

Like I say, we don’t know exactly what ‘Au‘a‘ia had to do with human sacrifices; we don’t do human sacrifice anymore, but we still dance the dance. Because now we look at a different kind of human sacrifice, the sacrifice we do for our nation. Going through the academic process is a huge sacrifice to advance our nation. That’s a human sacrifice, and so we’re just redefining what the sacrifice is. I think that’s what we need to do. The knot doesn’t have to die because the system has passed. And who knows, the system might come up back again. We really don’t know, but maybe the ali‘i are changing in the duties to the family? It’s not the nobility, but really those in your family and community.

And so, I think the academic part, if you can position your academic process to help build plural vision, because it is the way Indigenous (people) are designed. When we say, we have 40,000 gods, we have a makawalu perspective. It even allows us to say “thank you” to the haole man, or the Filipino lady or whomever. Because, if it’s only on the hands of the Hawaiian, the chances are, a lot of things are going pass, because of the way we are designed. We’re not designed to always ask questions. We let the foreigner ask the questions.

Dr. Taupōuri Tangarō: Interviewed in Hilo, Hawai‘i Island.

Growing up in Kalihi Valley, O‘ahu, before moving with his family to Hilo, Hawai‘i Island at the age of eleven, Taupōuri’s embrace of the Hawaiian culture is evident in his passion for Hula and ‘ike Hawai‘i. An honored Kumu hula, chanter, and dancer, Taupōuri also earned his Ph.D. from Union Institute and University in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 2004. He is currently the director for UNUKUPUKUPU, a Hula Studies program at Hawai‘i Community College in Hilo.

Narrative of Kalapana Kollars

Ke uwē nei ka ‘ōhi‘a o Kealakona.

#1784

The ‘ōhi‘a wood of Kealakona weeps [for you].

Uttered as a taunt by Mahihelelima, powerful warrior of Maui, when he sent his slingshots toward the warriors of Hawai‘i under Pi‘imaiwa‘a. (Pukui, 1983, p. 192)

Kalapana Kuhio Kollars, I’m 41 years old. A resident of Lāhainā, grew up in west O’ahu the kupa¹³⁸ of Honouliuli, in the district of ‘Ewa. I’m the youngest of seven, and I am a Taurus, I like long walks on the beach and meaningful conversations. I’m grateful, but seriously, I’m grateful to be here today, and I hope to be of kōkua¹³⁹ just to help your project along and to help this project as a whole.

How did you come to learn kōkō pu‘upu‘u?

About two years ago, an email was sent around to different places, including our pā,¹⁴⁰ and ‘Aha Kāne was looking for people who had certain skill sets. The prerequisites were, you either part of a hālau or a lua pā, so that you understand structure; that you at least understand conversational ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i or are willing to take an immersion course; and also have a propensity for knotting and some sort of hana no‘eau, some kind of craft. When I read those prerequisites, I thought that I would be a fit, and I’m really glad that it worked out. I was accepted, along with several other haumana,¹⁴¹ to learn the craft of kōkō pu‘upu‘u and the other types of kōkō from Kumu Keali‘i Reichel.

Can you describe your approach to learning and background in learning other hana no‘eau?

It’s been amazing. The main rule to follow is when you’re under the teaching of a kumu, then you live in their world, how they tell you to do it, is how they tell you to do it! That was the main construct with which I entered into this internship. Just do what he says and do it to the best of your ability. You need to trust that your kumu isn’t going to just ask you to do something that they know you’ll fail at; unless there’s some sort of learning lesson.

¹³⁸ Native; well-aquainted.

¹³⁹ Help, aid, assistance.

¹⁴⁰ A school or group that trains in Lua, Hawaiian fighting arts.

¹⁴¹ Student, pupil, apprentice.

As for other hana no 'eau, I've been involved in a myriad of different things. Primarily, I am a musician and entertainer, which means contact with Hawaiian music and the stories that go along with them. Also, as an entertainer, I can perform hula, and I've become familiar with the art of hula as well, and other forms of dance. As my professional career developed, I became a full-time musician and had to learn how to play the 'ohe hanu ihu,¹⁴² after one of our band members passed away. In filling that spot, I wanted to understand the instrument better, so I got into contact with the wahine that he shared how to make 'ohe hanu ihu. That's when I started making flutes, which I have probably made about 350. Now, anybody can cut a piece of 'ohe and put puka¹⁴³ inside, but to know the way to make it match to the modern-day scale on purpose? That's the key advancement that my predecessor Anthony Natividad had figured out. So, I can hold onto that.

As for cord work, in our lua pā, our 'ōlohe¹⁴⁴ wanted to show us how to make ma'a.¹⁴⁵ Being that we are koa¹⁴⁶ that live on the island of Maui, he wanted us to be skilled in ma'a, since Maui is famous and very storied for the use of the ma'a. One thing is for sure though, he was not gonna let us go to the hardware store and purchase string to do this, so, the first thing he showed us was how to strip the bark from the hau tree, how to process it and make cordage. So, even before making the ma'a, we had to know how to make cordage, then to learning different types of braids in different lengths and eventually finishing by making the ma'a. The assignment was quite an undertaking, and I've now completed five ma'a, and of those five, I've repaired two of them twice. So, there's also learning in the fixing. But on average, my ma'a have been able to throw about six or seven hundred times, so I think that's pretty good that you get many uses. Like most things for me, through repetition, I have been able to become better at it—ma ka hana ka 'ike.¹⁴⁷ But I've just barely scratched the surface so far.

¹⁴² Hawaiian nose flute.

¹⁴³ Holes, referring to drilled finger or tone holes used to change the pitch of the sound produced.

¹⁴⁴ Expert and teacher in any art.

¹⁴⁵ Sling made with fiber cord, use for hurling stones in battle.

¹⁴⁶ Warriors from Maui were regarded as expert sling-shooters with great power and accuracy.

¹⁴⁷ In the work, one learns ('Ōlelo No'eau #2088).

In the early 1900s, John Stokes remarks that since Cook did not describe or collect any kōkō pu‘upu‘u, implying that English sailors might have introduced the pu‘upu‘u knot to Kānaka.

I think my pride wants to say that we figured everything out by ourselves, but I do believe kōkō pu‘upu‘u existed before 1778. Things needed to be carried, and when it was very precious cargo, what if it is food for a pi‘o ali‘i?¹⁴⁸ What if it is clothing that came off of Keōpūolani’s body? That’s not just something you can just throw in a Safeway bag. Plus, these are not the kinds of things you just show! Even if that somebody came across the horizon on a boat that Hawaiians had never seen before.

It’s unfortunate to say, but it was par for the course of his (Stokes) time. Shortly after the reported overthrow and the ensuing territorial days, the concerted effort to downplay the accomplishments of our kūpuna. And then to have that taught back to us, telling us: “that stuff is useless and the things your kūpuna used to do was backward. Now you can pledge allegiance, and pay taxes, and be American!” But yeah, I view that kind of comment as what would normally be regarded, at least publically in talking about Hawaiian crafts, Hawaiian language, Hawaiian culture. I would imagine in private, that looking at a piece in a museum or talking amongst the contemporaries who understood this craft, they would say: “Damn! This is some pretty cool stuff!” I also imagine there must have been the people he didn’t talk to. Not to mention the possibility that some knew about knots but said, “I don’t know anything about that. We don’t do that anymore.”

Do you think the authenticity of cultural knowledge needs to come from a living source?

That’s a good question. I would say no. There does stand the possibility of mo‘olelo being lost with the passing of a kumu, and then the haumana is only left with the physical work but without the ‘ike that goes along with it. There is a possibility of that, but the fact that the work still survives; even in the making of wa‘a, you could make the case that traditional wa‘a making ceased, but has been reinvigorated. I don’t think that craft has diminished or is any less authentic, so likewise for kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

Maybe it’s unrelated, but I recently found out my grandpa used to make ‘upena. We went to O‘ahu last month for my grandma’s 90th birthday, and my aunties were asking about so how

¹⁴⁸ Presumably the highest ali‘i rank possible.

my kōkō pu‘upu‘u project was going, and my aunty was like, “I don’t know if you remember, but in the garage, grandpa used to have all of his nets. He used to make nets and stuff.” I remember that too! But they were saying that he even made his own hi‘a¹⁴⁹ out of ‘ohe and all different kinds of stuff. Also, my grandpa was extremely artistically gifted as a musician, as a painter, as a netter, he could also carve, he could do anything. He could do anything that deals with craft, and he could do it excellently. When he passed away, some of his instruments were given amongst the ‘ohana, and so my nephew got his electric bass that he used to gig with, we would call them the Monday night band. He and his friends would hang on Monday nights and just jam. And my nephew got it, and he felt really uncomfortable having it, he said; “uncle, I think you should hold onto this.” I didn’t realize it until recently, that on top of the head is this super cool braided piece. When I think about it, he braided his own holder for the top strap, and I thought that was another indication of his knotting propensity. If that’s for me genetically, if I just retained a percentage of the skill that he had, then I’m super grateful for that.

His main job was he repaired instruments and whenever something broke on my guitar, I’d take it to him. He could repair any instrument, but for me, it was my guitar; I’m primarily a guitar player. My guitar is like 25 years old, and my binding, on the edge of the guitar, over time, just got old, and my grandpa had passed by then. So, I had to figure out how to fix it, and I remember getting ready to make that repair, and I was like, “okay, I think I can do this, but grandpa guide me and let me know when to say when.” Because when you’re doing that, repairing guitars, and to me, it’s the same with kōkō pu‘upu‘u, it’s easy to go too far. You have to know when is when. You have to know when to stop. Otherwise, you’ll end up in the dictionary next to “bum job” (laughs). But I do remember in that instance, I just closed my eyes and said, “grandpa, guide my hands...” and it worked out fine. My binding is all good. So hopefully I won’t have to do it again.

There is value in seeing something that is made really well and figuring out how to do it, and there is also value if you’re able to either talk to the person who made it. At least there’s just one more link in the chain. It’s clearer and far easier to talk to someone, than say, looking at something that looks awesome and thinking I want to try to do that. Some people have done

¹⁴⁹ Netting shuttle or needle.

that. Do you know the carver, Keola Sequeira?¹⁵⁰ He made the masts for Hōkūle‘a,¹⁵¹ and he was into making canoes. He started the Hui o Wa‘a Kaulua.¹⁵² But when he got into carving and crafts, his desire was to carve on the level of our kupuna. But, how do you achieve that, since carvers like the ones who made Kū,¹⁵³ who’s in the Peabody Essex Museum or Bishop Museum, and their direct descendants are unknown? What he did was, he filmed himself while he was making the image of Kihawahine.¹⁵⁴ He just allowed himself, and perhaps some people are able to get to that point where you open up, and you say “grandpa take,” or I guess the modern-day song, “Jesus Take the Wheel.” You open yourself up to that channel, that avenue that’s there, but you have to be able to receive it and use it so to a certain extent. You need technical skill already, but when you have that kind of connection to the beyond, that’s what elevates your stuff.

It’s not just the skill. There’s the idea of what’s passed down from a kumu, but also what is passed down from our akua, kupua, and ‘aumākua.¹⁵⁵ Your connection to them will speak in the work that you make. You can see it because some people or, a person might be really good at knots, then when you see Keali‘i’s work, I don’t know, there’s something. You can do the same thing, but it’s just not the same. It’s like, I like to make beef stew, so I asked my grandma how to make beef stew, and I did the same stuff she does, and it just turns out differently. She’s done it so many more times adds more connection, more mana and likely, it’s her pot she got when they got married. But even if someone were to steal that, they might get a certain amount of success. Still, without that ‘ike from the kupuna, that multi-generational, even cellular level knowledge the holder possesses, you will not have the same amount of success.

But you believe that a practice like kōkō pu‘upu‘u should be perpetuated?

For sure, yes. When Anthony Natividad passed, there was only one person he showed. That wahine was the only person that possessed the knowledge that he had gained through over the 25 years that he made ‘ohe hanu ihu. The technological advancements that he made, he shared

¹⁵⁰ LeVan Keola Sequeira is recognized as a master carver and canoe builder, who has built his own and assisted with the construction of several sailing canoes. He resides at Lāhainā, Maui.

¹⁵¹ Voyaging canoe credited with launching the Hawaiian cultural renaissance of the 1970s.

¹⁵² Assembly of the Double-Hull Canoe; Voyaging Society of Maui, founded in 1975.

¹⁵³ Early 19th Century ki‘i of Hawaiian god Kū, standing 199.4 cm tall, carved from breadfruit.

¹⁵⁴ Replica of ki‘i discovered in 1885 representing the deity known as Mo‘o Akua Kihawahine.

¹⁵⁵ Gods, deities, and spiritual ancestors.

that with her, and has she not shared it with me, she would be the only holder of it on earth. So really, my goal was to learn it really well so I can give it back to his family. His youngest is probably in her second year of college, so my thought was to allow them time to mourn their father's passing, and perhaps at some point, when they're interested, at the very least, I want to give it back to them. But then, I also need to share the knowledge within my 'ohana or someone else, just in case I get hit by a bus.

In terms of teaching and perpetuation, how do you think that kōkō pu'upu'u practitioners should approach this?

This is definitely not something you want to just show anybody. Sacred in the way that it's something to protect as far as the connection to kupuna and kupua. But it also has to be shared. It's a difficult position for this kind of hana.¹⁵⁶ For one thing, you don't want to just show anybody, and then it will just blend with the hippies making macramé covers for their bottles, bottle holders, and stuff like that. But you also don't want to hold on to it so tightly that it goes with you. Then it leaves when you leave.

At this point, my main kuleana in dealing with this hana no'eau is to become more familiar and more versed in making it and making its many different forms. Then perhaps someday I could be comfortable enough to pass it on. Making sure that it is clear in my mind's eye what I want to see my future haumāna be able to demonstrate. I want to have that clear in my mind first, or at least be close to knowing what kind of outcome I want to achieve in passing this hana no'eau or this 'ike.

Ma ka hana, ke ola, it lives in doing. If we were to let this one slip away, we'd be back to only Stokes' book. We want people who do this craft and to be able to name their teacher, and their teachers' teacher, and as far back as possible. The idea of mo'okū'auhau that lineage and connection is paramount.

I don't know if there are any aspects that should be considered hūnā,¹⁵⁷ but definitely, this shouldn't just be at a craft fair, and you pay \$20 and sit down and learn how to do this. I think Kumu Keali'i, it was very good of him to have particular prerequisites. He wasn't gonna sit

¹⁵⁶ Work.

¹⁵⁷ Secret or hidden.

down and show anybody everything, so in that way, *hūnā*, yes. But just on my level of understanding at this point.

What do you see as the role of *kōkō pu‘upu‘u* today?

I would hope to see that it at least provides, in some way, the function that the ali‘i does in traditional society. If it benefits the land or if it benefits the people and brings it to a better place, then I see it as fulfilling the role of ali‘i. So, like the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo craft fair, for Ho‘omau, I would not feel bad about donating a really well made one for the silent auction, because that generates money for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i students, for Pūnana Leo. I see that as a thing that makes our lāhui¹⁵⁸ better, and that’s probably the most core thing, the language, and the children. So yeah, I’ll probably be making one for Ho‘omau this year.

And how do you feel about the broader commercialization of *kōkō pu‘upu‘u*?

Well, so far, the ones that I have seen, and it’s not a lot, just images that you see on the internet, they’re not as nice as ours, as all of ours, us and our fellow haumāna. But still, people sell it for whatever, couple hundred bucks or whatever. I don’t know how I feel about that, because you could say that perhaps this person is making an income to support their ‘ohana. But how does the person who purchases, perhaps on Etsy, know that this is a really special craft? That it is more than just a bunch of cool knots, you know? Or is it a macramé? Which most people think it is anyway.

How do you feel about innovation and practitioners evolving the art over time? Should we try new things or stick to tradition?

Both we should do both. You figure, there was a time where people have presented hula without melodic instruments like guitar, piano, and stuff like that. There had to be a time where you hear, “So and so hālau, they’re trying this guitar? They’re accompanying their mele with the guitar. Kind of like how the missionaries sing; they’re doing hula like that.” There must have been a transition time, but at least there still exists the separation and its similarities. You can see even without the music, you can tell which is hula ‘auana¹⁵⁹ or hula kahiko,¹⁶⁰ but you still see the hula part in it. So, it is my hope that if we ever are to expand and improve, that we grow

¹⁵⁸ Nation.

¹⁵⁹ Contemporary hula, often accompanied by musical instruments.

¹⁶⁰ Traditional hula, often accompanied by percussive instruments of only chant.

and incorporate what is helpful for the life of this practice. While also holding onto the things that are the core value that brought us this far.

Maika'i, that's our last question, but if you have any other comments?

I don't know we can talk about it forever. I wasn't sure how this was going to go, but I'm very grateful for the thought that you've put into this, and even the thought that you put into the questions for this interview. Knowing that there could be a myriad of different responses, I appreciate your thoroughness. I definitely hope that I've been helpful, and should you need more interview, I'd be more than happy to do it again.

Kalapana Kuhio Kollars: Interviewed Kahului, Maui.

From the 'Ewa district on the leeward coast of O'ahu, the gifted musician, entertainer, and storyteller relocated to Lāhainā, Maui more than twenty years ago and has continued his passion to not only share his knowledge but continue to learn. A lifelong student of Hawaiian culture, Kalapana has long supported the historic preservation efforts of Friends of Moku'ula and is currently working with the Lahaina Restoration Foundation, whose purpose is to restore, preserve and protect the physical, historical and cultural legacies of Lāhainā.

Narrative of Kuiokalani Gapero

Ma ka hana ka ‘ike

#2088

In working one learns.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 227)

My name is Kuiokalani Gapero. I was born on the Island of Maui and am a graduate of the University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa, in Hawaiian language. After graduation, I was hired as a language teacher and have been teaching since 2010. Throughout my life, I’ve found myself surrounded by Hawaiian culture. Growing up, my dad¹⁶¹ was with the sailing canoes, where I got introduced to tying knots at a real early age, sailing, and whatnot.

From there, expanding my interest in all things Hawaiian, I got into hula in 2002. The rest is through Hawaiian language, reading a lot of stories, and that’s where things opened up my fascination. As I learn about things and expand my knowledge, I want to practice it. Which means, go outside and figuring it out by doing it—Ma ka hana ka ‘ike.

What is your background with kōkō pu‘upu‘u?

While teaching at Maui college, I received an email saying that there was a cohort or they were looking for people to join this cohort to become kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners. Since I want to learn, here’s the opportunity. I got accepted into the cohort, and I’ve been tying kōkō pu‘upu‘u for about two years.

The first time I ever experienced or touched a knotted pū‘alu or a kōkō was the net around my dad’s conch shell, his pū. It was tied with coconut sennit but was broken in several places. Since I didn’t know how to fix it, I just ended up taking it off. Now, here’s an opportunity for me to learn how to do a traditional knot, using traditional materials. I can actually go ahead and make another net for my dad’s conch shell. That concept of repairing things from the past is kind of what I was interested in.

It’s probably something I picked up from sitting on the sand, watching my dad and my uncles go out to lay nets. They were really good at repairing nets, tying nets, and knowing those knots. I just never really could understand the concept of it. Then, when coming to this, joining the

¹⁶¹ Timothy Kapua Gapero (1953-1960) was a retired Maui Police Department lieutenant, practitioner and active member of the Hawaiian community until his passing in 2013. He is also noted as one of the founding members of Maui’s Voyaging Society, Hui o Wa‘a Kaulua in 1975.

cohort, actually learning some of those techniques, knowing the different terms, the different styles, and the different uses for all these knots, it has opened up another door. I went in with some knowledge, my knowledge is kind of fair with Hawaiian culture, but at the end of the year, I realized that I don't know anything.

In the early 1900s, John Stokes remarks that the term *kōkō pu'upu'u* is derived from the calluses on the neck of the *'āī pu'upu'u* who carried the property of the *ali'i*. Given your language background, I'd like to get your opinion on this derivation?

*Well, sometimes, when you look at things, it doesn't really have an extravagant explanation. Simply, *pu'upu'u* means hilly or bumpy. When you look at the knots, that's what it is. It's lumped up together, and it's got this nice, hill shape; so, it could be as simple as that.*

*It wouldn't necessarily have to come from this *āī pu'upu'u*, and amazingly enough, there's that term *'ai pu'upu'u* which, in some societies, that is the money person, the tax collector. From what I've heard, during *makahiki* season, as the *ali'i* go around, knots were made to help count the payment for certain areas that they visited. For me, that's an amazing coincidence, if not a connection. I hate to try and pinpoint, like what Stokes tries to do, but look at the bigger picture and the possibilities. I just look at it and, "oh, it's a bumpy knot," and it's that simple, and it makes sense.*

*We also need to remember that practitioners of every island also had their own thing. With different understanding, different interpretations, and different terms or names for the same thing. *Pohole*¹⁶² is a perfect example. Here on Maui, we call it *pohole*, everybody else, *hō'i'o*. The listener would then understand that the speaker was using a Maui term. In looking at Stokes, he may only have that one perspective or other different interpretations got washed out.*

*Expanding your knowledge into many different possibilities, I think, that's Hawaiian! To understand the bigger picture, we need to consider the different possibilities, rather than just one explanation. I also keep in mind that Hawaiian terms are also relative to what you're doing. One example is the clove hitch, which is known by some on Kaua'i as *kupe'e pua'a*.¹⁶³*

¹⁶² A large native fern (*Diplazium [Anthrrium] arnottii*) commonly called "fiddle leaf fern," whose young fronds are eaten raw. Outside of Maui, this fern is named *hō'i'o*.

¹⁶³ Lit. manacled or handcuffed pig.

Their particular use of the clove hitch is to hog-tie. If we're not hog-tying, so do we still call it kupe'e pua'a? In looking at these terms as a group, I agree, we should collectively use the appropriate terms, but still understand that from a different aspect, it is probably called something different. It's amazing.

In addition to claiming that kōkō pu'upu'u knowledge is forgotten and useless, Stokes challenges the authenticity of cultural knowledge that does not come from a living source.

Well, obviously, it's continued; otherwise, we would not be here today. That one statement shows his arrogance or just ignorance. Did he really go out there and try to find people that understood these ropes and the knotters that were actually practicing? We have examples in our mele and in our mo'olelo, in what I call pre-contact literature. It wasn't a written word, but it is knowledge that has survived from before Westerners, before the foreigners came here. From the continuation and expansion of this practice since 1906, it's not a true statement. It's not forgotten! The usefulness is still there! Even though it may not, have been kōkō pu'upu'u 100% of the time, kōkō pū'alu, small carrying nets, that still is a practice and it still is something useful. "Forgotten and useless," for me, is just showing his ignorance.

Learning must come from a living source, I don't think so. That's just us, "ma ka hana ka 'ike." You learn how to swim, young days, my dad would just throw us in the pool. You're not learning it "from somebody," you're figuring it out. Our keiki¹⁶⁴ nowadays, my son, in particular, I don't teach him how to build things with Legos, he figures it out. He goes, and he practices, he figures it out. He takes it apart, sees it, and that in itself is learning. It's not any less authentic. Sure. You have that person at the end saying like, "Hey, good job," validating the accomplishment. By actually taking that knowledge and undoing it to learn something, you're practicing and finding your own technique; and that's where the beauty is. There could be a net hanging in a kupuna's house, and maybe that kupuna is unable to teach, but it's there to inspire curiosity. The knowledge is there, and it doesn't make it any less authentic.

Even if technique is different, one canoe builder will build a canoe a certain way and another, in their own way. While they might be different, the result is no less authentic. Hula again, for example, they say, "you can tell the art by the weaver." We know certain kumu hula, when they

¹⁶⁴ Children, child, youth.

see another style, they can identify it. They can follow the genealogy of other people's lines, and they understand the different contexts.

Stokes also alludes that since Cook does not describe no collect any kōkō pu'upu'u, English sailors might have introduced the pu'upu'u knot to Kānaka.

It's argumentative. At Cook's time, Cook was the last person to see Hawaii in its prime, and he didn't see everything. He didn't know everything. He didn't record everything. He didn't visit every place, and he didn't get to see all these things. I'm also sure that not everything was shared with him. This whole idea of the Natives looking at these knots and getting their ideas and applying it to the practice, okay? You can make that argument with Hawaiian music today. Is Hawaiian music today Hawaiian? Because it's not the same as when Cook came into Hawaii. We didn't have the stringed instruments, we didn't have all these things. Does it make it any less Hawaiian?

Do you believe that there was a relationship between the mechanics of tying up kōkō and other aspects of Hawaiian culture or Hawaiian knowledge?

Definitely, there is. What I mean is, looking across all these different references to knot tying, binding, and learning kōkō, I've come to understand that some of these knots, I can actually apply to other objects. Tying a hook, for example, I've actually used the wrapped knot to fasten a hook. It's amazing how applicable this knot is, and can be applied to other things. But it just doesn't look the same when it's used for another object. The difference, for the practitioner, is the ability to see and understand it deeper. Another person who doesn't do kōkō pu'upu'u could probably tie the same knot, but not realize the more profound relationships. As a practitioner, the idea of being privy to that knowledge or those techniques, carries responsibility, kuleana, and whether or not, the choice to confer, pass it on to somebody else could be completely reserved as well.

Speaking of teaching and perpetuation, how do you think that kōkō pu'upu'u practitioners should approach this?

I'm always down to teach, but sometimes when you teach you, you realize that this, maybe your student isn't ready to learn this knowledge, and then there are other things that they might be a better fit for them. Not necessarily hūnā, in that sense, but, you're not going to just teach somebody kōkō pu'upu'u if they don't really understand it. Then the result is just not good. I

often tell my students, “do it right, and do it once.” When you’re ready to do it, that’s where all the practice comes in. When you begin your craft, you take your time, you practice, you do your things, and then your end results should be something you’re proud of.

I’d also hate to try to put something together and teach it in a, I hate to say, “half-assed way,” where the results aren’t good. There is kuleana to perpetuation. Looking at the importance of carrying on this tradition of kōkō pu‘upu‘u, it’s not about getting teaching numbers of people in a short amount of time. With the teaching, we have to understand that this knot, this style of net, wasn’t for everybody. Not everybody did it, but we can teach the pū‘alu, because essentially all our kids should be learning that anyway. Feeling the student out, and seeing what they’re capable of is an important aspect of perpetuation.

To be sure, like I said earlier, when kūpuna do their teaching, they often would say, “maybe you’re not ready to learn that yet.” In these smaller steps of learning how to tie the knots and learning how to do these things, kind of gradually getting experience doing it, over time, then, you move on and say, “let me try this,” and it starts the creativity. And when you do it, then you have that affirmation that now you’re ready to learn the next step.

To really separate the significance of the kōkō pu‘upu‘u, those that would be for the ali‘i, and not for everybody, I think putting in that ritual and protocol mindset helps elevate that status, and further solidify the intent and that purpose. It is for a specific reason, whereas the pū‘alu, people could just make right on the fly and use it. It might not necessarily need a particular ritual or ceremony for that reason. Still, by inserting the ritual and protocols for this kōkō pu‘upu‘u, it helps to separate the levels of sanctity.

I can’t pick up an object anytime to work on it. I have to be in a really calm state, a really good, positive attitude to do something. So, when I’m feeling the right space, I’ll roll out my mat, I’ll sit down and start knotting. As soon as I feel irritated or anything else, I’ll stop and put it away. As in other things, I don’t want any of that bad juju in my objects. When making poi, and what just comes from family practice or culture, Hawaiian tradition when you’re making food, you don’t want any of that bad stuff to go in there, especially if anybody else is going to eat it. The poi bowl at the table, if any bad language, you cover the poi bowl immediately, because those words can stick.

Generally, I try to hold on to positive thoughts more than anything. Like in other practices, like planting bananas is one, “Oh, this banana is so heavy...” in order to influence the growth of that banana¹⁶⁵. There may be a time and place, and depending on the purpose, there might be a specific reason to include more protocol, but the main thing for me is to start doing, and actually do it from a positive mind space.

Do you think that understanding kōkō pu‘upu‘u is relevant to Hawai‘i or Kānaka today?

I think so, especially today, where we continuously practice the art of gift-giving, presenting gifts to certain people in certain circumstances. For me, the kōkō pu‘upu‘u is, by far, the number one gift that I could give, signifying its importance for ali‘i, and for these things. Not everybody has it, or it wasn’t for everybody. For higher rank or people that we hold in esteem, we make this pu‘upu‘u for, because they have a certain kuleana that we hold up high. Today, in contemporary Hawai‘i, we can start bringing back the identification of the importance of these people in our lives, as well as the importance of this aspect of the culture.

These objects might also help people be comfortable in using traditional items, using traditional implements to fulfill their necessities today. At my last job, I spent a lot of time making nets, and this old tūtū¹⁶⁶ lady would come to the pool, and she’d see me and say, “Eh, I like you make me one cause, I like, I like dat.” Feeling that gratitude, for this kupuna, I could make something for her, and she would use it. And she would feel good that it is something Hawaiian that she would use, and I would feel good that it is being used, not just sitting on a shelf looking pretty. To appropriately utilize this tradition for this purpose, it has to continue in some way. By gifting it to a person that we hold in esteem, continues that practice of recognizing and elevating people of significance.

And what are your feeling on the commercialization of kōkō pu‘upu‘u?

It doesn’t settle well with me, because it’s not for everybody. I have donated for fundraising, I’ve donated smaller nets, nothing extravagant, just straightforward, basic patterns for small little ipu. I feel comfortable with that because it’s going to a good cause, and I’m not making money off of it. I’m essentially gifting it to an organization, and they’re doing what they want to do with it. I feel okay with it because I know that, that net is for that specific purpose. It was

¹⁶⁵ This practice is also discussed in the first chapter of the literature review, under ‘ipu (gourds).

¹⁶⁶ Grandmother.

easy to make, nothing extravagant, not a lot of mana, because I wasn't making it for one particular person. With the mindset of not importing that knowledge, or importing that leo,¹⁶⁷ it was just going to be a gift. I'm gifting it for that purpose, knowing that it's going somewhere else, and I don't know who it's going to go to.

How do you feel about innovation and practitioners evolving the art over time? Should we try new things or stick to tradition?

I think modern materials have definitely affected the craft over time. Looking at the materials that were used to make these nets, in the days of traditional fibers. We really don't have access to them today, so we turn to and use modern materials. But there is also an understanding that working with the traditional materials, fibers, there's an absolute respect that goes along with it.

The modern materials have already affected the craft, in the sense that we can just whip out a net in no time, without the worry that this material is going to break. Looking at the creativity, I encourage it, but we still have to know the roots of it. Going back to hula, everybody has their kahiko set. Everybody knows a traditional hula that was passed down from kumu to kumu over the years. That is a must know, for any 'ōlapa,¹⁶⁸ for any hālau, before they go into creating the mele and creating their interpretation of the dance. This is fine because everybody knows where they came from and their roots for their hālau. The foundation for this, are the pieces in the Bishop Museum, and the kōkō pu'upu'u that still exist today. Knowing how to recreate those pieces, I think, is essential. We can definitely expand, knowing full well that we'll come to that argument again; when does it stop being Hawaiian? Like music, how far do we take it before it can no longer be classified as Hawaiian music? It's a meaningful conversation in years to come, but today we're just trying to keep the practice going. We're getting to that creativity part but still need to focus on our foundations. Because, you know, learning how to manipulate cordage into something beautiful, it's kind of an endless journey. So, to fully call myself a kōkō pu'upu'u practitioner, I have to expand my knowledge.

Kuiokalani Gapero: Interviewed Kahului, Maui.

Born and raised on Maui, Kui has followed his father's path by embracing all things Hawaiian. A gifted musician and entertainer, he is also an entrepreneur, consultant, kumu of 'ōlelo

¹⁶⁷ Voice.

¹⁶⁸ Dancer, as contrasted with the chanter or ho'opa'a (memorizer).

Hawai‘i, and an active community member raising his family in Wailuku, Maui. In addition to teaching at Kamehameha Schools Maui campus, he has taught ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i at the University of Hawai‘i, Maui College. He has also worked as a Cultural Resources Project Coordinator and Guide with the Kaho‘olawe Island Reserve Commission, which is tasked with preserving and protecting the historical sites and fragile ecosystem of the island.

Thematic Analysis and Discussion of Participant Interviews

Continuing to observe the method of data analysis presented in Chapter Eight, this section draws from the authentic experiences of these haumāna as shared through their particular mo‘olelo. By examining these rich narratives and highlighting their individual experiences in learning and re-awakening kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u, we might better understand the preservation of traditional practices and their perpetuation in contemporary Hawaiian society. Consistent with the systematic approach for creating each kōkō pu‘upu‘u, this analysis also follows the thematic framework of the Kā ‘A‘aha methodology, further supporting the aim of this thesis as a culturally appropriate re-examination of the topic within an Indigenous paradigm.

Ku‘u Ēwe: Revitalizing Kā Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u

Ku‘ia ka hele a ka na‘a ha‘aha‘a.

#1870

Hesitant walks the humble hearted.
A humble person walks carefully so he
will not hurt those about him.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 201)

In recalling the circumstances that lead to their learning kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u, each of these haumāna expressed feelings of anxiety and apprehension in requesting to study under kumu Keali‘i. Given that each of these men had already participated in formal training as part of traditional hula halau or lua pā, it is unlikely that their trepidation was caused by fear or intimidation of a structured learning process but induced by individual modesty. Alternatively, perhaps admiration for an opportunity to study with a respected knowledge holder. As Taupōuri explains:

I wanted to learn kōkō pu‘upu‘u, but even then, I was reluctant to ask him. Finally, I got the nerve, and I said, “I would really love to do kōkō pu‘upu‘u, and would you please teach me?” And see, the funny thing is we’re reared to give, give, give, we’re not reared to request. It’s really difficult for us to request, and he did come and teach me.

Customarily, Kānaka are often concerned about being burdensome to others, and these fears further dissuade them from asking for or seeking opportunities. While the expression of humility demonstrates genuine respect for the knowledge holder, it may also indicate reverence that was customarily reserved for the ali'i class. Remaining humble and setting aside preconceived expectations is also an essential element in being accepted as a haumana, as Kalapana explains:

It's been amazing. The main rule to follow is when you're under the teaching of a kumu; then you live in their world. How they tell you to do it, is how they tell you to do it! Just do what he says and do it to the best of your ability. You need to trust that your kumu isn't going to just ask you to do something that they know you'll fail at; unless there's some sort of learning lesson.

Ku'u Piko: Familial Connections and Kuleana to Practice

**Nana i waele mua i ka ala,
mahope aku mākou, na poki'i.**

#2265

*He [or she] first cleared the path,
and then we younger ones followed.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 247)*

Throughout their interviews, all of the haumāna acknowledged a deep appreciation for the opportunity to learn kā kōkō pu'upu'u while also reflecting on familial connections to cordage and knots. Opening his interview, Kui immediately recalled his childhood and his first recollection of a knotted net associated with his late father:

The first time I ever experienced or touched a knotted pū'alu or a kōkō was the net around my dad's conch shell, his pū. It was tied with coconut sennit but was broken in several places. Since I didn't know how to fix it, I just ended up taking it off. Now, here's an opportunity for me to learn how to do a traditional knot, using traditional materials. I can actually go ahead and make another net for my dad's conch shell. That concept of repairing things from the past is kind of what I was interested in.

Inspired by his grandfather's skill, Kalapana shared his personal appreciation for the craftsmanship of his kupuna, and the realization that he is, in his own way, sustaining family traditions.

Also, my grandpa was extremely artistically gifted as a musician, as a painter, as a netter, he could also carve, he could do anything. He could do anything that deals with craft, and he could do it excellently. When he passed away, some of his instruments were given amongst the 'ohana, and so my nephew got his electric bass that he used to gig with, we would call them the Monday night band. He and his friends would hang on Monday nights and just jam. And my nephew got it, and he felt really uncomfortable having it, he said; "uncle, I think you should hold onto this." I didn't realize it until recently, that on top of the head is this super cool braided piece. When I think about it, he braided his own holder for the top strap, and I thought that was another indication of his knotting propensity. If that's for me genetically, if I just retained a percentage of the skill that he had, then I'm super grateful for that.

For Taupōuri, working with cordage further connected him to his mother's ancestral lineage and a familial association with traditional beliefs.

Now I do know I descend from a Tangarō line, a Tangaroa line of priests. And the cord is associated with Kanaloa, it's really a negative and when I say it's a negative action, it's not to be taken in the Western world, you know where we have to have positive and negative. Working with cord, you're dealing with the Kanaloa. You're dealing with the life cycle, and often times this cord, in many myths around the world that is, you hold onto the cord and go into the deep cave. You let go of that cord, you're never coming out. It has its archetypal images and supports elsewhere, but when I wore that cord, it was then that I realized I was truly a Tangarō, given that I only inherited so many clues. But I began to relax to the fact that I will never, it's not my place to know everything.

Echoing the notion of ancestral connections, Kalapana discusses the importance of these spiritual relationships as they reflect in the individual craft or practice:

It's not just the skill. There's the idea of what's passed down from a kumu, but also what is passed down from our akua, kupua, and 'aumākua. Your connection to them will speak in the work that you make. You can see it because some people or, a person might be really good at knots, then when you see Keali'i's work, I don't know, there's something. You can do the same thing, but it's just not the same.

In addition to highlighting their individual connections with knot tying and cordage, these reflections reveal a deeper awareness of ancestral knowledge. Orienting the practitioner at the forefront of multiple mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogies), it is from this station that these haumana appear to appreciate their kuleana to the practice. More than just a responsibility and commitment to their kumu, they are also accountable to their ancestors, ‘ōhana, and culture. This philosophy might also account for the lack of concern regarding claims expressed by Stokes in 1906. Consistently, all of the haumāna felt that Stokes erred in his reasoning when suggesting that European Sailors might be the source for the introduction of the pu‘upu‘u knot. They also acknowledged that Stokes likely failed in his efforts to locate knowledge holders due to an unwillingness to share their talents with him. As Kui succinctly explains:

Well, obviously, it's continued; otherwise, we would not be here today. That one statement shows his arrogance or just ignorance. Did he really go out there and try to find people that understood these ropes and the knotters that were actually practicing?

Further into the interview, Kui provided a critical perspective as to why early European sailors made no mention of observing kōkō pu‘upu‘u during the period of first contact with Hawai‘i.

It's argumentative. At Cook's time, Cook was the last person to see Hawaii in its prime, and he didn't see everything. He didn't know everything. He didn't record everything. He didn't visit every place, and he didn't get to see all these things. I'm also sure that not everything was shared with him. This whole idea of the Natives looking at these knots and getting their ideas and applying it to the practice, okay? You can make that argument with Hawaiian music today. Is Hawaiian music today Hawaiian? Because it's not the same as when Cook came into Hawaii. We didn't have the stringed instruments, we didn't have all these things. Does it make it any less Hawaiian?

Kalapana also points out that we should be critically aware of Stokes' Euro-centric mindset. There is little doubt that the impact of longstanding indoctrination, which favoring Western assimilation, was prevalent during the time. This well-documented situation also adds to the apprehensiveness regarding the sentiments expressed.

It's unfortunate to say, but it was par for the course of his (Stokes) time. Shortly after the reported overthrow and the ensuing territorial days, the concerted effort to downplay the accomplishments of our kūpuna. And then to have that taught back to us, telling us: "that stuff is useless and the things your kūpuna used to do was backward. Now you can pledge allegiance, and pay taxes, and be American!" But yeah, I view that kind of comment as what would normally be regarded, at least publically, in talking about Hawaiian crafts, Hawaiian language, Hawaiian culture...I also imagine there must have been the people he didn't talk to. Not to mention the possibility that some knew about knots but said, "I don't know anything about that. We don't do that anymore."

Collectively, the haumāna scoffed at the notion that cultural knowledge must come from a living source to be considered authentic. Realistically, all societies must rely on various animate and inanimate sources of knowledge to preserve history, maintain traditions, and perpetuate culture. The exclusive reliance on living sources for information is impractical at best, and a society that adopts this mindset is destined to suffer the catastrophic consequences. Ultimately, adopting this monocular philosophy of knowledge denies our multisensory abilities and prevents us from fully comprehending how multifaceted and dynamic our world truly is.

Ku‘u Iwi: Contemporary Relevance of Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u

Ma kāhi o ka hana he ola malaila.

#2090

Where work is, there is life.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 227)

When asked to explain the significance of learning kōkō pu‘upu‘u in the modern-day, each of the haumāna acknowledged developing a more profound understanding of Hawaiian knowledge through kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u. As a professor of Hawai‘i Life Styles at Hawai‘i Community College, Taupōuri explained that to understand the importance of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u, one must look beyond the tangible object to understand its relevance.

In my world, it does. If kōkō pu‘upu‘u is just taught as a craft like we do feather lei and kāhili, then all it is is a Ben Franklin craft; it's just a knot. The tangible piece to me is not important; it's the process. The process is what makes it Hawaiian, and I can mirror that in our Hawaiian Studies courses.

Conceptually, Taupōuri explains, the fundamental process of tying kōkō pu‘upu‘u is a pathway for self-reflection and to understand the diverse relationships and interconnectivity of all aspects of Hawaiian knowledge. He further explains:

I don't want the kids to learn this as a craft like you can go to Ben Franklin and learn it. Then that's like picking up a video and learning hula. Then what's the need for the human transmission of knowledge? Because it's not just about the mechanics, it's never just about the mechanics; it's about the relationship. Keeping the sinew going from one generation to the next and adjusting the tension of the sinew.

We use hula, and the cord, as a medium to look at Indigenous wellbeing for the community and you...[s]o those are the basics, and you know our kids, our Hawaiian kids are not getting this at home. Now they have to come to college, and we have to teach each other's children. So, it would have been, I maximize that through the cord, because not all students are hula geared, but the same processes. Whether it's cord, hula, hei, or food manufacturing, it's about the human connection.

While Taupōuri applies his cord-working knowledge as a way to connect his students with traditional values and ancestral relationships within a college curriculum, Kui describes his personal realization after two years of studying kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u.

Then, when coming to this, joining the cohort, actually learning some of those techniques, knowing the different terms, the different styles, and the different uses for all these knots, it has opened up another door. I went in with some knowledge, my knowledge is kind of fair with Hawaiian culture, but at the end of the year, I realized that I don't know anything.

Considering his exposure to Hawaiian practices from a young age and a proficiency for teaching ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i at the college and high school level, Kui’s assertion that his knowledge of Hawaiian culture is “fair” is a modest understatement. More importantly, however, is his realization that even something as unassuming as a simple knot can open the doors to a vast repository of cultural knowledge. Additionally, Kui further recognizes the importance of kōkō pu‘upu‘u as a way to honor our leaders and acknowledge their contribution to the community.

I think so, especially today, where we continuously practice the art of gift-giving, presenting gifts to certain people in certain circumstances. For me, the kōkō pu‘upu‘u is, by far, the number one gift that I could give, signifying its importance for ali‘i, and for these things. Not everybody has it, or it wasn’t for everybody. For higher rank or people that we hold in esteem, we make this pu‘upu‘u for, because they have a certain kuleana that we hold up high. Today, in contemporary Hawai‘i, we can start bringing back the identification of the importance of these people in our lives as well as the importance of this aspect of the culture.

Maintaining this perspective of kōkō pu‘upu‘u as a positive expression of cultural values, and a unique way to honor others also resonates with Kalapana, who acknowledges that although the ali‘i system of leadership has been taken from Kānaka, the objects continue to function in positive ways.

I would hope to see that it at least provides, in some way, the function that the ali‘i does in traditional society. If it benefits the land or if it benefits the people and brings it to a better place, then I see it as fulfilling the role of ali‘i. So, like the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo craft fair, for Ho‘omau, I would not feel bad about donating a really well made one for the silent auction, because that generates money for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i students, for Pūnana Leo. I see that as a thing that makes our lāhui better, and that’s probably the most core thing, the language, and the children. So yeah, I’ll probably be making one for Ho‘omau this year.

Ku‘u Koko: Perpetuation of Kā Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u

Mai Kinohi a Hō‘ike‘ana.

#2073

From Genesis to Revelation.

From the beginning to the end.

A favorite expression after Christianity was introduced.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 225)

Collectively, the idea of commodifying kōkō pu‘upu‘u was a deeply personal issue, with all of the haumāna expressing reservations about selling or accepting compensation for what they create. In contrast, these haumāna expressed no aversion to the gifting of kōkō pu‘upu‘u; however, were cautious when asked about sharing the tying process with others. While each haumāna concedes, that teaching is essential to any practice’s perpetuation, the overall sentiment was cautious hesitation. Having been tying kōkō pu‘upu‘u for about two years at the

time of their interviews, it was clear that the reluctance of Kalapana and Kui derives from their limited experience. In addition to expressing a need to develop his own skills before having the confidence to teach, Kalapana agreed that this knowledge, to some extent, should also be safeguarded.

This is definitely not something you want to just show anybody. Sacred in the way that it's something to protect as far as the connection to kupuna and kupua. But it also has to be shared. It's a difficult position for this kind of hana. For one thing, you don't want to just show anybody, and then it will just blend with the hippies making macramé covers for their bottles, bottle holders, and stuff like that. But you also don't want to hold on to it so tightly that it goes with you. Then it leaves when you leave.

At this point, my main kuleana in dealing with this hana no'eau is to become more familiar and more versed in making it and making its many different forms. Then perhaps someday I could be comfortable enough to pass it on. Making sure that it is clear in my mind's eye what I want to see my future haumāna be able to demonstrate. I want to have that clear in my mind first, or at least be close to knowing what kind of outcome I want to achieve in passing this hana no'eau or this 'ike.

Adding to this conversation's complexity, Taupoūri explains that even in traditional times, Kānaka did not freely share their knowledge. Ultimately, it would have been at the discretion of the knowledge holder to determine if the haumana was ready to burden the responsibilities and commit to learning the distinguished practice.

Which says that Hawaiians were very selective with what they shared. They didn't give everything; they gave something because it's our culture to give, but they didn't necessarily give the whole Genesis through Revelation of it all. Because even when people want to learn certain things, let's say they want to learn the cord, you give them the simple cords to do. Because psychologically, they may not be ready, or if they want to learn hula, we test them with the simpler stuff first to see their maturity. We don't just cast the pearls.

Some students come and say: "I want to learn." (in reply) "Oh? Try macramé." It's not about sitting two hours with me learning the knots, there's a whole process that

comes with this. This cord-work has to make you a better person. I didn't learn it that way from Keali'i. He taught me the mechanics. But he didn't have to teach me that, you see, I think that's one of the reasons he taught me cord, was because I was able to transfer everything I knew into the cord. The cord wouldn't be practiced outside my cultural base.

As a colleague, whose livelihood is based on teaching others, Kui concurs that not all students possess the skills to actualize, or the capacity to fully appreciate the significance of kōkō pu'upu'u.

I'm always down to teach, but sometimes when you teach you, you realize that this, maybe your student isn't ready to learn this knowledge, and then there are other things that they might be a better fit for them. Not necessarily hūnā, in that sense, but, you're not going to just teach somebody kōkō pu'upu'u if they don't really understand it. Then the result is just not good. I often tell my students, "do it right, and do it once." When you're ready to do it, that's where all the practice comes in. When you begin your craft, you take your time, you practice, you do your things, and then your end results should be something you're proud of.

To be sure, like I said earlier, when kūpuna do their teaching, they often would say, "maybe you're not ready to learn that yet." In these smaller steps of learning how to tie the knots and learning how to do these things, kind of gradually getting experience doing it, over time, then, you move on and say, "let me try this," and it starts the creativity. And when you do it, then you have that affirmation that now you're ready to learn the next step.

There is kuleana to perpetuation. Looking at the importance of carrying on this tradition of kōkō pu'upu'u, it's not about getting teaching numbers of people in a short amount of time. With the teaching, we have to understand that this knot, this style of net, wasn't for everybody. Not everybody did it, but we can teach the pū'alu, because essentially all our kids should be learning that anyway. Feeling the student out, and seeing what they're capable of is an important aspect of perpetuation.

From these perspectives, it becomes increasingly clear that the process of perpetuating this craft is far more complicated than merely teaching someone how to tie a traditional net. The

complexity becomes especially evident when issues of authenticity and commodification are raised. While questions concerning the damaging effects of cultural appropriation were not asked, it is evident that these practitioners are deeply committed to preventing any type of misappropriation. This preference for tradition might also explain their conservative philosophies for teaching others.

Chapter Summary

Hele no ke ali'i; hele no ke Kanaka.

#756

Where the chief goes, his attendant goes.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 83)

Considering the conventional views of these haumāna concerning the significance of kōkō pu'upu'u to contemporary Hawaiian culture, it comes as no surprise that they also firmly reject the Euro-centric narrative which claim that kā kōkō pu'upu'u is obsolete and useless. Throughout their interviews, each haumana shared various personal mo'olelo that reflected a clear connection with the tangible and intangible knowledge related to this craft. They offered well-reasoned explanations and perceptions of how kā kōkō pu'upu'u has impacted their cultural awareness and transformed their Indigenous worldview. Drawing strength from these authentic experiences, these haumāna persist in revitalizing traditions and honor their ancestors.

It is essential for all Kānaka to reflect and consider who will maintain our traditions. Like the three haumāna presented in this data chapter, their voices represent a small but growing kōkō pu'upu'u community. While kōkō pu'upu'u continue to provide an avenue to nourish a relationship with our kūpuna, these haumāna persist in working to understand a deep heritage of knot tying. Their emerging perspectives and innovative ideas contribute to discoveries which further enliven and invigorate kōkō pu'upu'u. As such, each is considered a valuable contributor to this research and the important knowledge it seeks to understand.

From both the comprehensive literature review and the distinct data chapters, much has emerged from this research as it relates to Kānaka and the reawakening, preservation, and perpetuations of our culture. Perhaps the most significant finding of this research centers on the notion of relationships, and how we maintain those connections at multiple levels and in meaningful ways. Though broad in scope yet narrow in focus, it is essential to consider these concepts within the context of this entire document. With this in mind, the next chapter engages

in a closing discussion of this thesis and presents a summary of the findings. Finally, recommendations are offered, as they pertain to the reclamation of Indigenous cultural knowledge and the preservation of relationships that allow traditional practices to be further perpetuated.

Section Four: Ho‘opa‘a nā Kā kai

Secure the Handles

Nā Akua o ka pō,
Nā Akua o ke ao,
E ho‘omau i kea ola
O ka ‘oukou pulapula,
A kolopupū
A haumaka‘iole,
Kaniko‘oko‘o,
Palalauhala,
A kā i ke kōkō pu‘upu‘u.
Eō!
‘Amama, ua noa.
A lele wale akula.

The final section of this thesis represents the culminating steps for completing a kōkō pu‘upu‘u and the binding of the kā kai or handles. With this final task completed, the kōkō pu‘upu‘u is ready to be put into to service and protect the precious cargo that it is intended to carry. The pule or prayer evokes the desire for long life and reaching an age so advanced that would necessitate “kā i ke kōkō pu‘upu‘u” or to be cared for and carried in an exquisite net. Aptly placed in this closing section, this pule provides a gentle reminder that we should cherish all that remains rather than distress over an inevitable conclusion.

Chapter Ten

Nā Mea Hope — Findings and Conclusions

‘A‘ohe mea ‘imi a ka maka.

#185

Nothing more for the eyes to search for.
Everything one desires is in his presence.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 22)

This thesis set out to explore the contemporary relevance of an ancient practice that was once deemed outdated and purposeless. During a time when Kānaka were entrenched in a struggle for survival, the research narratives reflect a great urgency to collect and preserve evidence of a vanishing culture that had allegedly been abandoned and forgotten by its people. While it is true that many unique Indigenous art-forms have gone uncultivated, the assertion in 1906 that kōkō pu‘upu‘u are obsolete, fails to explain how almost 115 years later, the practice of tying of these extraordinary objects has persisted. As a Kanaka and practitioner, my kuleana (responsibility) is to validate truths, address unsubstantiated assumptions, and refute the unfounded conclusions of these false narratives. I argue that kōkō pu‘upu‘u are more than craftwork relics from the past, but represent repositories of history and cultural knowledge, and through the reawakening of traditional practices like kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u, that Kānaka have resisted the effects of cultural imperialism and reclaimed the Native identity that colonization and assimilation efforts have tried to erase. Furthermore, traditional values and beliefs continue to resonate with contemporary practitioners who do not seek to commodify their talent, opting instead to gift these objects as a way to honor respected members of the community and support causes for resistance and reclamation.

To get a better understanding of ancient kōkō pu‘upu‘u construction, I located thirty-one Hawaiian net specimens, of which fifteen were identified as kōkō pu‘upu‘u and another five anomaly kōkō that had been previously undocumented. These physical examinations provided an opportunity to better understand the traditional tying process and assess if modern tying techniques had changed significantly. Now that this information has been compiled, it can be used to inform practitioners and made available for further research across a broad range of fields and subjects, including cordage, knot tying, and net manufacturing.

I have collaborated with practitioners who generously shared their stories and furthered the aim of this study to examine the relationship that exists between contemporary kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners and the product of their labor. These one-on-one interviews compared the perspectives of kumu (teacher) and haumana (student), exploring each practitioner’s

understanding of kōkō pu‘upu‘u and their assessment of preservation and perpetuation of the practice. I have been able to identify and discuss commonalities and differences between these two groups, and the research journey has encouraged all of us to consider how we, as kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners and Indigenous researchers, can collaborate.

In this thesis, I also argued that Indigenous research requires more than merely adopting a methodological approach that employs an Indigenous perspective. Building on the work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) and Shawn Wilson (2008), careful consideration, with respect to Indigenous paradigms, was given during the development of the Kā ‘A‘aha methodological framework, ensuring that this unique methodology appropriately aligned with Kānaka ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology. Specifically, I illuminate Kā ‘A‘aha as a Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodology that is more than merely looking at research from an Indigenous perspective, but is firmly grounded in an Indigenous paradigm. The findings and conclusion of this thesis are also presented using the Kā ‘A‘aha methodological framework. Emulating the systematic process used to create each kōkō pu‘upu‘u, is the most appropriate way to honor this topic, the ancient practice, the mea makamae (treasures) of my kūpuna, and the rich contributions from the participants of this research.

The first element of the Kā ‘A‘aha methodology, Ku‘u Ēwe, meaning family characteristic, source, or birthplace (Handy & Pukui, 1972), and represents the primary link to our family and ancestors. Fittingly, this first dimension considers kōkō pu‘upu‘u as treasured resources that connect us to traditional knowledge and our oceanic origins. This is followed by Ku‘u Piko, or the navel, which considers intuitive knowledge that is validated in the na‘au (gut). This center of personal wellbeing is also a guide in reawakening practices and reconnecting cultural knowledge. The third dimension, Ku‘i Iwi, expands on our relationship with the tangible elements of ‘ike kūpuna and how we honor this knowledge by cultivating and nurturing traditional beliefs. Ku‘u Koko is the final dimension that considers the transmission and perpetuation of cultural knowledge to sustains and restores cultural identity.

1. Ku‘u Ēwe: Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u as Mea Makamae.

Ēwe hānau o ka ‘āina

#387 and #1691

The lineage born of the land.

People who were born and dwelt on the land.

(Pukui, 1983, pp. 47, 182)

Beyond their antiquity, kōkō pu‘upu‘u are treasured resources that represent a direct link to Kānaka ancestry and personify a culture that venerated both skill and innovation. While nets and netting can be found across all societies and cultures, kōkō pu‘upu‘u are uniquely Hawaiian. These objects are a tangible connection to our ku‘auhau (lineage), representing insightful mo‘olelo (stories) that further enrich our mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy). While elements of our ancestors remain in their craftsmanship and nourish our relationship with the past, kōkō pu‘upu‘u also elicit an infinite history of cordage tradition that predates oceanic and migratory origins.

Cord making and knot-tying were essential to the first settlers and all subsequent colonizers to Hawai‘i. Beyond the fibers and other physical materials that bring these objects into fruition, kōkō pu‘upu‘u represent a collective repository of tangible and intangible cultural knowledge that was indispensable for our kūpuna and continue to be significant to Kānaka today. Working in common purpose to increase strength through cohesive action, the collective properties embodied in kōkō pu‘upu‘u also represents the spiritual and genealogical strength that binds Kānaka to our past, present, and future. It is ultimately from this foundation of collective knowledge and experience that modern kōkō pu‘upu‘u should be regarded as genuine mea makamae or authentic treasures of Kānaka culture.

2. Ku‘u Piko: Reclaiming the Practice of Kā Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u.

Waiho wale kahiko.

#2909

Ancients exposed.

Old secrets are now revealed.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 318)

Just as our piko (navel) is a physical reminder and symbolic link to both our forbearers and descendants, this thesis establishes a clear lineage of historical figures and events that are the precursors to Hawaiian society and consequently, predecessors to kōkō pu‘upu‘u. Relevant literature has highlighted the cultural transformation of ‘aha (cordage) and binding, from practical tool to a symbol of social status, political and religious significance, and record of genealogical succession. This thesis highlights the complex and multi-layered nature of Kānaka

learning and accessing ancestral sources of knowledge. All of the key-informants expressed fluid views of acquiring knowledge and embraced the notion that regardless of the source, authenticity is determined by the lived experience, which respects Kānaka traditions, and honors our ancestors.

In addition to the powerful symbolism that evokes connecting and binding Kānaka with their ancestors, kōkō pu‘upu‘u reflect the enormous effort to reawaken and revitalize traditional practices that have languished since the arrival of foreigners and Euro-American influences. This document has presented evidence of how the reawakening of kōkō pu‘upu‘u has enabled practitioners to connect with ancestral knowledge and develop a deeper awareness of personal identity and wellbeing. Kōkō pu‘upu‘u have been described as a source of strength, responsibility, and identity, therefore contributing significantly to individual resilience and cultural reclamation.

3. Ku‘u Iwi: Contemporary Relevance of Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u.

He wahi pa‘akai.

#2437

Just a package of salt.

Something good; a gift of anything
one has grown or made.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 104)

Examining the traditional relationship between ‘aha (cordage) and mana (power), it is clearly understood how the physical attributes of cordage became an expression of power for Hawaiian elite. Just as ‘aha was a representation of divine power for the ali‘i nui, ‘aha persists as one of the most powerful metaphors for political and religious strength today. While the tangible qualities of ‘aha continues to represent binding society together, corded objects like kōkō pu‘upu‘u also connect us to an abundance of intangible cultural knowledge. Evoked through ancient genealogies, mo‘olelo (storied histories), and other cultural narratives, the collective consciousness of our kūpuna is preserved in these cherished objects and practices.

Like the ancient kōkō pu‘upu‘u that sit in museums, the kōkō pu‘upu‘u created today exist as tangible connections to our ku‘auhau (lineage), while also enriching and informing us as Kānaka. For practitioners, this craft’s perpetuation and cultivation further expands our relationships with the tangible elements of ‘ike kūpuna while also honoring this knowledge and nurturing traditional beliefs. The accomplishments of each of the key-informants further situate them to restore the narrative and declare that although the ali‘i system of leadership has

been taken from Kānaka, kōkō pu‘upu‘u continue to function in positive ways. In addition to representing essential aspects of Kānaka culture, history, and tradition, kōkō pu‘upu‘u also serve as positive expressions of gratitude for those who persevere to honor the cultural values of our kūpuna and ali‘i.

4. Ku‘u Koko: Sustaining and Perpetuating Kā Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u.

O ka pono ke hana ‘ia a iho mai na lani.

#2437

Continue to do good

until the heavens come down to you.

Blessings come to those who persist in doing good.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 266)

Collectively, all of the kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners interviewed for this thesis recognize the importance of perpetuating their ‘ike (knowledge). With few practitioners and even less documentation, this unique Indigenous art-form is under constant threat of returning to sleep; however, their commitment to reviving kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u is also met with cautious hesitation. As with the revival of many Indigenous arts and practices, and especially those that are accompanied by special significance, there is a particular burden felt by some knowledge holders to protect the reverence attached to those traditional objects, symbols, and customs. This predicament is further complicated by the constant threat of cultural imperialism and compounded by the effects of globalized commercialism, consumerism, and the modern desire for immediate gratification.

Although economic survival is an unavoidable reality, it is not the sole motivation for many cultural practitioners. While individuals like John Stokes might insist that without value, these practices are fruitless or the objects useless, practitioners persist. Rejecting these popular yet foreign ideas, Indigenous practitioners persevere with a passion for their culture and the desire to perpetuate this knowledge. As a unique opportunity to explore what it means to live as a kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioner and a Kanaka in modern-day Hawai‘i, this research further validates that cultural knowledge holders can reclaim and restore complex cultural knowledge. Even in the face of contradictory commentary from segments of our society, their ‘ike affirms that Kānaka can connect and interact with cultural knowledge, while at the same time protecting it from the demands of capitalism and commodification. To live as a Kanaka, in this research, places ‘ike kūpuna and mo‘olelo at its center, while at the same time, creating an academic space to discuss the perseverance of Kānaka in reclaiming and restoring their identities together with all other Aboriginal, Indigenous, and Native peoples.

Limitations of the Study

**Pa'i ana na pahu o ka hula le'a;
o ka'u hula no kēia.**

#2571

*Let more famous chanters beat their own drums;
this is the hula chant that I know.*

A retort: Let those who claim to know a lot
produce their knowledge; this is what I know.
(Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 206; Pukui, 1983, p. 283)

This study has provided an in-depth examination of physical artifacts, alongside interviews with knowledge holders as key-informants. As such, the strength of this study is grounded on knowledge gleaned from the distant past and insight into the journey of kōkō pu'upu'u practitioners who strive to master their craft in the present. As a qualitative piece of research, this thesis does not attempt to provide statistically significant findings, but rather to better understand how kōkō pu'upu'u, as an object has changed over time. It also seeks to understand how the process of learning kā kōkō pu'upu'u is transformative to those who maintain the practice today. From both artifact examinations and participant interviews, this study's findings should not be considered representative of any population or other discernable group. This also limits the overall conclusions of the study and the way they might be perceived or interpreted. Mindful of this limitation, the researcher suggests that an expanded understanding in this field is essential when building further studies of this nature. This knowledge is especially crucial for those affected or significantly invested in the results of that research.

Developing theory from traditional practices and creative-based art is difficult, especially when trying to align abstract and non-linear ideas into a linear and logical thesis. Adding to the challenge is expressing notions of creative and transformative experiences into a clear and understandable presentation. Rather than attempt to capture all of the elements embedded in this practice, this thesis instead offers a thematic analysis of mea makamae (cultural treasures), alongside mo'olelo shared by those directly invested in amending a skewed narrative through action, rather than words alone.

While existing theoretical frameworks had been considered for this thesis, the Kā 'A'aha methodological framework was intentionally developed and utilized in this research. Grounded by an Indigenous paradigm, this Kānaka 'Ōiwi methodology was the most appropriate way to ensure that this research maintained its key focus as a study about Kānaka, by a Kanaka, and for Kānaka. Clearly, methodology is not exclusive to the academic realm, and when employed with appropriate methods, it is useful in testing theories, solving problems, and clarifying ambiguities. There

remains, however, significant space for further development, understanding, and implementation of the traditional and contemporary knowledge that this framework encompasses.

Recommendations for Further Research

‘A‘ohe loa‘a i ka noho wale.

#173

Nothing is gained by idleness.
(Pukui, 1983, p. 21)

This section of the thesis provides the opportunity to consider critical questions concerning kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u as it pertains to the practice, the practitioners and knowledge holders, and the wider Kānaka community. Essentially, at the end of the study, we might ask: What does this mean? Why should we care? What are we going to do about it? The recommendations offered below may provide some of the answers to these questions. Consistent with the methodological framework used throughout this thesis, these suggestions respect the thematic framework of the Kā ‘A‘aha Methodology.

Ku‘u Ēwe – Fundamental Elements: Comprehensive Study of Kōkō pu‘upu‘u

This study was not intended to produce quantitatively significant findings, but rather to establish a better understanding of kōkō pu‘upu‘u by surveying examples held by museums and archives. Currently, there is no reliable source or catalog that identifies or accounts for numerous kōkō pu‘upu‘u held in a variety of institutions and private collections. An inventory of this nature could include possible origins, acquisition, or esthetic information such as size, style, and construction material. It might also help determine the prevalence of the practice or suggest the island or region originated.

Ku‘u Piko – Foundational Connections: Qualitative Research with Kānaka Practitioners

This study concluded that those who create kōkō pu‘upu‘u became conscious of relationships and the vast interconnectivity between tangible heritage and the intangible cultural knowledge. Research that seeks to understand how this process happens or if it occurs among other cultural practices could be meaningful to those that actively pursue and seek to reawaken other forms of ancestral knowledge.

Ku‘u Iwi – Tangible Knowledge: Curriculum Development for Authentic Perpetuation

Importantly, kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners insist on maintaining a relationship with these objects; one that honors their original purpose and reflects the respect and reverence that would

be appropriate to any article associated with Hawaiian elite. While there is little that can be done to impose these beliefs, there is inconsistency among kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners concerning the scope of this philosophy in terms of education and perpetuation of kā kōkō pu‘upu‘u. It would be worthwhile for practitioners to convene a conference or series of meetings to build clarity and consistency among the group. An event of this nature would also be an opportune time to share techniques and identify traditional terminology. Practitioners within this study also expressed a desire to develop an accurate and culturally appropriate lexicon for unnamed aspects of the practice, or in the cases where traditional terms have not been discovered yet. It would not be unreasonable to include other practitioners and stakeholders such as cordage makers, fiber artists, canoe sailors and lashers, net makers, and others who utilize traditional fiber cord as part of their work or practice.

Ku‘u Koko – Lived Experiences: Sovereignty and Resistance

While recent events concerning Indigenous control of resource rights and land utilization has ignited further research into sovereignty, resistance, and self-determination, it would be worthwhile to investigate the use and significance of tangible cultural objects as catalysts for motivating or unifying those who are actively engaged in the reclamation and restoration of cultural rights. Likewise, research of this nature seeks to further enhance our sovereignty and reverses the oppressive conditions brought on by cultural imperialism. By empowering practitioners to revitalize cultural practices and traditions, we strengthen our connection with ‘ike kūpuna and further dismantle the false narratives that claim that Aboriginal, Indigenous, and Native knowledge is forgotten and useless.

O ka‘u kōkō pu‘upu‘u no keia!

—‘Ōhai

Glossary

The Hawaiian alphabet is organized in the following order: vowels, consonants, ‘okina or glottal stop; A, E, I, O, U, H, K, L, M, N, P, W, ‘. This glossary of Hawaiian terms is organized with respect to this order, with the exception for words that begin or include the ‘okina. Those terms are listed, in appropriate alphabetical order, according to the letter that immediately follows the ‘okina.

A

‘a‘aha: term for carrying net, interchangeable with the term *kōkō*

‘aha: 1) twisted or braided cord of coconut fiber, human hair or animal intestine.

2) group, meeting.

‘aha hele honua: lashing used on voyaging canoe for connecting hull to the outrigger.

‘aha iloko: inside cord, used to evaluate worthiness of any person approaching an ali‘i residence.

‘aha iwaho: outside cord, suspended at the entrance of the enclosure of an ali‘i.

‘Aha Kāne: A Hawaiian foundation whose mission is to strengthen the Native Hawaiian community through nurturing the traditional male roles and responsibilities that contribute to the physical, mental, spiritual, and social well-being of Native Hawaiian males, their families, and communities.

‘aha kapu: referred to a sacred assembly and sacred cord belonging to ali‘i of the high rank.

‘ahakū: measuring cord.

‘aha ula: council of high chiefs, *lit.* regal meeting.

aho: all types of fiber cord excluding ‘aha.

aholehole: *Kuhlia sandvicensis*; fish, which is known for its large, round eyes.

‘ahu‘awa: *Cyperus jabanicus*.

‘ahu ‘ula: feather cloak for Hawaiian elite.

‘ai kapu: eating restriction which specified that men and women could not eat together.

‘āina: land, earth.

‘ākia: *Wikstroemia spp.*

aku: *Katsuwonus pelamis*, bonito or skipjack tuna.

akua: god.

akua hulu manu: feather image of a god.

‘alihi: 1) threaded cord that forms the upper loops of a carry net.

2) horizon.

ali‘i: chief.

alo: face; “he alo a he alo”: lit. *face to face*.

‘ama: outrigger float of a canoe.

‘anā‘anā: sorcery; the practice of causing illness or death through ritual and prayer.

ao: light, day, daylight, dawn.

‘auamo: carrying stick, also called a māmaka, yoke, to carry.

‘aumakua: deified ancestor represented in both physical and spiritual forms

‘aumākua: plural of ‘aumakaua

awa: kava (*Piper methysticum*), shrub, native to Pacific islands, the root being the source of a narcotic drink of the same name used in ceremonies.

E

ēwe: umbilical cord.

I

i‘a: fish or any marine animal.

‘iako: connective arms that connect outrigger float to the hull of a canoe.

‘ie‘ie: *Freycinetia arborea*.

‘iewe: placenta.

‘ike: knowledge, insight, understanding.

‘ike kūpuna: the wisdom of the ancestors; ancient knowledge.

‘ike ku‘una: traditional knowledge.

‘ike na‘au: intuition.

ipu: *Lagenaria siceraria*, gourd.

ipu ‘awa‘awa: poisonous bitter gourd, used for containers and medicine.

iwi: bone.

iwikuamo‘o: backbone or spine, see also: kuamo‘o.

O

‘ohana: family.

‘ohe: *Schizostachyum glaucifolium*, bamboo.

‘oihana: tool, occupation, trade.

‘oki: to cut.

‘ōku‘u: to squat, in reference to ma‘i ‘ōku‘u or squatting disease; perhaps cholera or typhoid.

‘ōlelo Hawai‘i: Hawaiian language.

oli: chant.

‘olo: long gourd.

olonā: *Touchardia latifolia*; native shrub used for making fine fiber cord.

‘olowai: gourd used for storing and transporting water, also known as huewai.
‘ōni‘ini‘o: streaked with various colors; term used to describe nets of alternating colors.
‘o‘o: digging stick.
‘ōpū: belly, stomach, abdomen.
ōpuhe: *Urera spp.*

U

‘uhane: spirit.
uhi: scraper made of turtle shell or bone, used to separate bast inner plant fibers from outer bark.
‘uki‘uki: *Dianella spp.*
‘ukuko‘ako‘a: coral polyp.
umi‘i: netting knot, commonly referred to as the sheet-bend knot.
‘umeke lā‘au: carved wooden calabash.
‘upena: fishnet or similar net used for trapping animals.

H

hāhā kā ‘upena: net gauge or netting spacer for tying consistent net mesh.
hala: *Pandanus odoratissimus*.
hale: house.
hale mua: traditional house reserved for the exclusive use of males in Hawaiian society.
Hale Nauā: Community of Scholars, collaborative research.
hana no‘eau: arts and skilled practices.
hānai: 1) to adopt, carry, sustain care for.
2) referring to the body of a carry net.
haole: Contemporary use of the term “haole” commonly refers to any person with a fair complexion or of Caucasian, American, or English descent. Traditionally, “any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign, as plants, pigs, chickens; entirely white” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 58).
haumana/haumāna: student, pupil.
hau: *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.
heiau: temple
he‘e: octopus, commonly known as squid.
hi‘a kā ‘upena: netting needle or netting shuttle.
hili: technique for making cordage by braiding three or more strands together.

hili palaha: flat braided cord.

hilo: technique for making cordage by twisting two or more strands together.

hīpu‘u/hīpu‘upu‘u: knot, bond, fasten; to tie a knot, or tying one thing to another.

hohoa: wooden mallet used to thin wauke fibers during early stages of making kapa.

ho‘okapu: to make something kapu, taboo, forbidden.

ho‘okupu: ceremonial gift, offering.

ho‘olauna: introduction, familiarization.

ho‘omana: adoration, worship.

ho‘oponopono: to correct, make right, seek forgiveness and absolve a wrong committed.

huehue: *Cocculus spp.*

huewai: gourd used for storing and transporting water, also known as ‘olowai.

hula: traditional Hawaiian dance.

huikala: to absolve entirely.

hūnā: confidential, secret, deliberately hidden.

huli: flip, overturn, as an outrigger canoe.

K

kā: to tie a net, knit, cross-stitch

kā‘ei: sash

kā‘eke: large temple drum, first brought to Hawai‘i by La‘amaikahiki.

kahu: honored attendant.

kā‘ai: 1) to bind, tie, wrap.

2) sennit casket that bones are wrapped.

kahili: royal standard.

kahu: trusted advisor, honored attendant, guardian, nurse, regent.

kākai: 1) taboo cord across entrance of chiefly house.

2) to suspend as a handle of bucket or cords of carry net (kōkō).

kanaka: Indigenous Hawaiian.

kānaka: plural of kanaka.

kāne: male, husband, masculine.

Kāne: leading of the four main Hawaiian gods.

kaona: innuendo, wordplay, veiled language, having multiple meanings.

kapa: bark cloth making.

kapu: taboo, sacred prohibition, religious protocol.

kapu moe: prostration taboo for ali‘i of high rank, all lower ranks were forbidden to stand.

kapu noho: sitting taboo for ali‘i of lesser rank, lower ranks had to sit in their presence.

kaula: cordage and rope.

kāula: prophet, seer.

keiki: child, offspring.

ki‘i: image, statue, idol.

kiloi: to throw, in reference to ‘upena kiloi or throwing net, frequently used for shoreline fishing.

kino lau: many forms taken by a supernatural body, as Pele, who could at will become flame of fire, a young girl, or an old hag.

ko‘ali ‘ai: *Ipomoea cairica*.

ko‘i: adz.

koko: blood.

kōkō: general term for carrying net, interchangeable with the term ‘a‘aha.

kōkō pū‘alu: common carry net.

kōkō pu‘upu‘u: carry net reserved for Hawaiian chiefs.

kou: *Cordia subcordata*, indigenous evergreen preferred for royal calabashes.

ku‘ahu: alter.

kuamo‘o: conjunction of kua (back) and mo‘o (lizard), backbone, a figurative reference for genealogical succession or lineage.

kū‘auhau: genealogy, see also mo‘okū‘auhau.

kūkākūkā: conversation, talk-story.

kūkini: runner, swift messenger, as employed in traditional times.

kuleana: responsibility, obligation.

Kumulipo: Hawaiian genealogical creation chant.

kupe‘e: fetters, in reference to a knot used on Kaua‘i to secure the feet of pigs, kupe‘e pua‘a, similar to the clove hitch.

kupua: cultural hero, mythological deity.

kupuna: elder, ancestor, grandparent.

kūpuna: plural of kupuna.

L

lāhui: nation, race.

lā‘au: wood.

lanalana: decorative lashing used to connect outrigger boom and outrigger float to a canoe.

lawai‘a: fisherman.

lei hulu: feather lei, formally worn by royalty.

lele: alter, sacrificial alter or stand used for worship in luakini heiau.

luakini: temple, large heiau where ruling chiefs prayed and human sacrifices offered.

lupe: kite.

M

mahi'ai: farmer

mahina: moon.

mahi'ole: feather helmet, helmet; to wear a helmet.

ma'i: genitals, genitalia.

ma'i ahulau: pestilence.

ma'i 'ōku'u: squatting disease; perhaps cholera, or typhoid, *lit.* 'ōku'u, to squat.

maka'āinana: general citizen, commoner.

makahiki: year, annual cycle, age.

makamae: precious, of great value, treasured, highly prized.

makana: gifts, gift giving.

makawalu: numerous; *lit.* eight eyes.

maka 'upena: net mesh, mesh size.

mākua: parents.

māmaka: carrying stick, also called an 'auamo, yoke, to carry.

mamaki: *Pipturus spp.*, small native tree that yielded a fiber valued for kapa, similar to wauke.

mamo: *Drepanis pacifica*, black Hawaiian honeycreeper; its yellow feathers were highly prized.

mana: spiritual energy.

mānaleo: native speaker of 'ōlelo Hawai'i, *lit.*, inherited language.

mānalo: small non-poisonous gourd sweet edible pulp.

mana'o: theory, ideology, instinct.

mele: song.

mele ko'i honua: genesis chant.

mōhai: sacrifice, offering, to offer a sacrifice.

mo'o: succession, series, especially a genealogical line, lineage.

mo'omo'o: strips of wauke bast beaten together from which kapa sheets are to be made.

mo'okūauhau: genealogical succession.

mo'olelo: story, storytelling and narrative inquiry.

mo‘omeheu: culture.

mua: men’s house; see hale mua.

N

nā: plural marker.

na‘au: intestine, intuition.

na‘auao: enlightenment.

naepuni: fine-meshed net, made from the olonā, used in royal featherwork.

nane: riddle, puzzle, parable, allegory.

ni‘au: midrib of coconut-leaflet.

nī‘aupi‘o: one of the two uppermost ranks of the ali‘i, the other being pi‘o.

nītele: inquisitive, to ask seemingly irrelevant questions; annoyance at such questions.

nīki‘i: to tie, as a rope or knot. Also, hīki‘i, mūki‘i, nāki‘i, niki, nikiniki.

niu: *Cocos nucifera*, coconut.

niu hiwa: preferred coconut for making cordage due to abundance of long useable fibers.

niu lelo: coconut preferred for drinking water of the fruit and less desirable for cordage.

noa: common or free from kapu.

nui: big, large, greatest, grand, important, many, much, often, abundant, bulky.

P

pa‘a: secure.

pahu: drum.

palaoa: highly prized whale tooth pendant.

papahanaumoku: realm of those born.

papahulilani: realm of the heavens.

papakū: foundation.

Papakū Makawalu: methodology based on the ability of our ancestors to categorize and organize our natural world and all systems of existence within the universe.

pā‘ū: women’s skirt.

paukū: section; term used to describe net with distinguishable sections due to color or design.

piko: navel, center, middle of a circumscribed space.

pi‘o: one of the two uppermost ranks of the ali‘i, the other being nī‘aupi‘o.

pō: night, darkness, obscurity, the realm of the gods.

pō‘aha: ring of support to stabilize or to help keep a cylindrical vessel balanced.

Pōhaku ‘o Kāne: particular stone reserved for family alters in the men’s house.

pōhue: round or bottle gourd.

po‘i: lid or cover.

pono: goodness, uprightness, morality, moral qualities, correct or proper procedure.

po‘o: head, crown, dwelling place of the spirit.

pū: handle.

pulo‘ulo‘u: kapu stick, consisting of a kapa-covered ball on a stick, that was commonly carried before a chief or used to designate spaces of high kapu.

pulu niu: coconut husk or fiber.

punahale: a favorite, to treat as a favorite.

punalua: spouse sharing a spouse, second or plural spouses.

pu‘u/pu‘upu‘u: knitted or wrapped knot.

pule: prayer.

W

wā: period of time, realm, place.

wā akua: realm reserved for the gods.

wā kānaka: realm of the living.

wa‘a: hull, body of a canoe.

wahine: female.

wāhine: plural of wahine.

wahi pana: storied places.

wauke: the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), a small tree or shrub, from eastern Asia, known throughout the Pacific for its usefulness. The bark was made into kapa for clothing.

wāwae: leg, foot, paw.

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Appendix A: Data Evidence from Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u Examinations

Catalog Number: Oc.1898-37
 Exchange From Bishop Museum
 Collection Date: April 28, 1898
 Donor Name: BPBM: 4412
 Card: Elaborately knotteted network covering of neatly made cord.
 Network covering (koko puupuu) for a chief's calabash (ipu)
 Made with: Coir and wauke.

98-37

Maori Islands.
 Elaborately knotted network
 covering of neatly made
 cord.
 Network covering
 (koko puupuu)
 for chief's calabash (ipu)
 28. April 1898

Exchange from
 Maori Islands
 Bishop Museum
 28. April 1898



Piko



Hānai







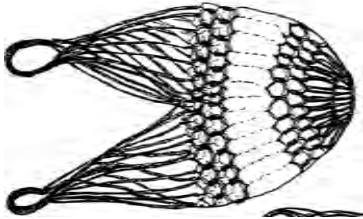


'Alihi







Kākai/Pū



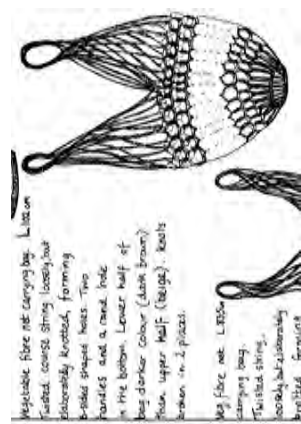
<p>Catalog Number: Oc1898, 38</p> <p>Obj. Name: koko pu'upu'u</p> <p>Index Term: 1 (Brit. Musm)</p> <p>Culture: Hawaiian</p> <p>Collection Date: 26, April 1898</p> <p>Donor Name: Exchange From Bishop Museum (BPBM: 4396)</p> <p>Accession Date: April 28, 1898</p> <p>Card: Elaborately knotted network covering of neatly made cord. The upper portion or neck is of coir.</p> <p>Network covering (koko puupuu) for a chief's calabash (ipu)</p>	<p>98-38</p>  <p>Hawaiian Moko.</p> <p>Elaborately knotted network covering of neatly made cord. The upper portion or neck is of coir.</p> <p>Exchange from Bishop Museum.</p> <p>26. April. 1898</p> <p>BPBM: 4396</p>	
<p>Piko</p> 	<p>Hānai: 5 rows of pu'upu'u</p> 	<p>'Alihi: none</p> 
		

<p>Catalog Number: Specimen Count: Division: Object Name: Index Term: Culture: Continent: Country: Province/State: Collection Date: Accession Number: Donor Name: Unknown Accession Date:</p>	<p>Vegetable fibre net carrying bag. Lio Twisted coarse string loosely, but elaborately knotted, forming 6-sided shaped holes. Two handles and a round hole in the bottom. Lower half of bag darker colour (dark brown) than upper half (beige). Knots broken in 2 places.</p>			
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<p>Piko</p> 	<p>Hānai</p> 	<p>‘Alihi</p> 	<p>Kākai/Pū</p> 
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Catalog Number:
Object Name:
Culture:
Country:
Collection Date:
Accession Number:
Donor Name:
Accession Date:



Piko



Hānai



'Alihi



Kāka'i/Pū



<p>Catalog Number: E378393-0</p> <p>Division: Ethnology</p> <p>Object Name: Koko Carrying Net</p> <p>Culture: Hawaiian</p> <p>Country: Polynesia</p> <p>Province/State: Hawaii</p> <p>Accession Number: 143077</p> <p>Donor Name: Mrs. Mary M. Walcott</p> <p>Accession Date: 18 Mar 1937</p>	<p>From card: "Old specimen; used by Hawaiians for carrying gourds; consists of two-ply cord braided and knotted." The Hawaiian name for this type of net or netted bag is koko.</p>		<p>Cat. No. 378,393</p> <p>People Hawaiian</p> <p>Locality Hawaiian Islands</p> <p>Collector Mrs. Charles D. Walcott</p> <p>Assigned Date March 18, 1897</p> <p>Plate 28* 100g</p> <p>Remarks Old specimen; used by Hawaiians for carrying gourds; consists of two-ply cord braided and knotted.</p> <p>Inventoried 1975</p> <p>U.S. NATIONAL MUSEUM</p> <p>ETHNOLOGY</p>
<p>Piko</p> 	<p>Hānai</p> 	<p>'Alihi</p> 	<p>Kākai/Pū</p> 
			

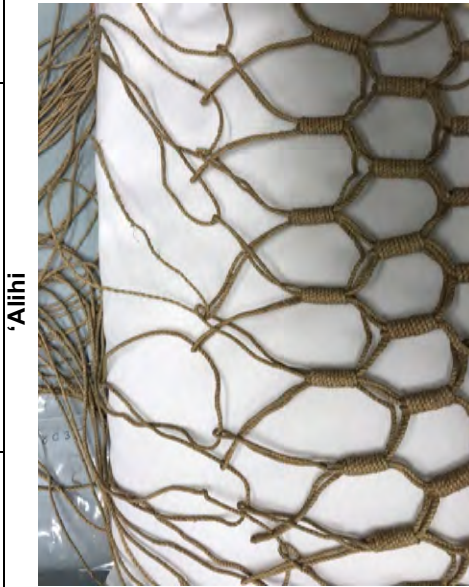
MUSEUM NUMBER	NAME
E258035-0	Net
ACCESSION NUMBER	PEOPLE
50,938	Polynesian
ORIGINAL NUMBER	LOCALITY
335	Hawaii
	COLLECTOR
	N. B. Emerson
	HOW ACQUIRED
	Transfer: U. S. Govt. Board, A. T. P. Ex.
	DATES
	Ac'd December 21, 1909
	WHERE PLACED
	Box 7, invt 45
	DIMENSIONS
	26" L. (in another)
	REMARKS
	Net for calabash, koko.
	Material olona.



E258035-0
 1 1302C01602
 Carrying Net
 Net, Cellulose
 Polynesian
 Hawaii
 Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson
 21 Dec 1909
 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition
 From card: "Net for calabash,
 koko. Material olona."



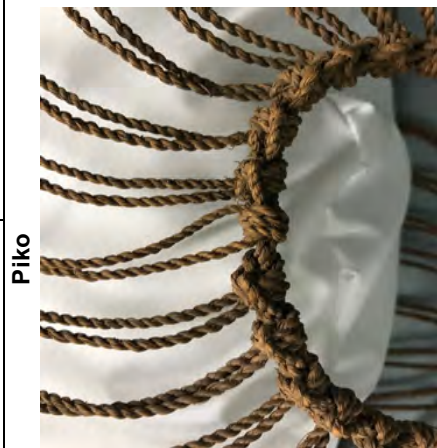
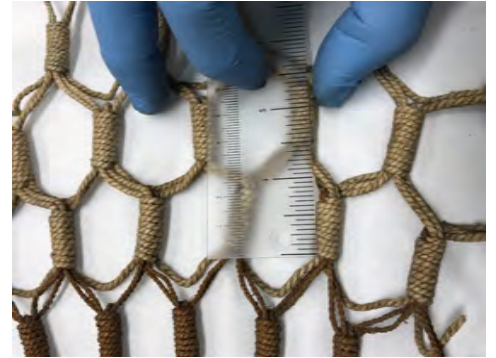
Kakai/Pū



'Alihi



Hānai

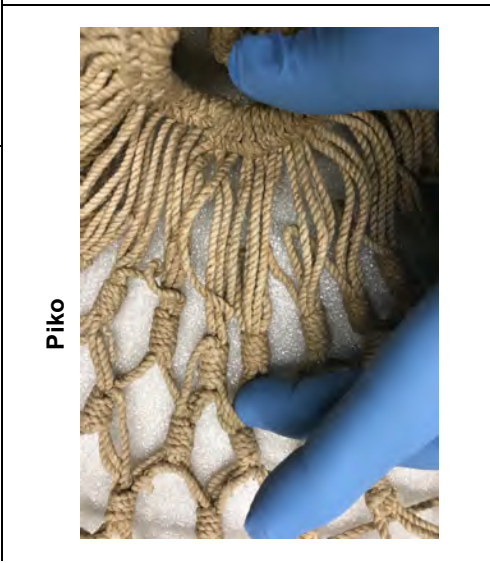
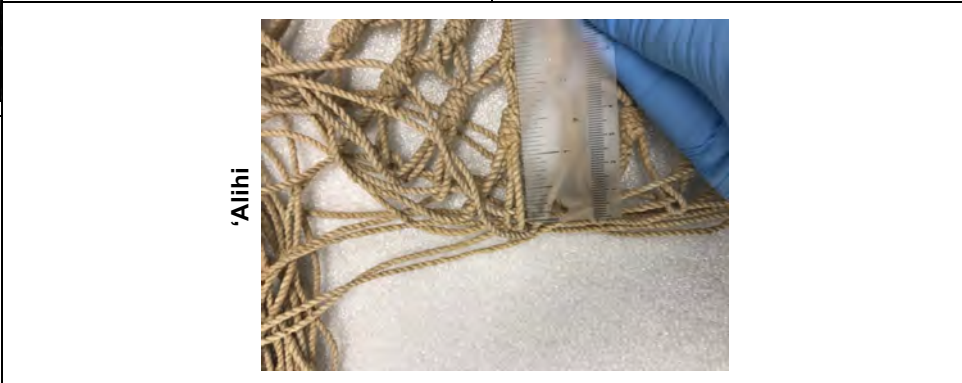
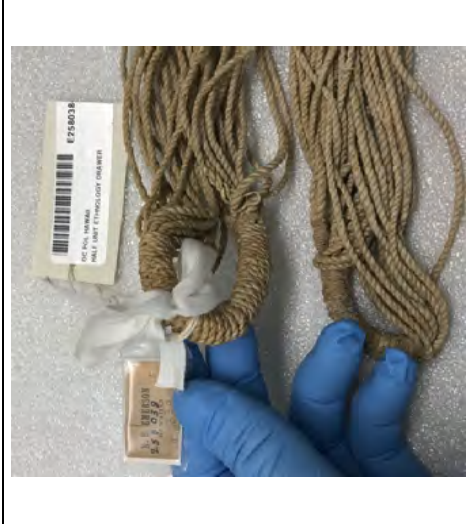
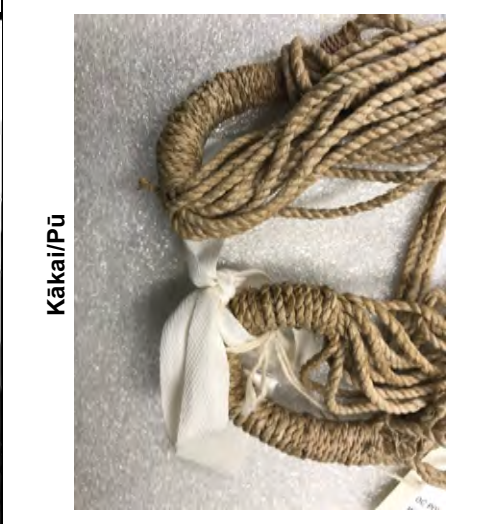


Piko



<p>Catalog Number: Object Name: Donor Name: Accession Date:</p> <p>2 pieces of E258028-0 formerly misidentified as E258036-0. ET12265-0 was found to be the real E258036-0 and the number has been corrected.</p>	<p>E258036-0 Carrying Net Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson 21 Dec 1909</p> <p>Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition From card: "Net for calabash, koko. In part cocoanut sinnet [a.k.a. sennit] and in part olona."</p>		
<p>Piko</p>	<p>Hānai</p>	<p>'Alihi</p>	<p>Kākai/Pū</p>
			

Catalog Number: Index Term: Donor Name: Accession Date:	E258038-0 Carrying Net Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson 21 Dec 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition From card: "Net for calabash, koko. of waoke [a.k.a. wauke or paper mulberry], the bark from which kapa cloth is made."		MUSEUM NUMBER 258038-0	NAME Nets. (3)
			ACCESSION NUMBER 50958	PEOPLE Polynesian
			ORIGINAL NUMBER 337-337	LOCALITY Hawaii
			DATE 21 Dec 1909	COLLECTOR N. B. Emerson
			WHERE PLACED 341	HOW ACQUIRED Transfer: U. S. Govt. Board, A.T. P. Ex.
			DIMENSIONS 23"l. 19"l. 2 1/2"l.	INVENTORIED 1975
		REMARKS Net for calabash, koko. of waoke, the bark from which kapa cloth is made.		



Catalog Number: E258039-0

Donor Name: Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson

Accession Date: 21 Dec 1909

Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition

From card: "Net for calabash, koko. Of waoke [a.k.a. waoke or pap mulberry], the bark from which kapa cloth is made."



NAME	<i>Peto. (s)</i>
PEOPLE	<i>Polynesian</i>
LOCALITY	<i>Hawaii</i>
COLLECTOR	<i>N. B. Emerson</i>
HOW ACQUIRED	<i>Transfer: U.S. Geol. Board, A.T. P. Ex.</i>
DATE	<i>Dec'd December 21, 1909</i>
WHERE PLACED	<i>Inventoried 1975</i>
DIMENSIONS	<i>23" l. 11" w. 2" d.</i>
REMARKS	<i>Net for calabash, koko. Of waoke, the bark from which kapa cloth is made.</i>

Piko









Hānai/Ālihi



Kākai/Pū

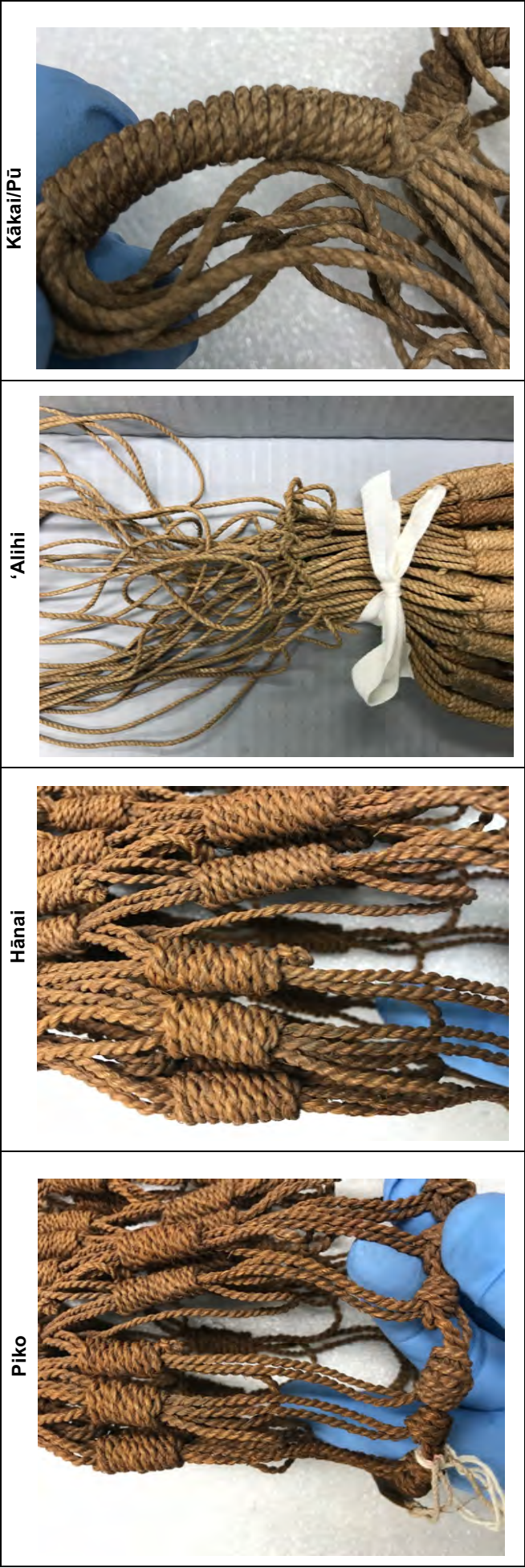


<div>Catalog Number: E258041-0</div> <div>Index: Carrying Net</div> <div>Term: Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson</div> <div>Donor: 21 Dec 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition</div> <div>Name: From card: "Net for calabash, koko. Of olona, cocoanut sinnet [a.k.a. sennit] and horse hair."</div> <div>Date:</div>	<div></div> <div><table><tr><td>Museum Number 258041-0</td><td>NAME <i>Net</i></td></tr><tr><td>Accession Number 50938</td><td>PEOPLE <i>Polynesian</i></td></tr><tr><td></td><td>LOCALITY <i>Hawaii</i></td></tr><tr><td></td><td>COLLECTOR <i>N. B. Emerson</i></td></tr><tr><td></td><td>HOW ACQUIRED <i>Transfer: U.S. Gov. Board, A.T. P. Ex.</i></td></tr><tr><td></td><td>DATES <i>Ac'd December 21, 1909</i></td></tr><tr><td></td><td>WHERE PLACED</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>DIMENSIONS <i>2' x 1'</i></td></tr><tr><td></td><td>REMARKS <i>Net for calabash, koko. Of olona Cocoanut sinnet and horse hair.</i></td></tr></table></div>	Museum Number 258041-0	NAME <i>Net</i>	Accession Number 50938	PEOPLE <i>Polynesian</i>		LOCALITY <i>Hawaii</i>		COLLECTOR <i>N. B. Emerson</i>		HOW ACQUIRED <i>Transfer: U.S. Gov. Board, A.T. P. Ex.</i>		DATES <i>Ac'd December 21, 1909</i>		WHERE PLACED		DIMENSIONS <i>2' x 1'</i>		REMARKS <i>Net for calabash, koko. Of olona Cocoanut sinnet and horse hair.</i>	<div></div> <div>Hānai</div>	<div></div> <div>Piko</div>
Museum Number 258041-0	NAME <i>Net</i>																				
Accession Number 50938	PEOPLE <i>Polynesian</i>																				
	LOCALITY <i>Hawaii</i>																				
	COLLECTOR <i>N. B. Emerson</i>																				
	HOW ACQUIRED <i>Transfer: U.S. Gov. Board, A.T. P. Ex.</i>																				
	DATES <i>Ac'd December 21, 1909</i>																				
	WHERE PLACED																				
	DIMENSIONS <i>2' x 1'</i>																				
	REMARKS <i>Net for calabash, koko. Of olona Cocoanut sinnet and horse hair.</i>																				
	<div></div> <div>'Alihi</div>	<div></div> <div>Kākai/Pū</div>	<div></div> <div>Kākai/Pū</div>																		



Detail of kōkō pu'upu'u E258041-0/Smithsonian Collection. Note unique use of 'olonā, 'aha niu, and horse hair.

Catalog Number: Index Term: Donor Name: Accession Date:	E258200-0 Carrying Net Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson 21 Dec 1909 Alaska-Yukon- Pacific Exposition From card: "Net for calabash, koko. Coconut fibre and wauke bark"		<table border="1"> <tr> <td>MUSEUM NUMBER</td> <td>NAME</td> </tr> <tr> <td>258200</td> <td>Net.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ACCESSION NUMBER</td> <td>PEOPLE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>50,958</td> <td>Polynesian</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ORIGINAL NUMBER</td> <td>LOCALITY</td> </tr> <tr> <td>340</td> <td>Hawaii</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>COLLECTOR</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>N. B. Emerson</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>HOW ACQUIRED</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Transfer: U. S. Govt. Board, A. T. P. Ex.</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>DATES</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Acq'd December 21, 1909</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>WHERE PLACED</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>INVENTORIED 1975</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>DIMENSIONS</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>30" l. (in bundle)</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>REMARKS</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>"Net for calabash, koko. Coconut fibre and wauke bark"</td> </tr> </table>	MUSEUM NUMBER	NAME	258200	Net.	ACCESSION NUMBER	PEOPLE	50,958	Polynesian	ORIGINAL NUMBER	LOCALITY	340	Hawaii		COLLECTOR		N. B. Emerson		HOW ACQUIRED		Transfer: U. S. Govt. Board, A. T. P. Ex.		DATES		Acq'd December 21, 1909		WHERE PLACED		INVENTORIED 1975		DIMENSIONS		30" l. (in bundle)		REMARKS		"Net for calabash, koko. Coconut fibre and wauke bark"
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	N. B. Emerson																																						
	HOW ACQUIRED																																						
	Transfer: U. S. Govt. Board, A. T. P. Ex.																																						
	DATES																																						
	Acq'd December 21, 1909																																						
	WHERE PLACED																																						
	INVENTORIED 1975																																						
	DIMENSIONS																																						
	30" l. (in bundle)																																						
	REMARKS																																						
	"Net for calabash, koko. Coconut fibre and wauke bark"																																						





Catalog Number: 164M
Specimen Count: 1
Division: Maui
Historical Society
Bailey House Museum

Collection Date:
June 5, 1957
Accession Number:
57-7-7 (A19)

Donor Name:
Kalama, Minerva and
Sam

Accession Date: 6-5-57

275-A MAIN STREET, WAILUKU, MAUI
HAWAII 96793 • (808) 244-3326

MAUI HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Accession # 57-7-7
Accession Record

Donor: Kalama, Mrs. Sam (Minerva) (deceased) Date received 6/5/57
Address: Makawao, HI. 96768 Received as: Gift
Phone: (home) Other: exchanged for quilt
Description: Designated Collection

see attached
CAT. # 153-170

(1) SMALL ADLE
(4) COLLEGE
(1) COLLEGE
(1) KORO
(1) LUMMAIA 46T
(1) HAT OR KAP HATS (see hats from Kapaolu)
(1) PATCHWORK QUILT (Crazy Quilt former no. 0025)
(2) TAPAS

168



Piko



Hānai

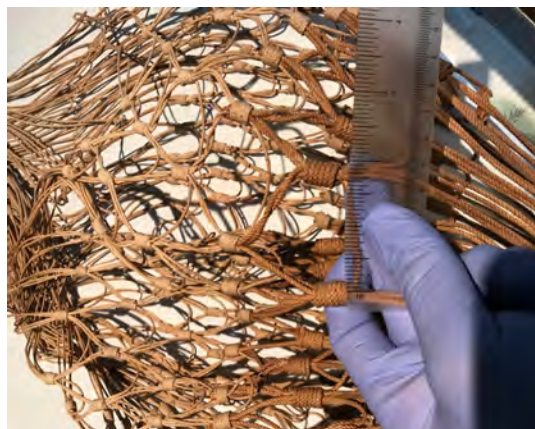
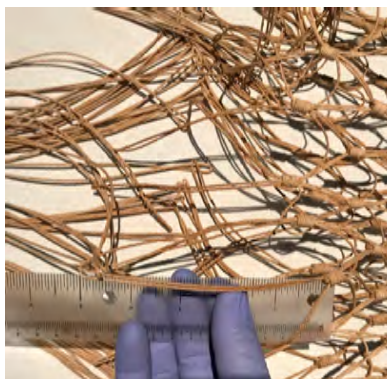
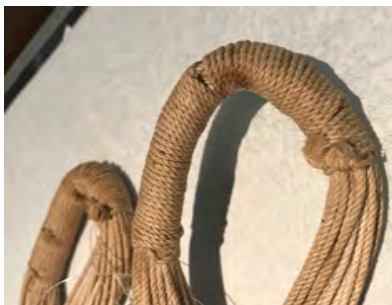


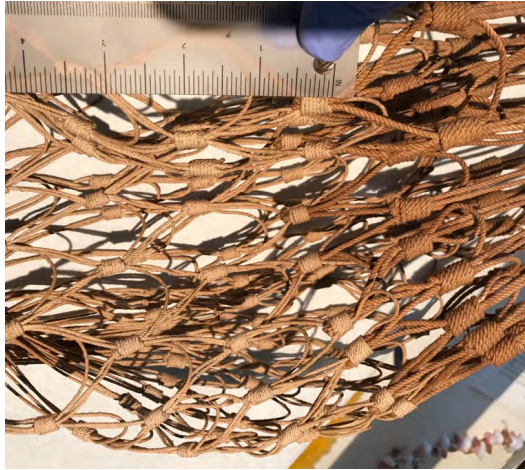
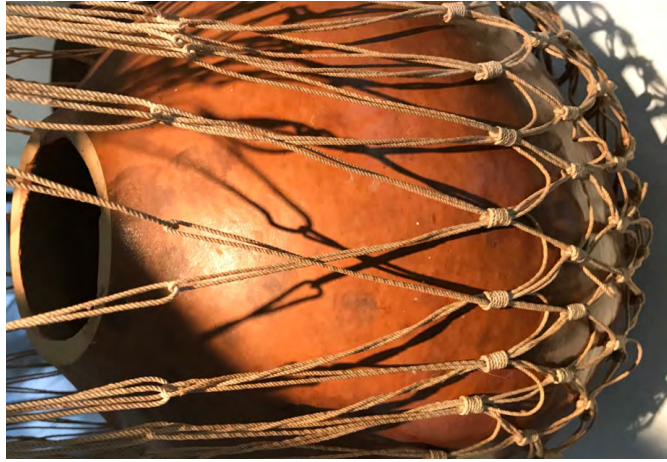
'Alihi



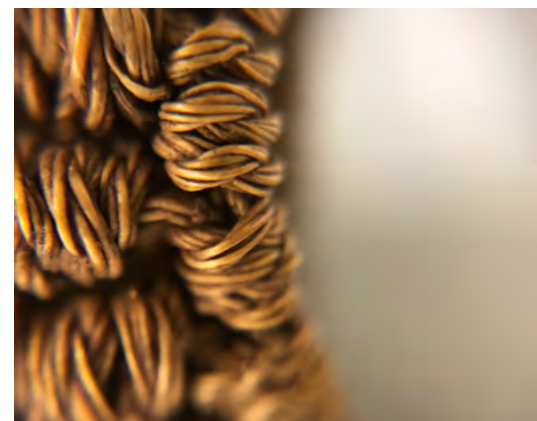
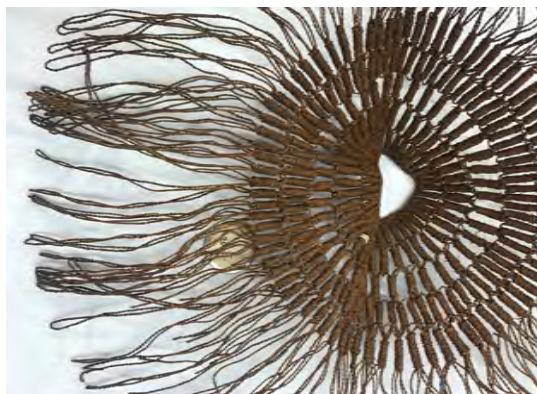
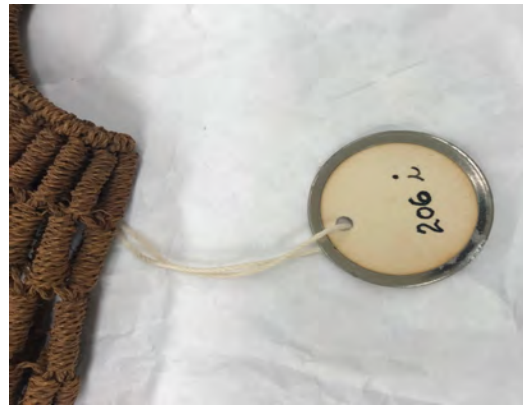
Kōkai/Pū

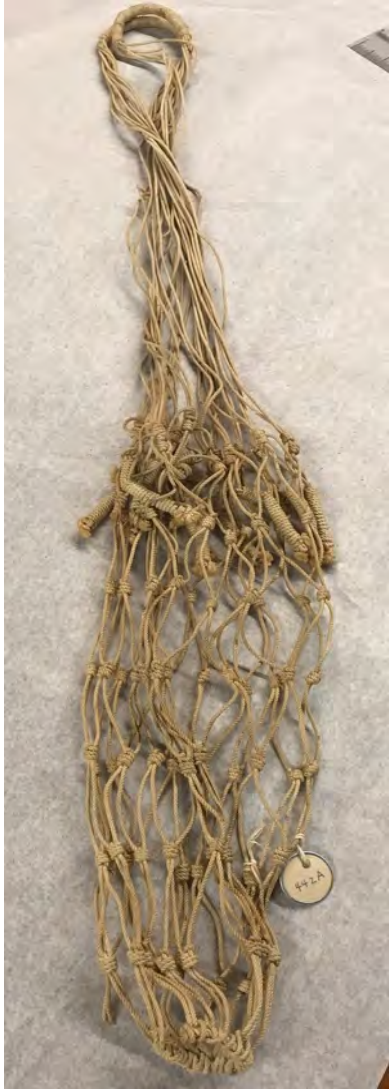













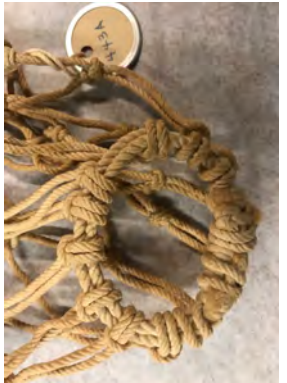

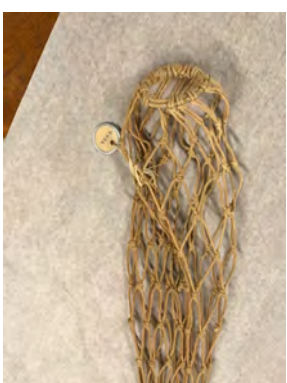
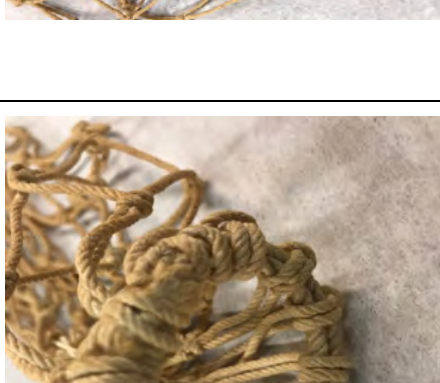


<p>Catalog Number Specimen Count Division: Object Name: Index Term: Culture: Continent: Country: Province/State: Collection Date:</p>	<p>206i Hawai'i State Archives Referenced: Kamehiro, I. (2012) The Arts of Kings Fig. 1 "Netting part of netted h</p>	 <p>Figure 1. Netting part of netted bag (hōkai-pōka and hōkai, Hōkai Nail Society (AH Arch206i). Photograph by S. L. Kamehiro, 2001.</p>	
<p>Piko</p>	<p>Hānai</p>	<p>‘Alihi</p>	<p>Kākai/Pū</p>



			<p>Catalog QE 442</p> <p>Source: Lili'u Coll.</p> <p>Accession Date: n/a</p>
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<p>Kākai/Pū</p> 	<p>'Alhi</p> 	<p>Hānai</p> 	<p>Piko</p> 
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	<p>Kakai/Pū</p>	
		
	<p>Hānai</p>	
		
<p> Catalog QE 443 Source: Lili'u Coll. Accession Date: No accession data available. </p>	<p>Piko</p> 	



Catalog
QE 444

Source:
Lili'u Coll.

Accession Date:

Kākal/Pū



'Ailhi



Hānai



Piko





Catalog
QE 445

Source:
Lili'u Coll.

Accession Date:

Kōkō pu'alu



Kākai/Pū



'Alihi



Hānai



Piko





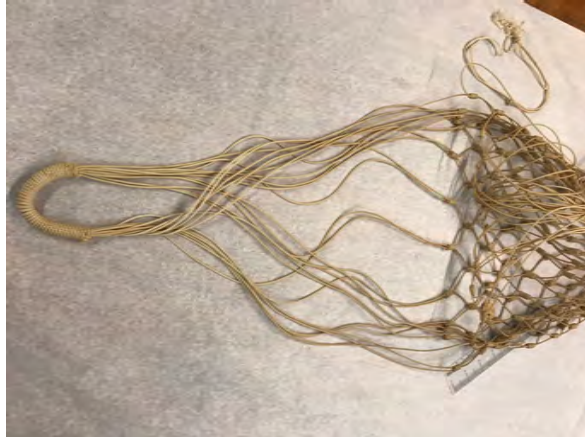


Catalog
QE 446

Source:
Lili'u Coll.

Accession Date:

Kōkō pu'alu







Catalog Number:
Specimen Count:
Object Name:
Index Term:
Other Object
Term(s):
Culture:
Province/State:
Donor Name:
Accession Date:
Kōkō Pu‘ālu

E258034-0
1 1302C01604
Carrying Net
Net Cellulose fibers
Polynesian
United States,
Hawaii
Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson
21 Dec 1909
Alaska-Yukon-Pacific
Exposition


From card: "Net to
carry calabash,
koko. of coconut
sinnet [a.k.a.
sennit]."

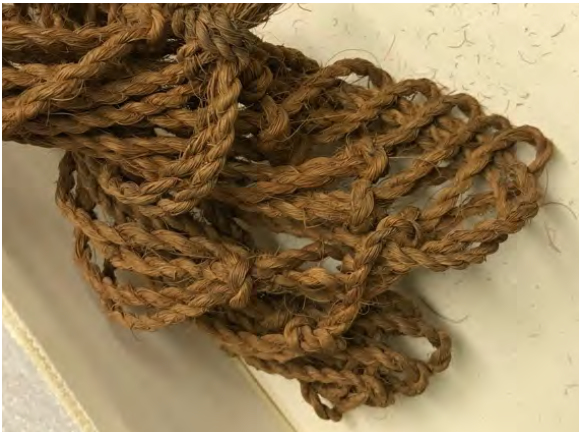





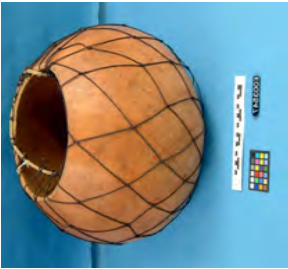
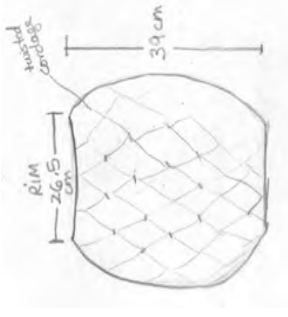
MUSEUM NUMBER	NAME
258034	Net (s)
258040	PEOPLE
	Polynesian
	LOCALITY
	Hawaii
	COLLECTOR
50-958	N. B. Emerson
Original Number	HOW ACQUIRED
334	Transfer: U. S. Govt. Board, A. C. P. Ex.
342	DATES
	Ac'd December 21, 1909
	WHERE PLACED
	Inventoried 1975
	DIMENSIONS
	40" L. (in bundle)
	18" W.
	REMARKS
	"Net to carry calabash, koko of coconut sinnet."



<p>Catalog Number: Object E258037 Name: Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson Accession Number: 21 Dec 1909 Date: Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition</p>	<p>E258037- Carrying Net Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson 21 Dec 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition</p> <p>From card: "Net for calabash, koko. of wauke [a.k.a. wauke or paper mulberry], the bark from which kapa cloth is made."</p>		<p>Kōkō</p>	<p>Pu'alu</p> 	<p>Hānai</p> 	<p>'Alihi</p> 	<p>Kāka'i/Pū:</p> 	   
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Catalog Number: Index Term: Donor Name: Accession Date:	E258040-0 Carrying Net Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson 21 Dec 1909 Alaska-Yukon- Pacific Exposition From card: "Net to carry calabash, koko. Of cocoanut sinnet [a.k.a. sennit]."		<table border="1"> <tr> <td>MUSEUM NUMBER</td> <td>NAME</td> </tr> <tr> <td>258034</td> <td>Net (2)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>258040</td> <td>PEOPLE</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ACCESSION NUMBER</td> <td>Polynesian</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>LOCALITY</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>Hawaii</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>COLLECTOR</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>N. B. Emerson</td> </tr> <tr> <td>HOW ACQUIRED</td> <td>Transfer: U.S. Govt. Board, A.T.P. Ex.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>DATE</td> <td>Acc'd December 21, 1909</td> </tr> <tr> <td>WHERE PLACED</td> <td>Inventoried 1975</td> </tr> <tr> <td>DIMENSIONS</td> <td>40" L (in bundles), 18" W</td> </tr> <tr> <td>REMARKS</td> <td>Net to carry calabash, koko of cocoanut sinnet.</td> </tr> </table>	MUSEUM NUMBER	NAME	258034	Net (2)	258040	PEOPLE	ACCESSION NUMBER	Polynesian		LOCALITY		Hawaii		COLLECTOR		N. B. Emerson	HOW ACQUIRED	Transfer: U.S. Govt. Board, A.T.P. Ex.	DATE	Acc'd December 21, 1909	WHERE PLACED	Inventoried 1975	DIMENSIONS	40" L (in bundles), 18" W	REMARKS	Net to carry calabash, koko of cocoanut sinnet.
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258034	Net (2)																												
258040	PEOPLE																												
ACCESSION NUMBER	Polynesian																												
	LOCALITY																												
	Hawaii																												
	COLLECTOR																												
	N. B. Emerson																												
HOW ACQUIRED	Transfer: U.S. Govt. Board, A.T.P. Ex.																												
DATE	Acc'd December 21, 1909																												
WHERE PLACED	Inventoried 1975																												
DIMENSIONS	40" L (in bundles), 18" W																												
REMARKS	Net to carry calabash, koko of cocoanut sinnet.																												
Kōkō Pu'alu																													

Piko	
Hānai	
'Ālihi	
Kakai/Pū	

Catalog Number: Specimen Count: Division: Object Name: Index Term: Culture: Continent: Country: Province/State: Collection Date: Accession Number: Donor Name: Accession Date:	E3547-0 2 Ethnology Carrying Gourd With Net Gourd Container / Carrying Net Hawaiian Polynesia United States Hawaii 1838 to 1842 (1838-1842) 66A00050 United States Exploring Expedition 1858	 	Major Number 3547-50 Accession Number Original Number 5598-407 Where Placed Dimensions Remarks Inverted 1975	NAME Gourd (4) PEOPLE 3547-50 LOCALITY Sandwich Islands COLLECTOR HOW ACQUIRED DATES WHERE PLACED DIMENSIONS REMARKS
			LARGE CARRYING GOURD WITH A MOSTLY INTACT CARRYING NET (KOKO). THE NET IS MADE OF TWISTED COCONUT FIBER CORD WHICH IS KNOTTED AT INTERVALS TO FORM A NET. HAS ORIGINAL PEALE TAG. EXHIBITED MAGNIFICENT VOYAGERS, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, 1985-86." Object was on display in National Museum of Natural History exhibit "Na Mea Makamae o Hawai'i - Hawaiian Treasures", 2004-2005.	

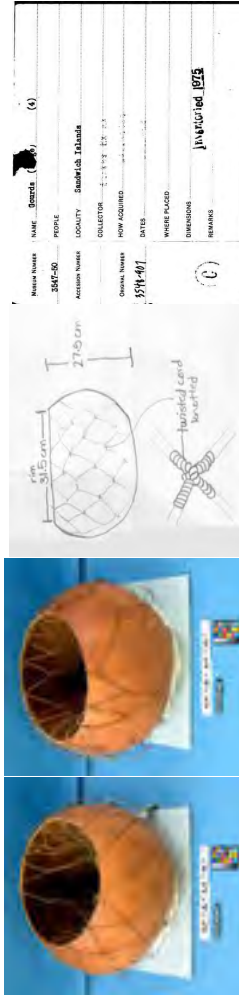
Kōkō Pu‘alu



Catalog Number:
Specimen Count:
Division:
Object Name:
Index Term:
Culture:
Continent:
Country:
Province/State:
Collection Date:
Accession Number:
Donor Name:
Accession Date:

E3548-0
2
Ethnology
Carrying Gourd With Net
Gourd Container / Carrying Net
Hawaiian
Polynesia
United States
Hawaii
1838 to 1842 (1838-1842)
66A00050
United States Exploring
Expedition 1858

Kōkō Pu‘alu

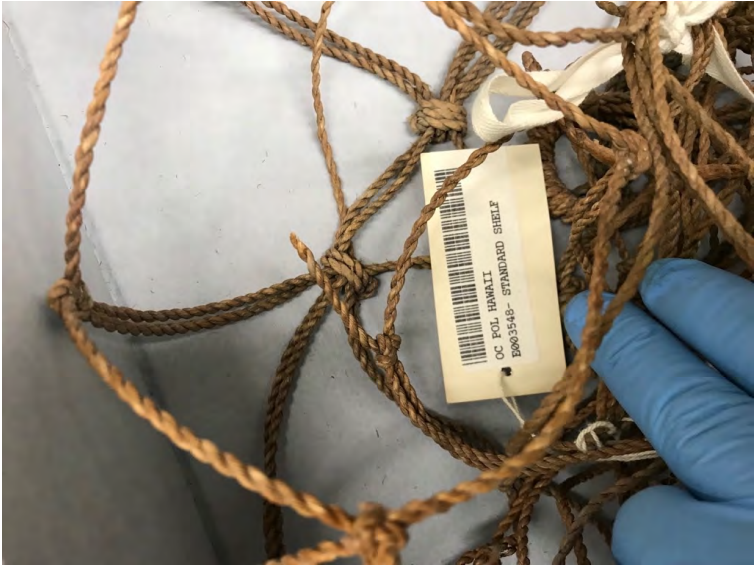


LARGE CARRYING GOURD WITH A MOSTLY INTACT CARRYING NET (KOKO). THE NET IS MADE OF TWISTED COCONUT FIBER CORD WHICH IS KNOTTED AT INTERVALS TO FORM A NET. HAS ORIGINAL PEALE TAG. EXHIBITED MAGNIFICENT VOYAGERS, NATIONAL MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, 1985-86." Object was on display in National Museum of Natural History exhibit "Na Mea Makamāe o Hawai'i - Hawaiian Treasures", 2004-2005.

Object Height 27.5 cm
Object Diameter 31.5 cm

Piko

Hānai



Catalog Number: E3549-0 Specimen Count: 2 Division: Ethnology Object Name: Carrying Gourd With Net Culture: Hawaiian Continent: Polynesia Country: United States Province/State: Hawaii Collection Date: 1838 to 1842 (1838-1842) Accession Number: 66A00050 Donor Name: United States Exploring Expedition	LARGE CARRYING GOURD. OF AN ORANGE COLOR WITH A NET (KOKO) MADE OF A COARSE COCONUT FIBER CORD. THE GOURD IS COVERED WITH WHAT APPEARS TO BE MILDEW, AND HAS A CRACK WHICH IS 15 CM. FROM THE TOP TOWARD THE CENTER OF THE GOURD. THIS PEALE NUMBER HAS BEEN ARBITRARILY ASSIGNED TO THIS CATALOGUE NUMBER FOR PURPOSES OF IDENTIFICATION AND REASSOCIATION AS A GOURD WITH ITS COVER WHICH IS CATALOGUED S.I. #3538."		NAME: Gourd (4) PEOPLE: LOCALITY: Sandwich Islands COLLECTOR: HOW ACQUIRED: DATES: WHERE PLACED: DIMENSIONS: REMARKS:
			MUSEUM NUMBER: 3547-50 ACCESSION NUMBER: ORIGINAL NUMBER: 3547-407 INVENTORIED 1975

Object: (W) 36cm (H) 38cm Dia. 24.5cm



Catalog Number:
Object Name:
Other Object Term(s):
Culture:

Accession Date:

E260781-0
Net
Cellulose fibers;
Wood/bamboo/cane/reed
Hawaiian
United States, Hawaii, Oahu
Island, Honolulu
27 Jan 1910
U.S. Department Of Interior



MUSEUM NUMBER	NAME	PEOPLE	LOCALITY	COLLECTOR	HOW ACQUIRED	DATES	WHERE PLACED	DIMENSIONS	REMARKS
260781	Neto (2)	Extinct Hawaiian	Honolulu, Alaska	Interior Dept., Bureau of Education.	Transfer.	Acc'd, Jan. 27, 1910.	Extinct species.	19 1/2" L. x 25" L. of frame.	Inventory 1975
51,115									
ORIGINAL NUMBER									

Catalog Number:
Object Name:
Other Object Term(s):
Culture:

Accession Date:

E260781-0
Net
Cellulose fibers;
Wood/bamboo/cane/reed
Hawaiian
United States, Hawaii, Oahu
Island, Honolulu
27 Jan 1910
U.S. Department Of Interior



MUSEUM NUMBER	NAME	PEOPLE	LOCALITY	COLLECTOR	HOW ACQUIRED	DATES	WHERE PLACED	DIMENSIONS	REMARKS
260781	Neto (2)	Extinct Hawaiian	Honolulu, Alaska	Interior Dept., Bureau of Education.	Transfer.	Acc'd, Jan. 27, 1910.	Extinct species.	19 1/2" L. x 25" L. of frame.	Inventory 1975
51,115									
ORIGINAL NUMBER									

Appendix B: Research Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

A Critical Analysis of Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u Across Time and Space

Researchers Information

Researcher: Ryan ‘Ōhai Daniels
(808)757-1411
ryanbkd@hawaii.edu
Supervisors: Dr. Nathan Mathews
+64 7 306 3331
nathan.mathews@wananga.ac.nz

Dr. Mera Lee-Penehira
+64 9 260 4107
mera.lee-penehira@wananga.ac.nz

Project Objective

- This research will examine the relevance of a traditional Hawaiian practice to contemporary Hawaiian culture and explore the changes that have impacted current practices. This research seeks to preserve and perpetuate Indigenous Hawaiian knowledge.
- The researcher is currently employed at the University of Hawai‘i Maui College

Participant Recruitment

- All adult participants are kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners and respected knowledge holders within the Hawaiian community. All are considered knowledgeable with respect to the construction of kōkō pu‘upu‘u and related practices.
- A minimum of six and maximum of ten kōkō pu‘upu‘u practitioners will be a part of the sampling. This writer will be meeting with the participants for approximately 60 minutes. A letter will be provided by this writer to provide information and get feedback about the proposed research prior to interview.
- Appropriate cultural protocols will be followed to preserve relationships and honor Hawaiian perspectives. This might include customs and practices that include/require ho‘okupu (ceremonial gift- giving) and other cultural protocols. Other compensation might be provided in consideration for unexpected travel time or distance, or other unforeseen hardship that might be incurred by the participant in their effort to attend the interview. In the event that undue hardship is placed on the participant, appropriate compensation might include fuel reimbursement and a meal provided/paid for by the researcher. Direct monetary payment to the participants will be avoided whenever possible.
- There are no known psychological, social, legal, economic, physical, or any other risks involved with the participation in this proposed study. The study was designed to minimize any emotional or psychological discomfort to the participants.

Project Procedures

- Data collected as part of this research project is intended for the sole use of the researcher as part of this Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiāangi research project. No data will be made

available or used outside of this project without the participants written consent.

- Once obtained and as immediately as possible after the interview is completed, all digital audio and video files will be transferred to a secure file and deleted off the general hard drives. The audiotaped interviews will be transcribed by the researcher and will be verified by correlating the playback of the audiotaped interview and comparing the information with the typed transcription.
- Access to any raw data will be password protected and only the researcher and his advisor will see the data. This includes audio/videotaped files, survey database files, computer files, and back-up drives. The raw data will be kept electronically for at least five years; then it will be permanently deleted/destroyed. All raw data collected will be used for the sole purpose of completing this dissertation and it will not be shared or disseminated to anyone.
- Participants will be given the opportunity, if they wish, to request a summary of the project findings by contacting the researcher or via Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi as listed in this Ethics application. Summaries of the project findings will maintain all confidentiality and anonymity agreements between researcher and participant.
- At the beginning of the interview, the participant will be asked if they wish to remain anonymous. Participants who wish to remain anonymous will be asked to select a non-connecting pseudonym or if the participant does not select one, the researcher will generate one with the participants consent (such a John, Jane etc.). Strict confidentiality will be maintained by the researcher at all times to ensure anonymity of the participants. No photographs or videotape will be taken of anonymous participants.

Participants involvement

- Participation is completely voluntary and participants may terminate their involvement at any time without any adverse consequences. Appropriate cultural protocols will be followed to preserve relationships and honour Hawaiian perspectives. This might include customs and practices that include/require ho'okupu (ceremonial gift-giving) and other cultural protocols.
- The study was designed to minimize any emotional or psychological discomfort to the participants. However, if completing the interview causes any unpleasant feelings such as sadness, anger, and anxiety or triggers any troubling memories, the participant will have the ability to skip any questions or stop the interview at any time.
- The participants may choose the date, time, and place most convenient for them to be interviewed. The researcher will ensure the interviews do not exceed the maximum planned time. Confidentiality and the right to withdraw or skip questions will be assured at all times. The researcher will show empathy, kindness, and unbiased understanding during all parts of the interview.
- After the interview, the participants may contact the researcher if they feel the need for any assistance as a result of the interview. The researcher will have a ready list of mental health providers to provide the participant.
- The researcher has the responsibility to maintain the confidentiality of the participants' information collected during the course of this study. However, this confidentiality is not an absolute right and may not apply to situations of harm or illegal activity. If harm is impending or evident the researcher will immediately notify this to his supervisor and await

further instructions before resuming.

- Whenever possible, participants will be asked to provide only one interview that will take no more than one hour of their time and include breaks as needed. To avoid any unnecessary hardship, interviews will be conducted at locations that are of greatest convenience to, and selected by, the participant.

Participants Rights

As a participant in this research project, you have the right to:

- Decline to participate;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study up to 90 days following the interview;
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Provide information with the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher;
- To be given access to a summary of the project finding(s) when it is concluded.

Pertaining to Audio/Video taping

- The participant also has the right to ask for the audio/video recording device to be turned off or reviewed at any time during the interview.

Pertaining to Support processes

- This study was designed to minimize any emotional or psychological discomfort to the participants. However, if completing the interview causes any unpleasant feelings such as sadness, anger, and anxiety or triggers any troubling memories, the participant will have the ability to skip any questions or stop the interview at any time. Confidentiality and the right to withdraw or skip questions will be assured at all times. After the interview, the participants may contact the researcher if they feel the need for any assistance as a result of the interview. The researcher will have a ready list of mental health providers to provide the participant.

Project Contacts

- Participants are invited to contact the researcher and/or supervisor if they have any questions about the project.

Ethics Committee Approval Statement

- This project has been reviewed and approved by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Committee, ECA # eg. 09/001.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact the Ethics Committee administrator as below:

Contact Details for Ethics Committee administrator:

Shonelle Iopata

shonelle.iopata@wananga.ac.nz

Postal address: Private Bag 1006 Whakatāne

Courier address: Corner of Domain Rd. and Francis St. Whakatāne

Appendix C: Individual Participant Interview Guide

Participant Interview Guide

Theme 1: Background and Experience in Learning Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u?

1. Could you please introduce yourself and tell me a little about your background?
 - Do you have any other expertise connected to traditional Hawaiian cultural practices?
2. How did you come to learn to tie kōkō pu‘upu‘u?
3. Traditionally, do you think that knowledge of tying kōkō pu‘upu‘u was hūnā (protected/secret) for select individuals or was common among the various classes?
 - Do you think knowledge of kōkō pu‘upu‘u and ‘upena (fishing nets) went hand in hand?
 - Do you think that cordage, knots, and binding had and special significance?
4. What makes kōkō pu‘upu‘u uniquely Hawaiian?

Theme 2: Clarification of John F.G. Stokes’ *Hawaiian Nets and Netting* published in 1906.

“this essay is intended to place on record this part of the natives’ art now forgotten and usefulness of which has entirely ceased” (p.112)

5. If the knowledge was forgotten by 1906, how would you explain our conversation today?

“they unfortunately did not acquire the art by inheritance, merely having picked it up by unravelling some old specimen.” (p.131)

6. Does the authenticity of kōkō pu‘upu‘u rest on the passing of knowledge from a living teacher to a living student?

“Foreign sailors have closely associated with the natives since 1778, and the sailor with his knowledge of knots on the one hand and the native on the other eager to learn...” (p.132)

7. Do you think the pu‘upu‘u knot was known pre-contact or is a Western introduction?

“some doubt has occurred to the writer as to whether it (pu‘upu‘u knot) was even native...some kōkō pu‘upu‘u were just too remarkable to have escaped observation.”
(pp.131-132)

8. Why do you think there is no mention of kōkō pu‘upu‘u at the time of early Western contact?
 - Why not collected during Cook’s expedition or by early explorers?

“There are many attractive patterns in kōkō pu‘upu‘u, to which no native is able to attach any significance or name...in proclaiming the degree of chiefship, a crier was sent before the ‘ā‘īpu‘upu‘u.” (p.134)

9. Do you think kōkō pu‘upu‘u patterns had significant meanings or conveyed information?

Theme 3: Terminology and Classification of Pu‘upu‘u Knot and Related Elements

10. Stokes distinguishes pu‘upu‘u/pu‘alu as “knitted” versus “knotted”
 - Should appearance be considered rather than tying technique?
 - How would you classify hybrid knots?
11. How significant is the ‘umeke or ipu to the character of the kōkō pu‘upu‘u?
 - How important are other elements such as the ‘auamo, haka or kīlou?

Theme 4: Perpetuation of Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u Knowledge and Contemporary Relevance

12. Is there practitioner kuleana to perpetuate this knowledge?
 - How do you feel about this knowledge being openly shared with others?
 - Are there elements that should be considered hūnā?
 - Do you follow any particular ritual/protocol when tying kōkō pu‘upu‘u?
 - If so, do you feel it has an impact on the final outcome?
13. In the absence of ali‘i receive these honoured gifts, how does kōkō pu‘upu‘u fit into contemporary Hawai‘i?
 - How do you feel about the commercialization or selling of kōkō pu‘upu‘u?
14. Has kōkō pu‘upu‘u evolved or changed significantly since ancient times?
 - Should innovation and change be encouraged or should be hold fast to tradition?

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form



School of Indigenous Graduate Studies
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
Private Bag 1006
Rongo-o-Awa, Domain Road Whakatāne

A Critical Analysis of Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u Across Time and Space

CONSENT FORM

THIS CONSENTFORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree / do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I agree / do not agree to the interview being video-taped.

**I agree / do not agree to the use of my name in the research document
that this interview will contribute to.**

(Participants who wish to remain anonymous will be asked to select a non-connecting pseudonym or if the participant does not select one, the researcher will generate one with the participants consent.)

I agree to participate in this study under conditions set out in the Information Sheet, but may withdraw my consent at any given time.

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Full name – printed: _____

Appendix E: Confidentiality Agreement



A Critical Analysis of Kōkō Pu‘upu‘u Across Time and Space

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I _____ (Full Name – printed)
agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full name – printed: _____

Appendix F: Ethics Application and Approval



3rd May 2018

Ryan Biggs Daniels
363 Ohaa Street
Kahului HAWAII
96732

Tena koe Ohai,

Re: Doctoral Research Proposal: DRC18.01.032

At a meeting on the 4th of May 2018, the Doctoral Research Committee of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi considered your application.

Your application has been accepted. Please contact your primary supervisor for further information.

The DRC wishes you well in your studies.

Nāku noa,



pp
Professor Graham Smith
Chair – Doctoral Research Committee