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University of Denver

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Curating *Ali'i* Collections: Responsibility, Sensibility, and Contextualization
in Hawai'i-based Museums

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Halenakekanakalawai`aoMiloli`i K. Kapuni-Reynolds

November 2015

Advisor: Christina Kreps, Ph.D.

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Author: Halenakekanakalawai‘aoMiloli‘i K. Kapuni-Reynolds
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Advisor: Dr. Christina Kreps
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Abstract

This thesis explores the curation of *ali‘i* collections in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and the Lyman House Memorial Museum. The *ali‘i* were once the ruling class of Hawai‘i, whose chiefly ranks and statuses reflected their prestigious and complicated *mo‘okū‘auhau* (genealogies). Although the *ali‘i* are no longer a visible social class in Hawai‘i, their *mo‘okū‘auhau* (genealogies) and *mo‘olelo* (stories) are continually honored and preserved within the walls of museums. Through the use of a research design that draws from multiple museologies, indigenous epistemologies, and anthropological theories and methods, I examine the physical care, storage, exhibition, and interpretation of *ali‘i* collections, and explicate on the array of obsolete and innovative museum practices that are utilized in the curation of *ali‘i* collections. In the chapters to follow, I describe these practices and suggest some of the theoretical contributions that can be made through the study of *ali‘i* objects.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

In recent years, Moana [Oceanic, Indigenous] scholars have been actively engaged in the process of indigenising elements of anthropological theories and practices. Currently, we are living in an era of the indigenisation of anthropology. Moana indigenous scholars are not discarding anthropology. Rather, they are transforming anthropology into an indigenous discipline (Ka‘ili 2012:23).

The discipline of anthropology is transforming into a dynamic and multidisciplinary field of study. Indigenous peoples, originally the objects and bodies of study for Western anthropologists, are subverting the boundaries of the anthropologist/informant divide, appropriating and adapting anthropological theories and methods to operate within their own Indigenous worldviews and epistemologies. Such transformations aid in efforts to “humanize” the discipline of anthropology and to make it accessible to a far greater segment of the population rather than a mere fraction of individuals who can decipher coded anthropological texts (Hau‘ofa 2008). As James Clifford also observes, this transformation has resulted in the “decentering of the West” and the decolonization of academia via the incorporation of multiple voices and perspectives from both Western and Non-Western scholars (2013:1).

In *ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i*, the Indigenous language of the Hawaiian Islands, anthropology falls within the larger category of *huli kanaka*, roughly translated as the investigation (*huli*) of the human condition (*kanaka*). Upon closer examination, further nuances within the term *huli* are exposed. Here, I discern those meanings and produce a personal understanding of the anthropological process, a means by which I, as a Moana

anthropologist, appropriate anthropological theories and methods to operate within my hybrid approach to anthropology.

Kaona, the notion of hidden, underlying, and metaphorical meanings behind certain phrases, words, or metaphors is a Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian) construct that guides how I read and interpret the world (Ho‘omanawanui 2014). Ergo, *huli kanaka* refers to more than just the investigative process. The meaning of the word *huli* is manifold, and includes the act of turning or reversing, as well as the stalk of the *kalo*, the taro plant, one of the primary crops that fed and continues to sustain successive generations of Kānaka Maoli. Tracing the connection of the word *huli* to *kalo* also connotes the belief that *kalo* is regarded as the Kanaka Maoli ancestor Hāloanakalaukapalili, the older brother to Kānaka Maoli and the son of Pāpahānaumoku (Earth Mother) and Wākea (Sky Father). When *huli kalo* (taro stalks) are planted, edible *lau* (leaves) and ‘*ohā* (corms) are produced. As a *kalo* plant matures, new *huli* form from the ‘*ohā* which can then be planted to produce more *lau*, more ‘*ohā*, and more *huli*. When the *lau* and ‘*ohā* are cut, prepared, and consumed, *huli kalo* can be replanted to produce a new series of *lau*, ‘*ohā*, and *huli*.

The cyclical process of growing *huli kalo* can be grafted onto the literal use of *huli* in *huli kanaka*. As the study of culture, *huli kanaka* explores traditions, beliefs, and practices over time in various temporal capacities, whether it is the study of the past, the study of cultural transformation over time, or the study of the current condition of any given culture. Tracing the works of previous anthropologists provides the means to trace the intellectual genealogy of anthropology and allows for critical reflection on the development of theories on culture over time. From this genealogical tracing, older

anthropological theories may be revisited or discarded. New theories emerge and eventually become old. Such an iterative practice of tracing and developing mimics the *huli kalo* and suggests that theories and texts, like *huli kalo*, are “cultivated” by a group of individuals, i.e. anthropologists. When a *huli*, an anthropological theory, becomes old and unable to bear new *lau* (texts) and ‘*ohā* (new theories) in abundance, it is discarded. In its place, new *huli*, derived from the older *huli*, are cultivated and provide new ‘*ohā*, *lau*, and *huli*. Although the older *huli* was discarded, the newer *huli* shares some of the traits of the older *huli*. *Huli kanaka*, anthropology, and the research process in general, embodies this cyclical and generational process of learning, reflecting, producing, and replicating.

The introduction above alludes to the mixed methodological and theoretical approach I utilized for this thesis. Not limited only to anthropological texts and theories, I draw from a multidisciplinary perspective, weaving together anthropology, Hawaiian studies, and literary studies into a single research framework. My articulation of *huli kanaka* is akin to the Tongan concept of *telavai*, which *Moana* anthropologist Tēvita O. Ka‘ili utilizes as a metaphor to describe the intersection, crisscrossing, and interweaving of Indigenous knowledge systems with anthropological theory and practice (Ka‘ili 2012:22).

This thesis examines how *ali‘i* collections are curated in Hawai‘i-based museums. Traditionally, the *ali‘i* were the reigning class of the Hawaiian Islands who traced their lineage to the gods. For centuries the *ali‘i* waged war, led civic projects, and birthed successive generations of sacred chiefs and chiefesses who guided the *maka ‘āinana*, the commoners. The *mo‘olelo* (stories, histories) of the *ali‘i* and their prestigious

mo'okū'auhau (genealogies) were preserved orally and later through written texts, all of which were and are regarded as major components to the collective history of Kānaka Maoli (Kame'elehiwa 1992; Osorio 2002). Recognizing the importance of *Ali'i* history as a medium for preserving and recollecting Kanaka Maoli history is crucial, especially in a time when the *ali'i* are no longer a detectible social class in Hawai'i.

In the aftermath of Hawai'i's first contact with Westerners in 1778, depopulation ensued and decimated both *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* numbers. Over time, the *ali'i*, especially those fit to serve as *ali'i nui* (paramount rulers), dwindled substantially through foreign diseases and epidemics. In the wake of the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom at the turn of the 20th century, there remained only a mere handful of *ali'i* with immediate ties to the Hawaiian Crown.

Yet even during the tumultuous 19th century, the *ali'i* managed to uphold their *kuleana* (responsibilities) to the *maka'āinana*. Various projects and legislative measures were undertaken by the *ali'i* to re-establish *pono*, a state of equilibrium in a drastically changing archipelago. Their efforts and lives are preserved in their tangible and intangible legacies, the objects, songs, and dances that honor the *ali'i*, all of which are preserved in the hearts and minds of Kānaka Maoli and within museums. The proliferation of *Hula* (dance) festivals throughout the islands and abroad invokes the sustained relationship between *ali'i* and *maka'āinana*. Songs and dances attributed to the *ali'i* are performed and lived, ensuring the perpetuation of their *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* for future generations.

Within museums, so too is *ali'i* culture immortalized through the exhibition and interpretation of their worldly possessions. Yet the ramifications of displaying *ali'i*

culture remain undertheorized. The majority of studies that examines *ali'i* culture have primarily focused on historical reconstructions of the *ali'i* past. But how is *ali'i* culture and history preserved *today*? And what does the study of *ali'i* culture in the present have to offer to the theory and practice of museum anthropology?

In this thesis, I examine these questions as they pertain to the curation of *ali'i* collections at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum. At each institution, *ali'i* collections are interpreted and exhibited differently. However, I learned that the collections managers who care for *ali'i* collections on a daily basis at both institutions share similar concerns for properly caring for and respecting the *ali'i* collections housed in their respective museums.

The Bishop Museum is one of the largest museums in the State of Hawai'i and was founded in the 19th century on the collections of three high-status *ali'iwahine* (chiefesses). Such an amalgamation of *ali'i* collections is coupled with the Bishop Museum's approach towards utilizing Hawaiian knowledge as a guiding framework in the development of exhibits and interpretations in the public galleries that discuss *ali'i* culture. Behind closed doors, the integration of Indigenous care methods is also evident in the storage and handling of *ali'i* collections by collections managers.

Museological studies in Hawai'i have primarily focused on the Bishop Museum. However, smaller institutions, such as the Lyman Museum, are also institutions that can shed light on how *ali'i* collections are stored, exhibited, and interpreted in the Hawaiian Islands. Established in the 20th century as a means to preserve the historic home of a missionary couple that settled in the town of Hilo, the *ali'i* collections at the Lyman Museum comprise of a handful of materials that were acquired by the museum from

missionary families across Hawai‘i Island. These *ali‘i* objects are associated with the *ali‘i* class rather than specific characters, yet the approach towards caring for these collections is similar to the practices employed by collections managers at the Bishop Museum that aim to provide *ali‘i* collections with the proper reverence and respect. With regards to the interpretation and exhibition of *ali‘i* culture, however, the approach taken at the Lyman Museum is vastly different from the Bishop Museum, and presents an opportunity for examining how *ali‘i* collections were exhibited and interpreted in Hawai‘i over four decades ago.

By examining these two museums, I propose that Hawai‘i-based museums, as institutions where cross-cultural practices commingle into cross-cultural approaches towards the care of culturally sensitive materials, are a model of the confluence of Indigenous methods of care and professional museum standards in the walls of museums and like institutions. This hybrid approach towards caring for Hawaiian collections effectively sensitizes Western curatorship to Indigenous concerns, and is clearly evident in the care of *ali‘i* collections at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum to various degrees.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter Two provides a brief background of *ali‘i* culture, which I consider to be a subculture of Kanaka Maoli culture. This chapter begins with a literature review that traces how *ali‘i* culture has been discussed and recorded over the past two centuries. Beginning with the etic primary accounts written by foreigners in the late 18th and early-19th century and ending with postmodern texts that deconstructs the production of *ali‘i* literature, I argue that *mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i* (chiefly genealogies) and *mo‘olelo* (stories,

histories), are two fundamental categories that are discussed in relation to the *ali'i*. Emphasis is placed on works written by anthropologists, but key writings from scholars in other disciplines are also discussed. Such multidisciplinary contributions have aided in the anthropological reconstruction of the *ali'i* past. After tracing the literature, key concepts in *ali'i* culture are explored and include 1) the tracing of *mo'okū'auhau ali'i* (chiefly genealogies) back to cosmogonic origins, 2) the practice of *ali'i* incest, 3) the various *ali'i* ranks and *kapu*, 4) the tradition of usurpation, and 5) the objectification of rank, status, *mo'olelo*, and *mo'okū'auhau* within various forms of *ali'i* material culture.

Chapter Three communicates the theoretical framework that guided this research. A comprehensive overview of the anthropological literature is provided here with a particular emphasis on museum anthropology. I invoke Vergo's (1989) concept of the existence of multiple museologies as a framework to trace the development of multiple branches of museology from both Western and non-Western contexts. The museologies that I draw from and describe include the new museology movement, critical and reflexive museology, collaborative museology, appropriate museology, and indigenous museology. Each successive generation of museum anthropologists has expanded on the writings of previous scholars, and has increased our understanding of the purpose, value, and function of museums. In particular, the section on collaborative museology also incorporates two case studies on the praxis of collaborative museology as expressed through the bicultural museum model in Aotearoa (New Zealand) and the interactions of museums in the United States with Indigenous communities after the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990.

Tracing these various museologies produces a history of museum practice that describes the various ways in which the museological world has interacted with Indigenous peoples over time. These interactions begins with the objectification of Indigenous objects and bodies as curiosities for the Western world and traverses through time, ending with current efforts to collaborate with Indigenous communities to present poly-vocal narratives on Indigenous histories and contemporary issues.

In addition, I develop the concept of cultural contextualization which is derived from appropriate museology theory and practice (Kreps 2008b). Cultural contextualization refers to the adaptation of professional museum practices through the integration of Indigenous practices and beliefs at either the individual or institutional level. Cultural contextualization reflects the perception of curation as a social practice that is malleable and transformable. Such hybrid forms of museum practice are conducive towards developing culturally appropriate care methods for curating cultural materials. In later chapters, I describe the process of cultural contextualization as it manifests in the curation of *ali'i* collections at both the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum.

Chapter Four outlines the research design that guided the processes of data collection and data analysis. The research questions that I aimed to address through the research, the rationale behind choosing the Lyman Museum and the Bishop Museum as research sites, and a guiding definition of the term *ali'i collections* are provided.

The methodologies and methods that were employed during my fieldwork are also explained. Methodology refers to the conceptual framework that justifies the methods that are utilized in any given endeavor. As a multidisciplinary study, I draw from the methodologies of museum ethnography, Indigenous methodologies, and

Hawaiian epistemology. Tracing these frameworks provide the contexts behind my approach to research as a Kanaka Maoli museum anthropologist operating as both an insider and outsider to the cultural phenomenon that I am studying. Following my discussion on methodologies, I describe in detail the qualitative research methods that I utilized in data collection and data analysis. These methods provided the rigor needed to collect substantial and meaningful data.

Chapter Five and Chapter Six are both analysis chapters that describe how *ali'i* collections are curated at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum. Each chapter begins with a *mele* (song) that was composed by staff members at each respective institution. The *mele* vary in length, style, and meaning, but function in the same way at each institution as a cultural practice to welcome visitors into the museum. In a similar manner, the *mele* are presented at the beginning of these chapters to welcome the readers to learn from these Hawai'i-based museums. Both chapters are organized structurally in the following manner, which aids in the comparative brief that I provide in chapter seven:

1. A *mele* that introduces the chapter and the museum.
2. A chapter overview that provides a synopsis of the chapter sections ahead.
3. An institutional history that provides the background of each institution.
4. An analysis of the interviews with collections staff from each museum.
5. An analysis of the galleries that exhibit and interpret ali'i culture at each museum.
6. A brief conclusion.

These chapters reveal two varying approaches to curating *ali'i* collections and reflect an older (Lyman Museum) and a newer (Bishop Museum) approach towards handling, interpreting, exhibiting, and storing *ali'i* collections.

Chapter Seven compares the curation of *ali'i* collections in both institutions. Here, I also discuss some of the lessons that can be learned from reflecting on NAGPRA in relation to Native Hawaiians. NAGPRA has shed light on the disjuncture that exists amongst Kānaka Maoli. Nonetheless, it also provides the means to reflect on how Hawaiian beliefs and practices have endured and transformed in the wake of colonialism in the islands. Thus, in the context of caring for *ali'i* collections, the practices and beliefs that individual collections staff bring to their respective museum is a reflection of the reconfiguration and persistence of traditional beliefs and practices in new and nuanced ways. Later in this chapter, I provide separate recommendations on ways that both institutions can further the dialogue and improve their exhibits on *ali'i* culture. I end with a note that describes possible areas of interest for future studies on the relationship between museums and Kānaka Maoli.

Lastly, this thesis ends with an epilogue that describes a *mele* that I composed to record and reflect on my fieldwork experience. The *mele* introduces the epilogue and is described in detail in the pages that follow. I consider song composition as a decolonizing method that provides a creative outlet for describing one's subjective experiences in conducting research. It also serves as a means for me to preserve the respect that I have for each institution in a textual and performative format. Lastly, writing a *mele* further reflects the fact that Kanaka Maoli culture is a living and thriving culture. As such, we

are exploring ways to “Hawaiianize” scholarship to operate within our Oceanic worldview.

A Note on Language, Formatting, and Terms

The use of *ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* within the literature has changed over the decades and reflects transformations in how Hawaiian language has been standardized in textual form over the decades. For example, when early Kanaka Maoli writers produced texts, they infrequently used diacritical marks such as the *‘okina* (glottal stop) and *kahakō* (macrons). These linguistic indicators were not needed for a population fluent in *ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i*. These diacritical marks are a historical invention that aid second-language learners, myself included, in learning the correct pronunciation of Hawaiian *hua ‘ōlelo* (words). In addition, many Kanaka Maoli scholars have reclaimed the right to use plain formatting when stating Hawaiian words rather than italicizing them. This shift reflects a decolonizing practice in the sense that *ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* is not only the Indigenous language of the islands but is also the official language of the State of Hawai‘i. Ku‘uleialoha Ho‘omanawanui explains this concept eloquently:

Because Hawaiian language is not foreign to Hawaiians, Hawaiian words are not italicized except for specific emphasis. Hawaiian vocabulary with multiple nuanced meanings are contextualized, resulting in English glosses provided more than once as needed. Such a culturally centered practice supports language advocacy in my own Indigenous community, in the discipline of literary studies, and in the academy overall toward respect for Hawaiian as a language of culture and scholarship (Ho‘omanawanui: 2014: xxxv)

The context in which scholarly work is published is relevant here, and reflects my choice in italicizing Hawaiian words; I am writing this thesis outside of Hawai‘i and for both a Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian audience. However, all of the quotes contained within this thesis reflect the original orthography as printed in each source.

Furthermore, I use terms such as “Kanaka Maoli”, “Native Hawaiian”, and “Hawaiian” interchangeably to refer to the aboriginal people and culture of the Hawaiian Islands that predate the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. The inclusion of a *kahakō* in Kānaka Maoli indicates that I am using the term in its plural form, i.e. Native Hawaiians.

CHAPTER TWO: ALI'I CULTURE

... [The *ali'i*] were descended from the gods and made manifest in human form. We honor and embrace our chiefs—leaders who were more than mere individuals, for they embodied the cumulative mana of their ancestors in genealogies that reach back to the very beginning of time. Their interrelationships formed the living tapestry of a Nation.

- Introductory text in Wao Lani, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum

***Mo'okū'auhau* and *Mo'olelo*: Preserving *Ali'i* Culture and History**

This chapter develops a contextual framework for understanding how *ali'i* collections are curated in Hawai'i-based museums. Three questions guide the formation of this chapter:

1. Who were the *ali'i*? What could be considered as defining characteristics of the *ali'i* social class?
2. How do anthropological studies of *ali'i* culture fit within the broader intellectual genealogy of anthropology?
3. What can *ali'i* objects tell us about *ali'i* history, culture, and identity?

By reviewing the literature, the concepts of *mo'okū'auhau* (genealogy) and *mo'olelo* (stories) emerge as two central tenets that are discussed repeatedly in relation to *ali'i* culture. *Mo'okū'auhau* represents the lineal connection of the *ali'i* to their chiefly originators, and ultimately, to the gods (*nā akua*). Rank and status were conferred upon the *ali'i* at birth and varied according to one's position within the *ali'i* genealogical

hierarchy. In addition, *ali'i* waged war and acquired the *mana*, the spiritual power and energy, of their fallen enemies, which in turn elevated their chiefly status.

At the upper strata of the *ali'i* class, the custom of incest maintained their genealogical purity and connection to *nā akua*. At the societal level, *mo'okū'auhau* also dictated the separation of Hawaiian society into endogamous social classes; the genealogies of the *kauwā* (outcast, slaves), *maka'āinana* (commoners), and the *ali'i* are traced back to different lineages that converge to a single ancestral pair. The *mo'okū'auhau* of each social class outlined the traditional social hierarchy and legitimized the senior lineage and authority of the *ali'i* to rule over those of junior lineages, i.e. the *maka'āinana* and *kauwā*.

The ancestral names of *ali'i* are preserved through *mo'okū'auhau*, which are also mediums for the preservation of *mo'olelo*, oral histories and stories that trace cultural continuity and transformation over time. Practices such as incest, the usurpation of senior-ranked *ali'i* by their junior counterparts, and the *kapu* system, are all preserved in ancestral memory through *mo'olelo*. Kame'elehiwa (1992:22) recalls the connection of *mo'okū'auhau* and *mo'olelo* fluently:

In any case, genealogies are more than *mo'okū'auhau*, or lists of who begot whom. They are also a mnemonic device by which the *mo'olelo*, or the exploits of the *Ali'i*, are recalled. As the lists of names are chanted, the adventures of each *Ali'i* are remembered, and these, in turn, form the body of tradition by which their descendants pattern their Chiefly behavior. In times past, when a problem arose, the *Ali'i*, usually in council, would send for a *kākā'ōlelo*, an antiquarian and genealogist, who would consider the issue and recount all pertinent *mo'olelo*. Then the *Mō'ī* [paramount chief] would know which decision had brought his ancestors success; this would be the path to follow.

For Kanaka Maoli scholars, analyzing *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* expands our understanding of the *ali'i* and of the Hawaiian past. *Mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* are

interpreted and later re-interpreted by successive generations of Kanaka Maoli scholars, revealing an iterative process in the production of new cultural insights from past materials. Critically engaging with *mo'olelo* and *mo'okū'auhau* is an Indigenous and “decolonizing” project that privileges the extrapolation of meaning from traditional knowledge sources. Such projects allow Kānaka Maoli to reclaim *ali'i* culture and history as a means to revisit the past, to understand present circumstances, and to prepare for the future (Tuhiwai Smith 2012).

Tracing the *Mo'okū'auhau* of *Ali'i* Literature

Before the introduction of a written Hawaiian language by the missionaries in the early-19th century, *ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i* operated strictly as an oral language. *Mo'okū'auhau ali'i* (chiefly genealogies), and *mo'olelo* were transmitted orally generation after generation by court genealogists (*kū'auhau*) and storytellers (*kākā'ōlelo*) who were experts in the art remembering and recounting. Prior to the invention of a written language, the only writings on Hawaiian culture and history in existence were late-18th century and early-19th century accounts written by sailors, merchants, and missionaries. These sources preserve a plethora of etic perspectives on Hawaiian culture that either depict Kānaka Maoli as dirty primitive savages or as the picturesque *bon sauvage*, the noble savage. However, with a newly introduced written language, Kanaka Maoli scholars immediately put their pens to paper, and began the arduous task of transferring oral histories and traditions to a written medium.

The Preservationist Movement: Kanaka Maoli Sources

Soon after the introduction of a written form of *ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i*, Kanaka Maoli writers began to present their own emic perspectives on the *ali'i* and of Kanaka Maoli culture. Famed Kanaka Maoli scholars of this era included David Malo (1903), Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau (1964; 1992), John Papa 'Ī'i (1959), and Kepelino Keauokalani (1932). These intellectuals understood the significance and exigency of preserving and perpetuating Hawaiian knowledge through a written-medium, especially at a time when all segments of the Kanaka Maoli population experienced massive depopulation through the introduction of foreign diseases. Estimates of the Kanaka Maoli population in 1778 have ranged between 300,000 to 800,000 individuals (Stannard 1989; Schmitt 1968). By 1823, that population was significantly reduced to approximately 134,000 Kānaka Maoli; seven decades later, that number dropped drastically to less than 40,000 individuals (Kame'elehiwa 1992).

During this tumultuous and tragic time, collecting, publishing, and ensuring historical accuracy of the *mo'okū'auhau* and *mo'olelo* ensured the continual transmittance of Kanaka Maoli history and identity to new generations of Kanaka Maoli. As Kamakau states in an 1865 editorial:

He mea maikai loa ka imi ana i na mea haule a nalowale o na mea kahiko o Hawaii nei; a ke imi nei kakou e loaa mai me ka pololei, a e lilo ia waiwai na na haumana mahope aku nei i ka wa pau ole.

[It is very worthwhile to seek what has fallen away or disappeared concerning the ancients of this land, Hawai'i; and we are seeking in order to acquire those things accurately, for they will become something of great value to future generations for all time.] (in Nogelmeier 2010:102).

Another reason behind the preservation of ancestral knowledge came from the branch of Hawaiian Christianization that was intended to preserve these traditions as *aides-mémoire* of Hawai‘i’s “pagan” and immoral past. Such accounts reified the need for Kanaka Maoli salvation and provided the justification for the establishment of missions across the islands (Nogelmeier 2010). Regardless, educated Kānaka Maoli like Malo, Kamakau, ‘Ī‘Ī, and Keauokalani all recognized the value of preserving ancestral knowledge, and their *kuleana* (responsibility) to ensure that future generations of Kānaka Maoli were able to access and learn more about their Hawaiian heritage.

Subsequently, the writings of Kanaka Maoli historians were synthesized by writers such as Abraham Fornander (1890) and Martha Beckwith (1970; 1972). Both authors draw from these primary sources and present some of the earliest attempts to exhaust the surviving literature on *ali‘i* culture. Nogelmeier (2010) describes the works of Fornander and Beckwith, along with the writings of Malo, Kamakau, ‘Ī‘Ī, and Keauokalani, as a “canon” of Hawaiian literature—most notably *ali‘i* literature. Nogelmeier describes these sources as the basis of a Hawaiian canon because they are the first to be consulted by researchers and scholars. Often times, these sources were and continue to be cited unquestionably as sources of cultural authenticity. Yet, as will be described later, such a reliance on these sources are currently under question in the early 21st century.

The Salvage Anthropology Movement

In Hawai‘i, Kanaka Maoli writers published *mo‘okū‘auhau* and *mo‘olelo* endlessly in Hawaiian language newspapers in the 19th and early-20th centuries as a mode

of preserving Kanaka Maoli traditions, practices, and narratives. Remarkably, this preservationist mindset preceded and subsequently overlapped with the rise of salvage anthropology. Salvage anthropology was not a theory in itself, but was a movement in the discipline that permitted the incessant collecting of native cultural beliefs, practices, histories, and objects under the guise of cultural preservation. These collecting practices operated under the notion that if anthropologists were not actively collecting intangible and tangible forms of culture, then the languages and traditions of the “dying races,” i.e. Indigenous peoples, would be lost forever due to colonial policies and institutions that aimed to assimilate native peoples into the culture of the dominant society.

Within Hawai‘i, oppressive colonial practices existed as laws that discouraged the transmission of the Hawaiian language and culture from one generation to the next in addition to the deliberate historical amnesia surrounding Kanaka Maoli resistance to the overthrow and illegal annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the United States of America (Silva 1998; Silva 2004; Sai 2011; Osorio 2002; Kame‘elehiwa 1992; Nogelmeier 2010). Colonial oppression nearly resulted in the extinction of the Hawaiian language as an oral language, the domestication of Kānaka Maoli as American citizens, and the dormancy of Kanaka Maoli history within the pages of Hawaiian language newspapers. Accessibility to these historical accounts written by and for Kānaka Maoli were limited to a few translated texts that became regarded as *the* primary sources—the canon of Hawaiian literature. The issue with these texts is that they are merely translations and *not* the actual Hawaiian language texts themselves.

For anthropologists, preserving the “remnants” of native cultures through fieldwork and field collecting was deemed to be an ethical and moral responsibility. Ironically, both ethical and non-ethical means were utilized in collecting traditional objects, beliefs, and practices. This is clearly seen in the practice of collecting Hawaiian objects from burial caves. In addition, the focus of collecting expeditions was to collect things that were associated with the native past. Objects that were considered to be pure and uncontaminated by Western contact were collected, which perpetuated a romanticized native past that deemphasized contemporary lives, and disengaged with the complexities of the colonial encounter and its ramifications for Indigenous peoples. This emphasis further allowed for historical fabrications of the native past that were captured through photography or within museum exhibits (Jacknis 1985; Stocking 1985). Today in Hawai‘i-based museums, the legacy of salvage anthropology is pervasive, and has reified mythical narratives of “ancient Hawaiians” from the past with no connection to the present (Kaepler 1992).

The beginnings of anthropological research in Hawai‘i can be traced to salvage anthropology. When Alfred Kroeber provided remarks during the First Scientific Conference hosted by the Pan Pacific Union in Honolulu on August 2, 1920, he stated that “the accumulation of new ethnological data... does not seem promising in Hawaii” (Kroeber 1921:129). Instead, Kroeber recognized that studies on written Hawaiian language, folklore, and archaeology, could produce promising contributions to the fields of anthropology and ethnology. These aforementioned areas of research consequently became key areas of scholarship for anthropologists, folklorists, and linguists who

studied Hawaiian culture. As a result, studies of the Kanaka Maoli past rather than the lives of then-contemporary Kānaka Maoli were emphasized. Kroeber's remarks are further reflected in publications by the Bureau of American Ethnology, an organization deeply entrenched in the salvage anthropology movement (Emerson 1909; Beckwith 1919). These publications were accompanied by studies of Hawaiian material culture and archaeological studies that were produced by anthropologists who worked with the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. The most notable publication for my research is Te Rangi Hīroa's (Peter Buck's) famous book titled *Arts and Crafts of Hawai'i* (1957), which provides a comprehensive treatment of various forms of Hawaiian material culture, their significance and symbolism, and their manufacture. Note that Hīroa's publication occurred later in the timeline of salvage anthropology. Such publications as I have noted, emphasized the study of historical materials rather than the colonial situations of Kānaka Maoli in the early 20th centuries.

Mary Kawena Pukui: Traversing the Boundaries of Kanaka Maoli and Ethnographer

Writings produced during the salvage anthropology period, as well as the preservation movement of Kanaka Maoli writers, provided resources for a wide range of subsequent publications. Most notable are the contributions of Mary Kawena Pukui, a famed Kanaka Maoli ethnographer who spent her career at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum translating key Hawaiian-language manuscripts and recording the traditions, stories, and chants that were still preserved in the memories of living *kūpuna* (elders) from across the island chain who lived during the 19th century. Like the Kanaka Maoli authors of the 19th century, Pukui recognized preservation and accessibility as key

practices for the continuation of Hawaiian culture. Perhaps Pukui's approach is a reflection of both the Kanaka Maoli preservationist tradition and the salvage anthropology movement that she was entrenched in.

Throughout her career, Pukui was chastised by some Kānaka Maoli who believed ancestral traditions should remain hidden. Similar sentiments were expressed in the 1800s when Kamakau and other Kānaka Maoli published *mo 'okū 'auhau ali 'i* and *mo 'olelo* (Nogelmeier 2010). Regardless, Pukui persisted and published a range of notable contributions including *The Polynesian Family System of Ka 'ū* (Handy and Pukui 1998), *'Ōlelo Noe 'au: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings* (Pukui 1983), *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Pukui and Elbert 1986), and Volume I and II of *Nānā I Ke Kumu (Look to the Source)* (Pukui, Haertig, and Lee 1979a; Pukui, Haertig, and Lee 1979b). These sources were and are important publications on Hawaiian history and culture. Pukui was also responsible for translating the newspaper accounts written by Kamakau and 'Ī'ī which were then published as books that became key readings in the Hawaiian canon (Kamakau 1964; 'Ī'ī 1959).

A System-based Approach to Hawaiian Cultural Studies: Structuralism

The next series of anthropological writings that were produced in the wake of the salvage anthropology movement were new studies on *ali 'i* culture that shifted focus towards formal structural analyses of Hawaiian social stratification and kinship (Goldman 1957; Oliver 1961; Sahlins 1968; Sahlins 1958). For example, in *Social Stratification in Polynesia* (1958), Marshall Sahlins argues that the degree of social stratification given within a Polynesian society could be accounted for by environmental adaptability and

productivity. Sahlins identifies the ramage system (also known as conical clans), lineal descent groups, and atoll organization as the three forms of social stratification that existed in Polynesia. In this classificatory scheme, Sahlins identifies Hawaiian society as a ramage system, where descent is traced back to a mythical common ancestor and status is determined by genealogical seniority. Sahlins describes the social stratification found within the Hawaiian Islands as consisting of the *ali 'i* (chiefs), *maka 'āinana* (commoners), and the *kauwā* (outcast, slaves) classes; the (re)distribution of land and of resources by the *ali 'i* to their relatives; and the withholding of choice materials like feathers and whale ivory for use by the *ali 'i*. Hawaiian society is further compared to other cultures found on volcanic high islands in Polynesia such as Tonga, Sāmoa, and Tahiti. Studies such as Sahlins (1958), analyzed *Ali 'i* culture and Hawaiian society at the macro-level and utilized previously-collected comparative data from numerous sources to extrapolate on cultural development and structures in varying locales. This broad approach did not, nor was structuralism in general, conducive towards the study of cultures at the micro-level, i.e. the study of key historical events and the histories of particular individuals.

Anthropological Studies of *Ali 'i* History: Post-structural Anthropology

In later years, Sahlins adapted the system-based structuralist approach to consider the influence of individual agency in the making of cultural history. This approach is seen in his monograph *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom* (1981), which analyzes how the interactions of the *ali 'i* and *maka 'āinana* with foreigners were constituted by a set of culturally determined values and practices that originated in Hawaiian mythology. In essence,

Sahlins argues that Hawaiian myths became Hawaiian realities through the reproduction of behaviors, traditions, and values that were traced back to mythical ancestors. Sahlins uses the term *mythical realities* to describe this relationship between the mythic past and the present. Claire Farrer describes a similar process in her book *Thunder Rides a Black Horse: Mescalero Apaches and the Mythic Present*. Farrer uses the term *mythic present* to describe mythical realities and describes it as “the comingling of long-ago time, place, character, and activity, with the present” (Farrer 1996:4). The mythic present recognizes that the lives of revered Mescalero Apache ancestors are not temporally restricted to the past. Rather, they are a part of polychronic time where temporality is regarded as a fluid and converging construct. This is contrasted to monochronic time which presents time in a singular-sequential fashion (Farrer 1996:4–5). Thus, for Kānaka Maoli, the mythic present as mythical realities recognizes that the past constantly repeats itself and serves as a source of ancestral knowledge and behaviors. For Sahlins, recognizing this cultural continuity over time effectively serves as method for historicizing structural analyses of culture. In essence, the replication of structural systems can be and is influenced by specific actors and events as found in cultural myths and historical accounts.

Sahlins describes various examples of mythical realities in Hawai‘i. For instance, when Captain George Vancouver discussed the Christianization of the Hawaiian Islands with Kamehameha I sometime in 1793 or 1794, Kamehameha I advised that they both scale Mauna Loa and jump off a precipice. As they fell, they would each call to their respective god or gods to save them. Whoever survived would serve as undeniable proof that they were saved by an unknown force, ergo legitimizing the power of their respective

god/gods (Townsend in Sahlins 1981:9). Sahlins interprets Kamehameha I's challenge to Vancouver as an allusion to the legend of Pa'ao. Much like Vancouver, Pa'ao came to the Hawaiian Islands from foreign lands. In the Pa'ao myth, Pa'ao lived at the edge of a precipice and was approached by various gods who asked him to worship them. Pa'ao responded by requesting them to jump off the cliff. The gods who returned alive would then receive his worship (Kamakau in Sahlins 1981:10).

Mythical realities, such as Kamehameha I's evocation of the Pa'ao myth, connect the present to the mythical past. Other examples of mythical realities within Kanaka Maoli culture and history include traditions such as *ali'i* incest, the *kapu* system, and interactions with newcomers to the islands. Many of these traditions are rooted in ancestral *mo'olelo*. Mythical realities as an interpretive framework allows us to interrogate the convergence of *ali'i* myth and reality in historical and contemporary circumstances.

The traditional mythical realities of Kānaka Maoli were challenged and transformed with the arrival of Westerners in the islands. New hybrid forms of culture emerged, and through the study of particular events, Sahlins demonstrates that certain cultural traditions were readjusted to fit the needs of the *ali'i*. He demonstrates this by describing the events that took place after the abolishment of the *kapu* system, in particular, Ka'ahumanu's circuiting of the islands in a clockwise direction.

Ka'ahumanu was the favorite wife of Kamehameha I and later became *Kuhina Nui* (regent, prime minister) upon his death. It was during the reigns of Kamehameha I's predecessors, Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) that

Ka‘ahumanu gained immense political power, which both successors attempted to tame and rebel against:

...after the two rebellions of the King’s [Kauikeaouli’s] party had been suppressed, Kaahumanu imitated the ancient rites of chiefly confirmation in a perverse form by circuiting the islands in clockwise direction, proclaiming the Christian tabus [*kapu*] and building the new churches as she went. So had traditional paramount chief legitimated his succession by consecrating the temples (*luakini*—the same word used for Christian churches) in a tour of his domain (Sahlins 1981:66).

Here, Ka‘ahumanu participated in activities that once fell into the domain of the *ali‘i nui* (paramount chief) of a particular island. By reenacting this chiefly circuit in the wake of abrogating the *kapu* system, Ka‘ahumanu efficaciously appropriated chiefly customs to reinforce her own status as *Kuhina Nui* of the Hawaiian Islands, advertently creating a newly “invented” tradition in the process. Hobsbawm (1983:6) describes invented traditions as “the use of ancient materials to construct invented traditions of a novel type for quite novel purposes”, which was precisely Ka‘ahumanu’s intention; she reenacted a custom reserved for *ali‘i nui* to formalize her political influence and prowess across the island chain. Understanding cultural continuity, transformation, invention, and adaptation through mythical realities is a useful analytical tool that provides a greater depth of context, or in using Sahlins’s term, *historical metaphors*, to interpret the reproduction and transformation of cultural structures within a historical framework (Sahlins 1981).

Of all of the assertions that Sahlins’s formulates in *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities*, one in particular was met with great criticism and led to a long intellectual debate. Sahlins claims that Kānaka Maoli regarded Captain Cook as one of their primary deities known as Lono. Sahlins’ interpretation is based on primary accounts written by Cook and others who were aboard the *Discovery* and the *Resolution* when

Cook arrived in the Hawaiian Islands. In these accounts, Kānaka Maoli are said to have proclaimed “*Erono*”, O Lono, when they referred to Cook. Sahlins also points to the participation of Cook in rituals associated with Lono as well as his arrival during the time of *makahiki*, a season dedicated to Lono, as evidence of Cook’s elevation to a godly status (Sahlins 1981).

Following the publication of *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities* and other key writings by Sahlins (Sahlins 1985, for example), a series of rebuttal pieces were published by other scholars who challenged Sahlins’s interpretation, including critiques written by Jonathan Friedman (1985), Steen Bergendroff and his colleagues (1988), and most notably Gananath Obeyesekere (1992). These scholars disagreed with Sahlins’s interpretation on the grounds that 1) Cook was not regarded as a god but rather as a chief, 2) that the notion of Cook as Lono was a historical fabrication dated after the arrival of missionaries, and 3) that Cook’s apotheosis was the result of European mythmaking (Borofsky 1995). Such critiques were postcolonial in their articulation and reflects a critical commentary on Western interpretations of Indigenous historical events.

Sahlins defended his claims in subsequent writings and addressed each concern that was raised by each critic. He simultaneously pointed out the flaws in each scholar’s repudiation (Sahlins 1988; Sahlins 1989; Sahlins 1995). Ultimately, this intellectual feud resulted in probing questions regarding the authority of non-Native anthropologists and the necessity of Native voices in anthropological scholarship that continues to resonate with current anthropological practice (Borofsky 1995). Whether Cook was ipso facto regarded as Lono will remain as an interpretive enigma.

Inserting Women into *Ali'i* Culture: Feminist Anthropology

Simultaneously with the development of Sahlins's approach, other anthropologists tackled Hawaiian history and culture through other lenses. Jocelyn Linnekin's book titled *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender, and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands* (1990), provides a much needed feminist critique that explicitly reveals the androcentrism of writings and theories of life in the islands before and after Western contact. In reviewing the historical sources, as well as the various publications on Hawaiian social status and religion that were published by anthropologists in the early- to mid- 20th century, Linnekin finds that most of the authors were men who were swift to dismiss the role, status, and agency of Hawaiian women within Hawaiian society. Further, Linnekin questions the translation of *haumia*, a condition associated with women that is repeatedly described within the literature as a state of being impure and defiling to the sanctity of men. Linnekin's examination of the historical literature and her systematic study of land inheritance during the Māhele in the mid-19th century reveals that *ali'i* women held great significance whose rank and status rivaled, and in some cases were superior to, their male counterparts. Albeit women were systematically excluded from discussions on religious practices and economic production in the past literature, Linnekin asserts that women were producers of numerous objects that were used in ceremony and for state occasions (Linnekin 1990; Linnekin 1988). In addition, she rejects the theory that women were regarded as defilers in favor of the affinity theory, which suggests that menstrual blood was associated with the sacred and powerful because women, through their *ma'i* (genitals), were connected to the spiritual

realm and to the gods (Hanson 1982). Lilikalā Kame‘elehiwa also published a book called *Nā Wāhine Kapu: Divine Hawaiian Women* (1999), which furthers the conversation and elaborates on the role and status of Hawaiian women in the past and present from a Kanaka Maoli perspective. Linnekin and Lilikalā’s publications remind us that critical investigations of *ali‘i* culture need to be cognizant of the gender biases that are present within the literature. They further remind us that women too played an integral and influential role in *ali‘i* culture.

Pono Theory: Kanaka Maoli Contributions to Anthropology

Kame‘elehiwa also published an earlier work titled *Native Land and Foreign Desires* (1992) which is considered to be another seminal piece on *ali‘i* literature. Although she is not an anthropologist, Kame‘elehiwa’s writings on the Kanaka Maoli past are typically consulted by anthropologists and archaeologists. Her articulation of the *ali‘i* past and of *ali‘i* practices is worth merit here because it presents a uniquely Kanaka Maoli worldview and perspective. In order to understand practices such as *ali‘i* incest, *‘aikapu* (the act of men and women eating separately), *mālama ‘āina* (land stewardship), and land inheritance, Kame‘elehiwa draws on the Hawaiian concept of *pono*, which “for Hawaiians...described society in a state of perfect equilibrium” (1992:138). Like Sahlins, Kame‘elehiwa draws on *mo‘olelo* to describe metaphors that illustrate the rootedness of *pono* in Kanaka Maoli tradition. Prior to contact, the *ali‘i* achieved *pono* through warfare, civic projects, and by ensuring that there was a new generation of *ali‘i* to rule over the islands. The modes by which the *ali‘i* sought *pono* changed however after the arrival of Westerners and the irreversible transformation of Hawai‘i that ensued. For example,

Kame‘elehiwa’s interprets the *Māhele* as a means by which Kamehameha III attempted to secure *pono*. Kamehiro (2009) further provides an example of how Kalākaua materialized *pono* through the various public projects that he established, which I will discuss in detail later. Unfortunately, the *Māhele*, in actuality, led to the displacement of thousands of Kanaka Maoli families. *Pono*, as an explanatory framework for exploring the reasons behind the actions of the *ali‘i*, is an effective tool that continues to be used by Kanaka Maoli scholars and anthropologists today for exploring *ali‘i* agency.

Adrienne Kaeppler: Contributions to Museum Anthropology

Whereas Linnekin and anthropologists before her reinterpreted Hawaiian culture and history through a historical framework, Kaeppler brought the conversation back into the present and into museums, where the bulk of Hawaiian ethnographic objects are found. These collections primarily comprise of objects that were once owned by or associated with the *ali‘i* class. Over the years, Kaeppler engaged in various studies that attempted to reconstruct the ancestral meanings and symbolism behind *ali‘i* objects. She also studied the transformation of *ali‘i* object meanings, forms, and symbolism due to Western contact (Kaeppler 2013; Kaeppler 2008; Kaeppler 1982; Kaeppler 1980; Kaeppler 1979; Kaeppler 1972). Kaeppler is known for tracing the provenance of some of the earliest Hawaiian objects collected during the visits of Captain James Cook to the Hawaiian Islands, which were included in an exhibit she curated titled "*Artificial curiosities" of the 18th century: being an exhibition and exposition of native manufactures collected on the three Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N.* (1978). Another exhibit that she worked on was *Hawai‘i: The Royal Isles* (1980), the first exhibit

that brought collections from the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum to various museums in the United States. *Hawai‘i: The Royal Isles* presented Hawaiian culture in transformation, and was one of the first exhibits to address Hawaiian cultural change, transformation, and persistence, although the exhibit heavily glorified the Hawaiian monarchy (Kaepler 1992; Rose 1980a; Kaepler 1980).

A key essay written by Kaepler is “*Ali‘i and Maka‘āinana: The Representation of Hawaiians in Museums at Home and Abroad*” (1992), which scrutinizes the exhibition of Kānaka Maoli in museums. Kaepler compares the display of Hawaiian culture abroad to Hawai‘i-based museums and finds two differing approaches towards the display and interpretation of Kanaka Maoli culture.¹ At the foundational level, these dissimilarities dealt with the type of Kanaka Maoli collections that can be found in each locale. Museums outside of Hawai‘i typically hold collections that consists of 1) ceremonial objects or 2) objects that were obsolete and thus discarded or given away by Kānaka Maoli. Kaepler notes that institutions abroad do not have a lot of utilitarian objects in their collections because those objects would have been kept for daily use (Kaepler 1992).

Collections found abroad represent a long history of trade and exchange between Kānaka Maoli and Westerners. For example, *‘ahu‘ula* are found globally and were gifted by the *ali‘i* to sailors, missionaries, and other monarchs outside of Hawai‘i. Kaepler argues that the gifting of *‘ahu‘ula* (feather cloaks) were a means by which the chiefs

¹ Although Kaepler has strong ties with the Bishop Museum, her analysis includes other museums found throughout Hawai‘i.

could rid themselves of *'ahu'ula* that were confiscated during warfare. Since the *ali'i* abided by stringent regulations that forbade them from wearing the clothes and regalia of other *ali'i*, gifting *'ahu'ula* functioned as an exchange object that established trust and friendship, a key practice for maintaining alliances with foreigners (Kaeppler 1992). Within foreign institutions, *'ahu'ula*, and many other Hawaiian objects are merely displayed as curios and mementos that museums just “happen to have” (Kaeppler 1992:465).

Compared to museums abroad, Hawai'i-based museums have Hawaiian materials that include more utilitarian objects. Objects like fishhooks, and *poi* pounders are present in the collections and are interpreted through a historical-lens. Rather than being regarded as mere curiosities, Kaeppler states that Hawai'i-based museums “are more culturally sensitive than those across the oceans, and objects are generally placed in historical or cultural perspectives” (Kaeppler 1992:467). However, she acknowledges that these objects are exhibited in a manner that emphasizes a cultural past with no engagement with the present, an example of the legacy that salvage anthropology has left behind within museums globally.

In both Hawai'i-based museums and those abroad, Kaeppler claims that a romanticized image of Kanaka Maoli culture is presented. Concepts such as cultural change and transformation are not explored and are deemphasized in favor of reductive exhibits that present an imaginary pre-contact Hawai'i that emphasizes the regal nature of *ali'i* culture:

What is today emphasized as traditional is the system of values associated with the Hawaiian monarchy, a system that is essentially a combination of European

aristocratic ideas grafted onto a Polynesian hierarchical social structure—celebrating chiefs rather commoners, praising status over work, and encouraging emulation of royalty and events associated with it (Kaepler 1992:468).

Although Kaepler’s analysis is enlightening, I do not find her characterization of celebrating and memorializing the life of the *ali‘i* as a “combination of European aristocratic ideas grafted onto a Polynesian hierarchical social structure” to be convincing (Kaepler 1992:468). Kaepler is correct in the sense that the *ali‘i* incorporated European aristocratic beliefs and practices into their daily lives. But her characterization of the memorialization and emphasis on *ali‘i* culture as an augmentation of European monarchical traditions fails to consider the significance of preserving *ali‘i* culture and history within Kanaka Maoli culture. Take for instance, Hawaiian language scholar Larry Kimura’s description of the differences between the terms *ali‘i* and *maka‘āinana*:

The usual translations of these words in English are “king” and “commoner” respectively. In American fairy tales, an English king carries the connotation of the European feudal system, the American historical rebellion against King George (American law still forbids titles), royal decadence, and a fascination with royalty...the word “common”...connotes...strong social stratification and distance, and even some of the economic and racial separation that exists in America...The Hawaiian terms *ali‘i* and *maka‘āinana* have completely different connotations and even meanings. From the traditional Hawaiian viewpoint, the *ali‘i* and *maka‘āinana* are the same people and one family...descended from Papa and Wākea (in Ho‘omanawanui 2014:xxxvi).

Kimura’s elucidation is also expressed in the *‘ōlelo no‘eau* (Hawaiian proverb) *hānau ka ‘āina, hānau ke ali‘i, hānau ke kanaka*, born was the land, born were the chiefs, and born were the common people. Pukui’s (1983:56) translation of this *‘ōlelo no‘eau* recognizes a tripartite relationship that existed between the land (*‘āina*), the *ali‘i*, and the *maka‘āinana*. The *‘ōlelo no‘eau* can also be found in the *kumulipo*, a cosmogonic chant that traces *ali‘i* descent back to the beginnings of time (Ho‘omanawanui 2005). Such

cultural nuances reflect a deeper connection between the *ali 'i*, the *'āina* (land), and the *maka 'āinana* that are not encapsulated merely within terms such as “kings”, “chiefs”, and “royalty;” there is far more to the story of why *ali 'i* culture is exhibited and memorialized.

Producing *Ali 'i* Literature Today

Current literature on *ali 'i* culture explores various domains of *ali 'i* life. Within anthropology, archaeologists studying Hawaiian culture have effectively made the case for elevating the status of Hawaiian society at the time of Western contact to that of one of the great civilizations of the world. Two recent monographs that contribute a great deal towards our understanding of *ali 'i* and more broadly Kanaka Maoli culture are *How Chiefs Became Kings: Divine Kingship and the Rise of Archaic States in Ancient Hawai'i* (Kirch 2010) and *The Ancient Hawaiian State: Origins of a Political Society* (Hommon 2013). By carefully tracing the literature and looking at both the ethnographic and archaeological records, these texts posit that at the time of Western contact, polities such as the one found on Hawai'i Island were analogous to early states and civilizations:

By the early contact era, primary states had emerged in the Tongan and Hawaiian islands, meaning that Polynesia was the seventh and last world region where states formed uninfluenced by preexisting states. Each Hawaiian state was a large, populous autonomous polity with a ruler (*ali 'i nui*) or corulers directing a centralized government that employed legitimate authority, backed by force, to exercise sovereignty. The ruler or coruler routinely delegated political power to a multitiered bureaucracy that implemented society-wide tasks, including tax collection, public works projects, and military command (Hammond 2013:257).

Such claims not only elevate the status of Hawaiian culture, but also empower Kānaka Maoli to learn more about the *mo 'okū 'auhau* and *mo 'olelo* of their ancestors.

Postmodernism has also entered the realm of *ali'i* literature. Deconstructions of past works have resulted in critiques that challenge our interpretations of Hawaiian culture and history. An example of this approach is *Mai Pa'a I Ka Leo: Historical Voice in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (2010), written by literary scholar M. Puakea Nogelmeier. Nogelmeier argues that anthropologists and other scholars have relied on a prescribed set of translated texts, such as the works of Kamakau, 'I'i, Malo, and Keauokalani, as authoritative sources of Hawaiian history and culture. Yet, as Nogelmeier points out, over-reliance on these translations have validated the existence of a canon of Hawaiian texts that are "neither representative, nor could they possibly replace the extensive, poly-vocal, and largely unutilized body of historical Hawaiian auto-representation that exists" (Nogelmeier 2010:105). These "misrepresentational texts" decontextualize the environments in which key works by early Kanaka Maoli historians were written. For example, Nogelmeier reminds us of the intellectual debate between Kamakau and A. Unauna, a court genealogist who served under Kamehameha II and Kamehameha III. Unauna condemned Kamakau for publishing *mo'okū'auhau ali'i* and *mo'olelo*, which were regarded as sacred information that were preserved in secret and away from the ears and eyes of the public. In addition, Unauna also challenged the accuracy of Kamakau's historical and genealogical knowledge. Kamakau responded fervently by advocating for the importance of preserving these traditions on paper and defending his authority and accuracy in publishing *ali'i* genealogies (Nogelmeier 2010).

In modern times, Kamakau and other Kanaka Maoli writers within the Hawaiian canon are regarded as supreme authorities on the subjects of Hawaiian history and culture without any acknowledgement of those like Unauna who questioned their authority. By acknowledging such written confrontations and the politics surrounding the writings of these early Kanaka Maoli historians, Nogelmeier effectively advocates for the greater inclusion of other Kanaka Maoli accounts, the return to primary Hawaiian language source materials rather than a continued reliance on translated texts, and the need to look beyond the Hawaiian canon. From such critiques, new works are constantly being published that incorporate a broader range of resources and historical voices, in addition to new Kanaka Maoli perspectives that present a uniquely Indigenous interpretation of Hawai‘i’s cultural past and its relevance in contemporary times. Now that I have traced the *mo‘okū‘auhau* of *ali‘i* literature, I will further describe key aspects of *ali‘i* culture that are pertinent to my research.

Mo‘okū‘auhau Ali‘i: Chiefly Genealogies and Cosmogonic Origins

Nā ali‘i mai ka pō mai.

Chiefs from the night.

- Hawaiian proverb

As mentioned previously, *mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i* (chiefly genealogies) are implicated in any discussion pertaining to *ali‘i* culture. For Kānaka Maoli, *mo‘okū‘auhau* is “a foundation of ‘Ōiwi [Kanaka Maoli] culture, identity, and worldview” (Ho‘omanawanui 2014:6). Tracing *mo‘okū‘auhau* is a defining *ali‘i* cultural tradition that legitimized *ali‘i* rank and status and connected them to the exploits and glorified histories of their chiefly ancestors. In Hawai‘i, a bilateral kinship system was employed that allowed the *ali‘i* to

trace their ancestry on both their maternal and paternal lines. Archaeologist Patrick Kirch notes that “a distinguished pedigree—a genealogy that could be traced back through an unbroken line of named ancestors—was the hallmark of the chiefly class” (Kirch 2010:35). Goldman (1957) uses the term *status lineage* to describe this form of bilateral kinship which emphasizes descent-tracing through status lines. As noted earlier, Kanaka Maoli society at the time of contact operated under a ramage system, which placed *ali‘i* at the pinnacle of the “conical clan”, i.e. Hawaiian society (Sahlins 1958).

In Hawai‘i, the foundations of chiefly genealogies come from various lineages, all of which can be traced back to a single common ancestral pair, Wākea, Sky Father, and Papahānaumoku, Earth Mother (Barrère 1961; Keauokalani 1932). Beckwith (1970:293) notes that from this pair, the *ali‘i* traced their descent back to two chiefly lineages; the chiefs of Māui and Hawai‘i traced descent back to the ‘Ulu lineage and O‘ahu and Kaua‘i chiefs traced their genealogies back to the Nana‘ulu lineage. Both ‘Ulu and Nana‘ulu were the sons of Ki‘i and Hinakō‘ula, descendants of Hāloa and Hāloanakalaukapalili, sons of Papahānaumoku and Wākea.

Yet *ali‘i* lineages do not begin with Papahānaumoku and Wākea. Sahlins (1981:14) notes that in Hawai‘i, a “humanized mythology” is employed; Papahānaumoku and Wākea are regarded as human ancestors as compared to their association as cosmogonic mythical beings found in the Māori myth of the heavens (Rangi) and the Earth (Papa). In *mo‘olelo*, Papahānaumoku and Wākea are but a single generation in a *mo‘okū‘auhau* that extends back hundreds of generations before them. Yet in *mo‘olelo*, Papa, Wākea, and their daughter Ho‘ohōkūkalani, are sometimes regarded as the

progenitors of the Hawaiian Islands, thus reaffirming their mythical qualities (Malo 1901). Rather than interpret the Papa and Wākea myth within Hawai‘i as a humanized mythology, perhaps it is a reflection of cultural invention within the Hawaiian Islands aggregated onto an ancestral Polynesian master narrative. Thus Papa and Wākea are regarded as human ancestors but also as mythical island progenitors.

As noted previously, Papa and Wākea are connected to a longer genealogy that places them lower on the genealogical ladder. For example, after providing a list of Wākea and Papa’s descendants, Malo (1903:313) goes into detail about Wākea’s own *mo‘okū‘auhau* and the *mo‘olelo* associated with it. Wākea was the son of Kahikoluamea and Kupulanakēhau and junior to his brother, Līhau‘ula. When Kahiko passed, Līhau‘ula inherited the lands of his father, and waged war against Wākea. Līhau‘ula and his army was no match for Wākea and was ultimately defeated, leaving the land and the right to rule to Wākea.

Wākea then waged war with another rival, Kāneiakumuhonua. However, in his first attempt, Wākea was defeated and he, along with his people, were forced to flee into the ocean. After performing a consecration ceremony as instructed by his priest Komoawa, Wākea returned to land and resumed warfare with Kāneiakumuhonua. This time, Wākea was victorious and secured the right to rule as well as the ultimate right of his descendants to become the *ali‘i* of island chain (Malo 1903:313). In this *mo‘olelo*, we witness the establishment of categories within *ali‘i* culture that were perpetuated over the centuries, the origins of a mythical reality (Sahlins 1981). Wākea, a younger and junior-ranked *ali‘i*, waged war with his older and senior-ranked brother Līhau‘ula, ultimately

defeating Līhau‘ula and becoming the new supreme *ali‘i*. In the Kāneiakumuhonua *mo‘olelo*, Wākea is presented as a foreign chief who conquers a native-born chief. The traditions of junior and foreign usurpation have manifested throughout *ali‘i* history, and serve as “mythical realities” that can contextualize the actions of the *ali‘i* (Sahlins 1981). Usurpation is further discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Malo’s account of Wākea’s life is a vignette within the longer *mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i* that goes farther back into antiquity. The names of these venerable ancestors are preserved in an array of *ko‘ihonua* (cosmogonic genealogy). One famous *ko‘ihonua* is the *Kumulipo*, a cosmogonic chant composed in the late 17th century by Keāulumoku to commemorate the birth of Kalaninui‘āmamao, and *ali‘i nui* (paramount chief) of Hawai‘i Island. The *kumulipo* traces Kalaninui‘āmamao’s descent back to the beginnings of time, identified within Hawaiian cosmology as the time of *pō* (darkness). The referent to *pō* in the *‘ōlelo no‘eau* which introduces this section, *nā ali‘i mai ka pō mai*, chiefs of the night, recognizes the ancestral connections of the *ali‘i* to the beginnings of time itself. Literary scholar Ku‘ualoha Ho‘omanawanui provides a succinct description of the *Kumulipo* that is worth quoting in full here:

Kumulipo (source of deep darkness), a preeminent *ko‘ihonua* (cosmogonic genealogy) recouring the birthing of the Hawaiian universe from *pō*, sets a foundational tenet of [Kanaka] Maoli culture—genealogical succession. The [Kanaka] Maoli universe is not created from the divine breath of a singular male god, but through a birthing process beginning with Kumulipo and Pō‘ele (black night), paired (‘ēko‘a) male and female entities of the cosmos. Sixteen *wā* (epochs) span eons of time, recounting the birth of the heavens, the earth, all known things held within their cosmic embrace. The first eight *wā* occur in *pō*, the time of the gods, where corals, earth, and numerous aquatic and land plants and animals appear, enumerated in specific ‘ēko‘a pairings, birthed within a framework of kinship and evolution.

At the conclusion of wā 8, dawn breaks. Ao, the time of light and order emerges from pō; the naissance of star constellations and the birth of kanaka [people] continues the mo‘okū‘auhau through several hundred generations, mo‘okū‘auhau of akua and ali‘i intertwined. The descent of kanaka from Papahānaumoku (foundation birthing islands), Earth Mother, and Wākea (broad expanse), Sky Father through their kalo [taro] child Hāloanakalaukapalili (long breath fluttering leaf), and his younger sibling Hāloa, the first ali‘i are also detailed. (Ho‘omanawanui 2014:4–6).

Beckwith (1972:8) describes a prose note that was “translated under the direction of Mrs. Mary [Kawena] Pukui and checked with the queen’s [Lili‘uokalani’s] rendering of certain passages.” The prose note describes the *kumulipo*, as well as those who came to inherit this cosmogonic chant. The *kumulipo* was performed at the time when Kalaninui‘iamamao was “consecrated and given the Taboo, the Burning, the Fearful, the Prostrating Taboo” at the *heiau* (temple) of Ke‘ekū in Kahalu‘u, Kona, Hawai‘i Island (in Beckwith 1972:8). Two other occasions in which the *kumulipo* was performed, according to Lili‘uokalani, was at Hiki‘au heiau in Kealakekua, when Captain James Cook was offered pork, and at the deathbed of Ke‘eaumoku (in Beckwith 1972). From Kalaninui‘iamamao, the *kumulipo* was passed down over the generations, and was eventually bequeathed to chiefess Alapa‘iwahine of Hawai‘i Island. From her lineage comes Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani, who respectively published and later translated the *kumulipo*. Beckwith notes that such iterations of the chant at various state functions as well as the importance of passing the *kumulipo* down through the generations reflects the “sacred character” of this *ko‘ihonua* (Beckwith 1972:9).

The *kumulipo* is a masterpiece that epitomizes the height of Kanaka Maoli oratory. It provides one interpretation of the genealogical connections that binds the *ali‘i* and all of mankind to the plants, the animals, the gods, and the expansive universe.

Within the *kumulipo*, anecdotal bits of information that recall the life of Papa and Wākea, the pair who would become the ancestors of the *ali 'i* and *maka 'āinana*, are also preserved. Kame'elehiwa (1992:23) notes that in a lineage that traces descent back to 'Ōpūkahonua, Papa and Wākea are regarded as half-brother and half-sister. Through their union, the islands of Hawai'i and Māui are born.

Next is birthed Ho'ohōkūkālani, Papa and Wākea's first human child and daughter. Ho'ohōkūkālani was a beautiful woman, and Wākea wished to sleep with her. But how could Wākea meet in secret with his daughter without arousing Papa's suspicions? Wākea met with Komoawa, his high priest, to discuss this matter. Komoawa suggested that Wākea instigate "tapu nights when husband and wife shall separate" and to explain to Papa that "this is done at the command of the gods" (Beckwith 1970:297). Kame'elehiwa (1992:23) provides further clarification of what these "tapu nights" entailed. Komoawa proposed that four nights during each lunar month should be dedicated to Lono, Kū, Kāne, and Kanaloa, the four principal male deities within Kanaka Maoli religion. During these *kapu* nights, it was forbidden for women and men to sleep with each other. Men were also expected to "be at the *heiau* (temple) services of these nights" (Kame'elehiwa 1992:23). In addition to these *kapu* nights, the *'aikapu* was established, which forbade women from eating with men. Beckwith (1970) and Malo (1903) explains that the *'aikapu* prohibited women from consuming certain foods, which Kamakau (1870) lists as pork, shark, *'ulua* (parrotfish), any type of red fish, and certain types of banana, coconut, and *poi* (taro paste). Such restrictive beliefs regarding food consumption and the separation of the men and women formed the basis of the *kapu*

system—an intricate political and religious system that governed the bodily and spiritual behaviors of the *ali'i* and the *maka'āinana*. Separate eating ensured the *mana* (spiritual energy) of men, whose consumption of *'ai* was regarded as a sacrifice made to Lono, and prevented men from being exposed to the powerful *mana* of women (Kame'elehiwa 1992:23).

When Papa heard of these proposed nights of *kapu*, she consented, thus establishing the *kapu* system. With this new system set in place, Wākea met secretly with Ho'ohōkūkālani. On the second night of *kapu*, he seduced Ho'ohōkūkālani and they slept together. The next day, Wākea overslept and Papa discovered his treachery. Their confrontation ended with Papa and Wākea's divorce, officially signaled by "one spitting in the other's face as sign of repudiation" (Beckwith 1970:297). This separation was temporary, as Papa would return to Wākea and would produce more offspring, notably, the islands of O'ahu, Kaua'i, and Ni'ihau (Kame'elehiwa 1992).

Through the union of Wākea and Ho'ohōkūkālani's, the islands of Moloka'i, and Lāna'ika'ula were birthed. Ho'ohōkūkālani also produced two human male offspring; the first child was named Hāloa, who was a *keiki 'alu'alu* (premature birth) that was planted in the earth near their home. From his physical remains sprouted the first *kalo* (taro) plant. His name was extended to incorporate his newly developed form, Hāloanakalaukapalili, Hāloa of the fluttering leaves (Kame'elehiwa 1992:24; Malo 1903:320). Wākea and Ho'ohōkūkālani's second child was also given the name Hāloa, becoming the first *ali'i nui* (paramount chief) and the progenitor of Kānaka Maoli. Thus, *kalo* is revered as senior in rank to Kānaka Maoli. As juniors, it is the *kuleana*

(responsibility) of Kānaka Maoli to cultivate the *kalo*. Caring for and consuming *kalo* is regarded as a sacred act that connects Kānaka Maoli to the *akua* and the *ali'i*.

Mo'okū'auhau serves as mnemonic devices that utilize the names of ancestral figures to recall “a body of tradition” that the *ali'i* replicated throughout their lifetimes (Kame'elehiwa 1992:22). Through the story of Papa, Wākea, and Ho'ohōkūkālani, one such *ali'i* practice that was replicated over time ensured the sanctity and legitimacy of *ali'i* bloodlines: incestuous mating. Incest occurred primarily within the upper ranks of the *ali'i* class, and was not something that occurred amongst the *maka'āinana*. This meant that Hawaiian social classes were relatively endogamous. Various scholars have written about incest within the *ali'i* class as a means to secure divine status while maintaining the purity of chiefly bloodlines (Kirch 2010; Kamakau 1964; Malo 1903; Kame'elehiwa 1992). Kame'elehiwa (1992) interprets incest as a practice that allowed the *ali'i* to maintain their connection to *nā akua* (the gods) and to be considered gods themselves—like their godly ancestors Papa and Wākea, who, as noted earlier, were regarded in some accounts as half-brother and half-sister.

***Ali'i* Status and Rank**

The status and rank of the *ali'i*, both male and female, depended on their position within the *mo'okū'auhau ali'i* (chiefly genealogies). The highest ranking *ali'i* were those of the *nī'aupi'o* and *pi'o* classes. *Ali'i* of the *pi'o* class outranked *ali'i* of *nī'aupi'o* rank because they were birthed from a *pi'o* union between full-blooded brother and sister. Kamakau (1964:4) notes that *ali'i* born of a *pi'o* union “were gods, fire, heat, and raging blazes, and they conversed with chiefs and retainers only at night.” These unions were

planned by *kū'auhau* (genealogist) who were familiar with the chiefly lineages and ensured that high ranking status was maintained within senior lines (Malo 1903). Children born out of *naha* unions were of lesser rank than their *pi'o* counterparts. These *ali'i* were the product of a union between half-sister and half-brother who were both of *nī'aupi'o* rank; “*Naha* chiefs were kapu chiefs, but their kapus were not equal to those of a *pi'o* chief” (Kamakau 1964:5). The *kapu* that Kamakau refers to will be discussed shortly.

Next came *ali'i* of *wohi* rank, which was a rank given to *ali'i* born of a *nī'aupi'o* father and a mother who was a close relative or vice versa. In following with the gradation of rank, *ali'i* of *wohi* rank held less *kapu* than their *naha* and *pi'o* counterparts. *Ali'i* of *pi'o*, *naha*, and *wohi* ranks represented the pinnacle of Hawaiian society—the most sacred of *ali'i* who were related to *nā akua* (the gods). Kamakau (1964:5-6) goes on to list other ranks of *ali'i*. Table 2.1 presents these ranks from the highest to the lowest. In addition to Kamakau (1964), I also draw from Kirch (2010:36) who provides his own synthesis of Kamakau’s writings:

<i>Ali'i</i> Rank	Comments	<i>Kapu Ali'i</i>
<i>Pi'o</i>	Mother and father are full-blooded brother and sister. Both parents are of <i>nī'aupi'o</i> rank.	<i>Kapu moe</i>
<i>Nī'aupi'o</i>	Mother and father are not brother and sister but are both of <i>nī'aupi'o</i> rank.	<i>Kapu moe</i>
<i>Naha</i>	Mother and father are half-sister and half-brother.	<i>Kapu noho</i>
<i>Wohi</i>	Father is of <i>nī'aupi'o</i> , <i>pi'o</i> , or <i>naha</i> rank. Mother is close female relative who is child of junior sibling to Father or is a cousin to Father.	<i>Kapu wohi</i>
<i>Lōkea</i>	Father is of <i>nī'aupi'o</i> , <i>pi'o</i> , or <i>naha</i> rank. Mother is close female relative who is child of junior sibling to Father or is a cousin to Father.	
<i>Papa</i>	Mother is of <i>nī'aupi'o</i> , <i>pi'o</i> or <i>naha</i> rank and Father of lower <i>kaukau ali'i</i> rank.	

<i>Lā‘au ali‘i</i>	Referred to as <i>kūhaulua</i> (second pedigree). Mother and Father are family of the <i>ali‘i</i> of higher rank through secondary matings.	
<i>Kaukau ali‘i</i>	Referred to as <i>kūhaulua</i> (second pedigree). Mother or Father belongs to the family of a high-ranking <i>ali‘i</i> through collateral branches. Includes children produced through the union of a high ranking mother/father and low ranking father/mother.	
<i>Ali‘i noanoa</i>	Father is of <i>nī‘aupi‘o</i> , <i>pi‘o</i> , and <i>naha</i> rank. Mother is a <i>maka‘āinana</i> (commoner).	

Table 2.1. *Ali‘i* ranks. Adapted from Kamakau (1964) and Kirch (2010).

Table 2.1 also includes information on the *kapu* that *ali‘i* inherited through their rank. Much like the *‘aikapu*, I use the term *kapu ali‘i* to describe *kapu* that facilitated how the *ali‘i* interacted with one another and with the *maka‘āinana*. Others have described *kapu* as a means to protect the *mana*, “the manifestation of the spiritual world within a physical domain”, of the *ali‘i* (Kirch 2010:38). *Kapu ali‘i* ensured that the sacredness of the *ali‘i* were maintained, respected, and not defiled by any means. Although Kamakau (1964:10) notes that the *kapu ali‘i* for those of *pi‘o*, *nī‘aupi‘o*, and *naha* ranks were numerous, the *kapu* listed in table 2.1 presents a singular *kapu* that is clearly associated with each rank as indicated by historical sources (Malo 1903; Kamakau 1964; Keauokalani 1932; Fornander 1890). Rank and *kapu ali‘i* were valued differently; “of the *nī‘aupi‘o*, *pi‘o*, and *naha* chiefs, the *kapu* of the *nī‘aupi‘o* and the *naha* were equal, but were lesser than the *kapu* of the *pi‘o* chief, and the *kapus* of the *wohi* and the *kūhaulua* were beneath their feet” (Kamakau 1964:10).

Ali‘i of the *pi‘o* and *nī‘aupi‘o* ranks possessed the *kapu moe*, the prostrating *kapu*. As a means to preserve their sanctity, these *ali‘i* did not travel during the daytime. Their movements outside of their chiefly compounds occurred only at night (Kamakau 1964).

The *kapu moe* required those along the path of traveling *ali'i* of *pi'o* and *nī'aupi'o* rank to prostrate and remove their clothing and adornments as a sign of respect to the *ali'i* (Malo 1903:85).

Ali'i of *naha* rank possessed the *kapu wohi*, which allowed them as well as their *kāhili* bearer(s), to remain standing in the presence of an *ali'i* who possessed the *kapu moe* rank. *Ali'i* of this rank also did not have to remove their clothing and adornments in observance of the *kapu moe*. Those who committed infractions against chiefs of these ranks, such as stepping into the shadow of or wearing the clothing of a *pi'o* chief were immediately put to death by burning, unless pardoned by the *ali'i*: “Only these [*pi'o*] chiefs could release (*wehe*) the kapus of the gods, hence they were called ‘life on earth,’ (*he ola ma ka honua nei*)” (Kamakau 1964:10).

Discussions on *ali'i* rank and the *kapu ali'i* accorded to each rank are discrepant in various sources. For example, Malo (1903) opines that there is another type of union between a male chief and a daughter from either his junior brother or sister known as *ho'i*. Children of this rank were considered to be of *nī'aupi'o* rank and possessed the *kapu moe* (prostrating *kapu*). Yet Kamakau (1962) placed such a union in the rank of *wohi*. These children, as Kamakau articulates, also held the *kapu wohi* rather than *kapu moe*. Such discordances in the record highlight various ways in which scholars have attempted to make sense of *ali'i* rank and status, and eludes to Nogelmeier's critiques on cultural and textual authority (2011). What is of greater emphasis here is the fact that these ranks and *kapu* existed through a complex entanglement of incest that maintained *ali'i* bloodlines and affiliations, a practice that can be traced to the original human

ancestors, Papahānaumoku and Wākea. For the highest ranked *ali'i*, genealogical purity ensured their status as *akua*, their relationship to *nā akua* (the gods), and the right of their descendants to claim the divine right of becoming *ali'i nui* (paramount chiefs). Ensuring that there were also *ali'i* of lesser rank, known as *kaukau ali'i*, ensured that *ali'i nui* (paramount chiefs) had an *aloali'i* (royal court) comprised of faithful relatives who could assist in governing each island polity (Young 1998). Even the *mo'okū'auhau ali'i* of these lower-ranked *ali'i* were complex and determined their rank and status within the *ali'i* social hierarchy.

***Ali'i* Expectations and Usurpation**

I ali'i no ke ali'i i ke kānaka.

A chief is a chief because of the people who serve him.

- Hawaiian proverb

The *Ali'i* were expected to serve as benevolent rulers who cared for the wellbeing of the *maka'āinana*. Yet not all *ali'i* were successful nor did all *ali'i* care for the *maka'āinana*. Tyrannical and despotic rulers were terminated by *ali'i* of junior rank or by the *maka'āinana* themselves. Osorio (2002:5–6) notes that there are numerous *mo'olelo* which tell of the fates of chiefs who were benevolent and effective rulers as well those who were inadequate rulers. *Ali'i* who were kind to their people, led civic projects, and followed the strict regulations of Hawaiian religion, were beloved and oftentimes memorialized by their people. For example, a nickname for Hawai'i Island is Moku o Keawe (Island of Keawe). Keawe was an *ali'i nui* (paramount chief) who ruled over Hawai'i Island who is remembered as a progressive and resourceful ruler. *Ali'i* who ruled over particular districts and lands were also remembered. Hilo Hanakahi, a specific land

area in the district of Hilo, is named after Hanakahi, an ali'i of Hilo. Other *ali'i* that are associated with the other islands include Kamalālāwalu (Māui Island), Kāne'ālai (Moloka'i Island), Kākuhihewa (O'ahu Island), Manokalanipo (Kaua'i Island), and Pūwalu (Ni'ihau Island; Kamakau 1964:6). Such forms of memorialization are found throughout the islands and reflects the value conferred onto the *ali'i* that predates the introduction of European monarchical traditions (Kaeppler 1992).

Despotic rulers were also memorialized, albeit in a different manner. Countless *mo'olelo* describe the usurpation of *ali'i* either by junior *ali'i* or by their own people, the *maka'āinana*. Malo (1903:258) provides a list of *ali'i* who were killed by or were expelled from their district of rule by the *maka'āinana*. For example, the *maka'āinana* of Ka'ū, the largest and southernmost district on the island of Hawai'i, were famous for disposing of incompetent *ali'i*. There are *'ōlelo no'eau* which speak of this practice, such as *Ka'ū mākaha*, Ka'ū of the fierce fighters, and *Ka'ū 'āina kipi*, Ka'ū, land of rebels (Pukui 1983:168, 176). *Ali'i* that were usurped by the people of Ka'ū were Kohāikalani, an *ali'i* with the desire to build a *luakini* (temple of human sacrifice) who was crushed by a log after the *maka'āinana* heard about his treacherous plans and released the log from their grips; and Hala'ea, a chief whose greedy lust for *'ahi* (tuna) led the *maka'āinana* to fill his canoe to the brim with heavy *'ahi* (tuna) fish only to quickly paddle away so that he would drown. Such greedy and sinister *ali'i* were quickly removed by the *maka'āinana* in acts of rebellion (Malo 1903:258; Remy 1874).

Usurpation also occurred when an *ali'i* of junior rank waged war with and defeated a senior-ranked *ali'i* relative. Through the literature and *mo'olelo*, a pattern

emerges regarding this form of rebellion. When an *ali'i nui* (paramount chief) passed on, he or she would name their successors; an *ali'i* of senior rank would inherit the land and the right to rule, and an *ali'i* who was junior in rank would inherit the war god Kūka'īlimoku and serve as his caretaker. When the *ali'i* who inherited the land and the kingship failed to care for the *maka'āinana* or was regarded as an oppressive ruler, the junior-ranked *ali'i* rebelled, ultimately disposing of the despotic ruler and becoming the new *ali'i nui* (paramount chief). This formula for usurpation can be traced back to the *mo'olelo* of Wākea and his older brother Līhau'ula which I described earlier, and has repeated itself throughout history: The usurpation of Hākau by his younger step-brother 'Umi-a-Līloa and the defeat of Kiwala'ō by Kamehameha I are two examples of this type of usurpation (Kame'elehiwa 1992; Kirch 2010; 'Ī'ī 1959). However, junior *ali'i* were not always successful in overthrowing their senior counterparts. After the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, when Liholiho (Kamehameha II) along with his two mothers Keōpūolani and Ka'ahumanu broke the *'aikapu*, his cousin and caretaker of Kūka'īlimoku, Kekuaokalani, waged war against Liholiho in an attempt to gain control of the kingship and restore the traditional religion. However, history did not repeat itself on this occasion; Kekuaokalani was killed in battle: "Alas for the war *Akua* Kūka'īlimoku, his champion was killed", states Kame'elehiwa (1992:78), thus bringing an end to the *kapu* system and a long tradition of junior usurpation.

Objectifying *Mo'okū'auhau*, *Mo'olelo*, Rank, and Status: Ali'i Material Culture

The term *Ali'i* material culture, can broadly be defined as objects that were manufactured or utilized by the *ali'i* that speak to the "thoughts and actions" of those

who cherished, gifted, or disposed of said items (Glassie 1999). The artistry that goes into making various forms of *ali 'i* material culture is recognized as *hana no 'eau*, masterfully crafted objects that are both aesthetically engaging as they are functional (Rose 1980a). *Hana no 'eau* objects include *lei niho palaoa*, a composite necklace made of plaited human hair coils and a hook-shaped ivory pendant, and an array of featherwork objects like *kāhili* (feathered standards), *'ahu 'ula* (feathered cloaks), *akua hulumanu* (feathered gods), *mahi 'ole* (feathered helmets) and *leihulu* (feathered necklaces). The objects listed above were some of the earliest gifts that were given to the likes of Europeans such as Captain James Cook as a sign of friendship and as a means to form political alliances; subsequently, these ancestral objects found their way into the antiquated halls of European, North American, and South American museums (Kaepler 1978). Since then, they have captivated scholars and visitors alike and continue to be a source of scholarship and enjoyment.

Like the manifold strands of plaited human hair that form the hair coils of *lei niho palaoa*, the significance and meaning behind different forms of *ali 'i* material culture are interwoven into a range of *ali 'i* traditions including *mo 'okū 'auhau*, *mo 'olelo*, status, and rank (Figure 2.1). Kaepler writes about these attributes in an essay titled “Genealogy and Disrespect: A Study of Symbolism in Hawaiian Images” (1982) and extrapolates on the significance and functions of *ali 'i* objects. One such set of objects that Kaepler describes are anthropomorphic wooden images called *ki 'i lā 'au*, which Kaepler argues are physical embodiments of ancestry and divinity. For instance, Kaepler attributes *ki 'i lā 'au* with spines, carved notches at the back of the neck, and joints carved at intervals, as

images of the god Lono. This hypothesis is based on a *ki'i lā'au* housed in the Bishop Museum that is associated with the *Makahiki*, a festive time of year dedicated to Lono. The notches are theorized to “represent the *iwikuamo 'o*, the spine, and symbolically the genealogy of Lono. The long bone, a kind of abstract backbone, represents basic genealogical connections” (Kaepler 1982: 86, emphasis added).

In addition, Kaepler writes briefly about *lei niho palaoa* as symbols of genealogical connections between the *ali'i* and *nā akua*: “from a sacred head, and a whale tooth, a sacred and rare material from the sea, were used to make a symbolic ornament, suitable only for gods and chiefs” (Kaepler 1982:93). She also asserts that *lei niho palaoa* were inextricably linked to the god Lono, connecting these objects to his godly genealogy.

Kaepler (1979) and another essay written by Robert Liu (1985) describes the transformation of *lei niho palaoa* after Western contact. *Lei niho palaoa* that were collected during Cook's voyage consisted of a hook made out of a variety of materials such as ivory, wood, bone, or shell. They also had less strands of twisted, rather than plaited, human hair. In the following decades, the formal qualities of *lei niho palaoa* were exaggerated; the larger hooks became frequent and both walrus and whale ivory became choice materials. The twisted strands of human hair became hundreds even thousands of finely plaited strands of human hair that created two coils. The reasons behind this transformation is unclear, and Kaepler suggests a few plausible reasons; that with the greater availability of ivory in the islands, more *lei niho palaoa* were manufactured and could have been worn by the lesser chiefs as well as the highest ranking *ali'i*; that they

were curiosities that were used as trade items; or that they functioned as presentation objects given to important foreign visitors by the *ali'i* (Kaepler 1979: 188). Kaepler's description of the changing value and function of *ali'i* objects like *lei niho palaoa* parallel the discussion of the cultural transformation that took place in Hawai'i and the rearticulation of mythical realities after Western contact as discussed by Sahlins (1981). The possible revaluations of *lei niho palaoa* after contact listed above perhaps were incorporated into the preexisting value and function of *lei niho palaoa*. Producing *lei niho palaoa* and gifting (or trading) them to foreigners could have been an extension of *ali'i mana* by establishing relationships that allowed the *ali'i* to procure more power through trade and foreign alliances.



Figure 2.1. Profile of a *lei niho palaoa* housed in the National Museum of Natural History, Washington D.C. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

Feathered objects are another example of *ali'i* material culture that were transformed as a result of Western contact. Like the *lei niho palaoa*, feathered objects illustrated the connection of the *ali'i* to the gods. The use of feathers from birds such as the *'i'iwi* (*Drepanis coccinea*), the *mamo* (*Drepanis pacifica*), and the *'ō'ō* (*Moho*

nobilis), found only in the upland rainforests in the *wao akua*, the realm of the gods, symbolically and physically tied the *ali* 'i to *nā akua* (the gods).

Wilkins (2014:56–65) describes how feathers were considered to be a *kinolau*, a physical manifestation, of the god Kanaloa. More specifically, she associates red feathers, and the 'i'iwi bird from which they were plucked from, as *kinolau* of the god Kūka'ilimoku. In Hawaiian *mo'olelo*, Kūka'ilimoku was created from the blood-covered feathers that adorned the forehead of the mythical-bird Kiwa'a, who was slain by Kū. The various *akua hulumanu*, feathered god images, of Kūka'ilimoku that are preserved today are covered completely in red feathers. In addition, Wilkins theorizes that yellow feathers were not connected to Hawaiian mythology like their red feather counterparts. Rather, yellow feathers, which were harder to procure and much rarer, were collected and utilized more frequently in feathered objects after Western contact as material expressions of chiefly power. She describes the 'ahu'ula of Kamehameha I as a point of reference, a cloak covered entirely in yellow feathers from the 'ō'ō, that was considered to be “the most powerful featherart of its times” (Wilkins 2014:64).

After the death of Kamehameha, yellow feathers continued to be used in feathered objects, most notably the feathered *pā'ū* (skirt) of Nāhi'ena'ena, Kamehameha I's daughter by his sacred wife, Keōpūolani. The *pā'ū* itself is approximately nine yards in length, and is covered entirely in yellow feathers with alternating red and black triangles on its edges (Figure 2.2).



Figure 2.2. The *pā'ū* (skirt) of Nāhi'ena'ena on display at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

Charlot (1991) argues that such an exquisite *pā'ū* amplified Nāhi'ena'ena's status and visually expressed her procreative abilities to produce new royal heirs with her brother,

Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III):

... [Nāhi'ena'ena] would have presented herself to her brother as the highest, most desirable mate according to the ancient traditions of Hawai'i. The two chiefs — living *akua* according to the new royalist religion — would have produced the child whose sacredness, in a time of troubles, would have ensured the perpetuation of the Hawaiian people and their universe. The feather skirt expressed the peerless power of attraction and generation of the chiefly loins from which that child would come.

Although Nāhi'ena'ena was unsuccessful in producing an heir and died prematurely, her skirt remained integral to *ali'i* rituals. Sometime after her death, the skirt was cut in half and re-connected along its length. Rather than enhancing procreative prowess, the *pā'ū* was transformed into an essential object for *ali'i* death rituals. When Kamehameha III passed away in 1854, the *pā'ū* was placed on his casket. Using the garment as a funeral pall continued with successive *ali'i*, and was last used during the funeral of King David Kalākaua in 1891.

In addition to changes in the functions and meanings of *ali'i* objects, the materials used in the production of *ali'i* objects diversified. Non-native feathers were incorporated into featherwork objects, for example. This material transformation is clearly evident in *kāhili*, feather standards that served as royal insignia. Many *kāhili* bear the names of *ali'i* ancestors, thus connecting these objects to *mo'okū'auhau*. Rose et al. (1993) notes that some of the *kāhili* stored at the Bishop Museum contained feathers from the peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*), domestic geese and chicken, and possibly the emu (*Dromaius novaehollandiae*; Rose et al. 1993:293-294). In addition, Red and yellow feathers, colors that were traditionally attributed to the *ali'i*, were the most frequent colors used in *kāhili*. Of the dyed feathers that were used, red and yellow continued to be the majority. Lastly, the *kāhili* expressed individual *ali'i* aesthetics, for example, “black is the predominant colour in the *kāhili* of Lili'uokalani, and reputedly one of her favorites” (Rose et al. 1993: 293). Once again, we see that *kāhili* like other *ali'i* objects are vessels of *mo'okū'auhau* and *mo'olelo* that speak to the transformation of tradition, the incorporation of foreign materials into *ali'i* objects, and the continued value and significance of *kāhili*.

The authors cited above clearly link feathered objects to *ali'i* culture as visual reinforcements of rank and status. Feathers were symbolically linked to the gods and thus were fitting for those who were considered to be gods on earth. In particular, we see that red feathers were considered to be manifestations of the war god Kūka'ilimoku. Incorporating red feathers into objects used during times of war imbued them with Kūka'ilimoku's *mana*. In later times, yellow feathers, such as those used in Kamehameha's cloak, were symbols of prestige that further distinguished Kamehameha I

as the conqueror of the Hawaiian Islands.² Yellow feathers were also used in Nāhi‘ena‘ena’s *pā‘ū*, which served as a visual cue of her exalted status and procreative prowess. The *pā‘ū* as an object associated with birthing new generations of *ali‘i* also linked Nāhi‘ena‘ena to the ancient practices of *ali‘i* incest, an act that secured the divine rank and *mana* of successive generations. When Nāhi‘ena‘ena passed, the function of the *pā‘ū* radically changed to operate within the context of *ali‘i* death rituals.

Like the functional transformations that occurred around *ali‘i* objects, the materials used in the production of *ali‘i* objects changed. The art of producing *kāhili* transformed to incorporate feathers from foreign fowl. *Lei niho palaoa* also were produced in greater abundance by using walrus ivory, something that was foreign to Hawaiian shores. Yet the significance of *kāhili* and *lei niho palaoa* as insignia of prestige and power remained. The functions and meanings of *ali‘i* objects in *ali‘i* culture were and continue to be multifarious and profound.

In *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era* (2009), visual culture scholar Stacy L. Kamehiro examines the preservation and production of *ali‘i* objects during the reign of King David Kalākaua (1874-1891). Her study is an iteration of the notion that objects are imbued with *mo‘okū‘auhau* and *mo‘olelo*. In particular, Kamehiro analyzes four “public art” projects that demonstrates Kalākaua’s ambitions to modernize Hawai‘i while remaining deeply rooted in the

² Kamehameha conquered the islands primarily through warfare. However, in the case of Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau, an alliance between Kamehameha and Kaumuali‘i, King of Kaua‘i, was formed which led to Kaua‘i’s incorporation into Kamehameha’s domain (Kamakau 1992).

aboriginal past of the islands in addition to legitimating his right as *Mō‘ī* (King) of the Hawaiian Islands. These public art projects also aided in the development of a Hawaiian national identity. The four projects Kamehiro analyzes include 1) Kalākaua’s 1883 coronation, 2) the ‘Iolani Palace, 3) a bronze statue of Kamehameha erected in front of Ali‘iōlani Hale, the official government building, and 4) the establishment of the Hawaiian national museum:

The visual symbols and spaces of Hawaiian nationalist culture celebrated the vitality of Native tradition and a history of exalted leadership. They referenced great chiefs of the past, presented revered images of indigenous values that had been long suppressed, and insisted on the continuity of the kingdom in its ever-changing, modernizing state.

In particular, Kamehiro’s chapter on the Hawaiian national museum is pertinent to my study on curating *ali‘i* collection. The foundation for a national museum was set in July of 1872, when Kamehameha V signed into law “An Act to Establish a National Museum of Archaeology, Literature, Botany, Geology, and Natural History of the Hawaiian Islands” (Kamehiro 2009:101). Such a museum would present a glorified history of the Hawaiian nation, and was based on other national museums that were regarded as institutions that fostered citizenship and national identity (Bennett 1995). Although Kamehameha V signed this act into law, he did not, nor did his successor William Charles Lunalilo, establish a national museum.

The national museum was created by Kalākaua and was housed in Ali‘iōlani Hale, a building built in the Renaissance-Revival style that “alluded to the birth of Western culture as a coherent symbol of civic and national maturity” (Kamehiro 2009:102). Harvey Rexford Hitchcock was appointed as the first curator of the national museum in 1874 by Charles Reed Bishop, who served as the museum’s administrator.

Bishop would later established the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in 1889. David Dwight Baldwin succeeded Hitchcock in 1877, and was replaced in 1882 by Emma Metcalf Beckley, an *ali'iwahine* (chiefess) who served as an attendant in the royal courts of Kamehameha IV, Kamehameha V, and Kalākaua (Kamehiro 2009:104-105).

Displays in the new national museum primarily presented objects as natural history or anthropological specimens. Art objects were deemphasized, much like the practice of other museums during this era. In addition to collecting objects that fell within the previously listed categories, the national museum exhibited Hawaiian relics that were associated with *ali'i* and other cultural heroes. Such objects included the *papa hōlua* (sled) of Lonoikamakahiki, a chief associated with introducing sporting competitions during the *Makahiki*; the “Log of Manokalanipo”, thought to be a carved representation of the chief Manokalanipo who is the ancestor of Kaua'i *ali'i*; the legendary fishhook Manaiākalanī, once owned and used by Kū'ulakai, a god worshipped by fishermen, and the demigod Māui, who is said to have used Manaiākalanī in an attempt to physically unite the island chain; the temple drum Nāniuola, embedded with human teeth and said to have been brought from ancestral Kahiki by La'amaikahiki; and lastly, the war trumpet Kihapū, once used by the great chief Kiha who blew into it to appeal to the gods (Kamehiro 2009:112:120). Kamehiro lists other relics that were housed in the national museum and describes the connection these objects have with *mo'okū'auhau* and *mo'olelo*. These relics served as *aides-mémoire* that recounted specific and key *mo'olelo* within *ali'i* history. Housed within Kalākaua's national museum, they were reminders of his legitimacy and right to rule:

By remembering and venerating the ancient past, honoring key heroes, underplaying the role of foreign contributions, and celebrating Kalākaua and Kapi‘olani’s impressive lineages, the museum made clear the existence of an independent Hawaiian polity led by gifted and powerful rulers and a long record of national success and progress. Collecting and publicly displaying objects linked to key actors in Hawaiian history was an effective strategy given the mana retained by things (as well as people, places, and events) in Hawaiian thought. The sacred quality of chiefly bodies and possessions was a direct by-product of their divinity and did not diminish with time (Kamehiro 2009:125-126).

In 1891, the national museum disbanded and much of its collections were transferred to the newly-formed Bishop Museum. Clearly, *ali‘i* objects, imbued with the *mo‘okū‘auhau* and *mo‘olelo* of those who manufactured and utilized these items are not only important indicators of the *ali‘i* and their royal lineages but are also interconnected to Hawaiian nationalism in the 19th century. Later, these objects, as Neller states:

...would become markers of validation for contemporary Native Hawaiians in their struggle for legal, political and cultural authority. The transformation of...[Hawaiian objects]...parallels the transformation of Native Hawaiian identity (Neller 2002:126).

Here, we see that the valuation of *ali‘i* objects as objects connected to Hawaiian nationalistic sentiments have endured to the modern era which plays a significant role in how these objects are curated at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum.

Conclusion

Ua pau ua hala lākou, a koe no nā pua

They have all passed on, and all that remain are the people.

- Samuel Kuahiwi

The line above is taken from a famous *mele* (song) called “Nā Ali‘i” and was published in *Nā Mele o Hawai‘i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs* (Elbert and Mahoe 1970). The *mele* honors the *ali‘i* of the past and recognizes that their names and stories are

perpetuated by those who inherited their chiefly legacies, the *maka 'āinana*. For Kānaka Maoli, retelling *mo 'olelo* and learning about *mo 'okū 'auhau*, not only of our own immediate *'ohana* (family) but of our venerated *ali 'i*, instills a firm understanding of Hawaiian history and culture. Knowing *mo 'okū 'auhau ali 'i* connects us to the past and are a part of the formation of contemporary Kanaka Maoli identities.

We honor the *ali 'i* as our own *kūpuna* because they *are* our ancestors; their collective narrative represents the history of Kānaka Maoli in the islands for thousands of generations back to the beginning of life itself. By knowing their *mo 'olelo* and tracing them back through antiquity, we are able to develop metaphors based on the mythic past in order to interpret *ali 'i* agency. The reasons behind why the *ali 'i* conducted themselves in certain respects can be found within the *mo 'olelo* that preserve a continuous thread of *ali 'i* traditions and practices. Within museums, these metaphors and mythical realities are further embedded in *ali 'i* objects, tangible expressions that speak to the continuation and transformation of *ali 'i* culture over time.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides the theoretical framework that guided my research into the curation of *ali'i* collections in two Hawai'i-based institutions. I borrow Vergo's (1989) concept of multiple museologies to trace the development of multiple forms of museum theory and practice that are relevant to understanding how *ali'i* collections are curated. The museologies that I will discuss include, the new museology movement, critical museology, collaborative museology, appropriate museology, and Indigenous museology. These museologies highlight transformations in the field that have occurred over the last two centuries.

Problematizing Practice: The New Museology Movement

Peter Vergo defines the "new" museology as "a state of widespread dissatisfaction with the 'old' museology, both within and outside of the profession" (Vergo 1989:3). The old museology that he describes is one that lacked theoretical development because of its preoccupation with the methods of museum practice rather than the purpose of museums within society. The new museology, in contrast, emphasized the development of innovative museum practices that challenged dominant Eurocentric museological methods. The origins of the new museology movement lay in the mid-20th century with the development of community-oriented approaches to museology in Europe and North America (Davis 2011). Some key developments in community museology during the 1960s and 1970s were the Heimatmuseums of

Germany³, the Skansen open air museum in Sweden, folk museums in England, and the Anacostia neighborhood museum in the United States (Davis 2011). These museums challenged the “old” museological perspective that framed museums as elitist institutions by reorienting museum practices towards collecting, preserving and interpreting local heritage for local communities.

Community museology came to blossom during the 1960s, an era that was marked by widespread social unrest and the questioning of the fundamental role of museums in society. It was during this time that French museologists Hugues de Varine and Georges Henri Rivière argued for new and experimental museum practices that democratized museums. The ecomuseum, a place-based and community-oriented approach to museology, is a type of museum that can be traced to this movement, and demonstrates how museums can serve the needs of specific communities (Davis 2008:400).

The 16th session of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Santiago, Chile in the year 1972 was a pivotal turning point in the new museology movement (Davis 2008; Davis 2011). Members of UNESCO and the International Council of Museums (ICOM) held a roundtable discussion at this meeting to discuss museums in Latin-America (Davis 2008; Davis 2011). From this

³ Crus Ramirez (1985) refers to the Heimatmuseum as the perverted forerunner of the ecomuseum because of its role in spreading Nazi Germany ideology during WWII (in Davis 2011:52). Davis goes on to write that “the heimatmuseum was controlled and used during the Third Reich—presenting fabricated messages and leading to the indoctrination of a particular ideology” (Davis 2011:52). This skewed the original philosophy of the heimatmuseum which focused heavily on community. After WWII, the heimatmuseum reverted to a community approach that engaged locals with their history and culture.

meeting, a resolution was penned that recognized the role of museums in community development. UNESCO published the resolution in the magazine *Museum* in 1973:

The museum is an institution in the service of society of which it forms an inseparable part and, of its very nature, contains the elements which enable it to help in moulding the consciousness of the communities it serves, through which it can stimulate those communities to action by projecting forward its historical activities so that they culminate in the presentation of contemporary problems; ... The transformation in museological activities calls for a gradual change in the outlook of curators and administrators ... The new type of museum, by its specific features, seems the most suited to function as a regional museum or as a museum for small and medium-sized population centres (in Davis 2008).

The professional practice discourse that arose from museological movements in the 1960s and 1970s allowed for later museologists such as Vergo (1989) to write about the innovations brought by the new museology movement. The call for interdisciplinary and multivocal representations of communities within museums brought with it the redefinition of museums as inclusive spaces of practice (Krouse 2006). “The ‘new’ museum of the new museology,” as Kreps describes:

... is a democratic, educational institution in service of social development. The new museum differs from the traditional museum not only in the recognition of the museum’s educational potential, but also in its potential for promoting social change. Conventional museums are seen as object-centered whereas the new museum is people centered and action-oriented (Kreps 2003a:9–10).

The new museology thus served as the impetus for further developing new museologies that aimed to explore the social and developmental role of museums across cultures.

The Postcolonial Critique of Museums: Critical and Reflexive Museology

As professionals began to question the implications of museum practices and the purpose of museums in society, so too did academics question the history of museums and their relationship to the colonial enterprise (Bennett 1995; Bouquet 2012; Lonetree 2012; McCarthy 2007). Ethnographic and anthropological museums were derived from

the colonial practice of collecting strange and unusual curiosities from exotic and foreign locales. These objects were commonly exhibited in *wunderkammer* (also known as *kunstkammer* or *kunstkabinett*), cabinets of curiosity, that presented haphazard assemblages of Native objects, natural science specimens, and other “strange” and fanciful objects for the enjoyment of the aristocratic class.⁴

As the popularity of the *wunderkammer* diminished, the once private ethnographic collections of European elites entered the public domain through donation. Museum scholar Mary Bouquet acknowledges this connection to royal collections and the development of ethnographic museums in the 19th century in her book *Museums: A Visual Anthropology* (2012). These new institutions simply put, “remove[d] artefacts from their current context of ownership and use, from their circulation in the world of private property, and insert[ed] them into a new environment which would provide them with a different meaning” (Smith 1989). This “different meaning” was the transformation of exotic *wunderkammer* objects into scientific specimens that conjured fragmented glimpses of life within European colonial possessions.

In addition, the *public* that these new scientific institutions were meant to serve comprised of a select segment of the population:

...[The public] comprised [of] both public servants and citizens of the nation state, who, in being educated about the state of the arts and sciences, agriculture, handicrafts and trade of peoples of the wider world, were at the same time gaining new perspective on their own place in that world and in relation to others (Bouquet 2012:65).

⁴ For further reading on *wunderkammer*, see Bouquet 2012, O’Hanlon 2001, Errington 1998, Stocking 1985 and Sturtevant 1973.

Bouquet's definition of the public also includes missionaries, sailors, and other colonial agents that sailed to foreign lands. As encyclopedic repositories of the unknown and exotic, museums officially provided colonial officials with their first mediated encounter of the exotic Other that they would meet overseas. For the broader public, museums served as "governmental programmes aimed at reshaping general norms of social behaviour" (Bennett 1995:6). The objectification of the non-Western and Indigenous peoples of the world in museums was thus a method for promoting nationalism, colonialism, and conquest. Such an orientation meant that museums needed to differentiate themselves from other exhibitionary complexes of the 19th century such as amusement parks and carnivals. This was done through the reconfiguration of museums as repositories "for the history of humanity," which required the development of various taxonomies for collecting, objectifying, and exhibiting (Gosden, Larson, and Petch 2007; Bennett 1995).

Classical Anthropology and Classifying Indigenous Peoples

The discipline of anthropology was at the forefront of this scientific turn in museums. Here in the United States, the origin of American anthropology can be found in the "museum age" of anthropology (Sturtevant 1969:622; Collier and Tschopik 1954). Material culture studies pervaded anthropological research in the early days, where the theories of evolutionism and diffusionism flourished through the systematic classification of objects from around the world. Museum objects, devoid of their original contexts, were configured as scientific specimens that could illustrate the development and divergence of human populations across the globe. For Indigenous peoples, this meant a

dehumanization of their cultures and their relegation to the realm of natural history (O’Hanlon 2000).

Initially, anthropologists worked with museum collections that were fragmentary and haphazard by nature. In order to resolve these discrepancies, anthropologists began to systematically collect the intangible and tangible forms of Indigenous culture. These practices were characteristic of late 18th to mid-19th century anthropological practice.⁵ Intangible culture consists of forms of culture that do not have physical forms such as oral traditions, performing arts, and social rituals. Tangible cultural heritage refers to the materiality of culture—how culture is translated and represented through objects. Tangible and intangible cultural heritage work in tandem to transmit cultural knowledge from one generation to the next (Svensson 2008). Although anthropologists collected both forms of culture, they rarely documented or recorded the methods of care employed by Indigenous communities to curate the objects that were being collected. At the time, such practices were not regarded as anthropologically-relevant and were thus ignored.

For many Indigenous peoples, the historical and unethical collecting activities of early anthropologists are regarded as insidious acts of cultural and spiritual robbery. Anthropologists at this time were invested in collecting and preserving other cultures without considering how anthropological collecting activities played a primary role in the disruption and disappearance of cultural activities. O’Hanlon (2000:2) writes that

⁵ The terms “intangible” and “tangible” cultural heritage is used here to recognize that anthropologists collected the objects as well as the traditions (stories, oral history, etc.) of Indigenous peoples. However, these two terms developed later in the discipline of anthropology.

artifacts were viewed simply as “self-sufficient specimens, which required no commentary as to the political and economic circumstances in which they had been gathered.”

Parezo’s (1985) tantalizing account regarding the historical collecting activities of the Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) in the American Southwest during the late 19th century is a textbook example of this era of anthropological collecting. Under the headship of John Wesley Powell, the BAE systematically collected “authentic” forms of Native American material culture, objects that represented an imaginary pre-Western contact past that were hand-made by Native Americans. Objects that were of Euro-American manufacture were not included in Powell’s collecting criterion: “there was less emphasis on what American Indians were currently using than on what the grandparents of informants had made and used” (Parezo 1985:766). During the BAE’s first trip to New Mexico and Arizona, they collected over 6,000 objects, 15% of which were destroyed through poor transportation and damage, a sacrifice that the BAE was willing to make in their paradoxical quest of preserving culture (Parezo 1985:765).

Parezo continues to describe the collecting activities of Frank Hamilton Cushing, an anthropologist of the BAE, amongst the Zuni people. Early in his career, Cushing collected objects from ruins, shrines, and burials without the consent of Zuni people, which was met with strife and threats (Parezo 1985:767-771). Cushing’s activities reflect the anthropological *zeitgeist* at the time—that the external study and preservation of Indigenous culture through collecting was a legitimate and noble endeavor that justified anthropological activities. Later in Cushing’s career, he realized how detrimental

anthropological collecting was and became one of the first anthropologists concerned for the Zuni people whom he collected objects from. His empathy and respect for the Zuni people eventually led to his initiation into Zuni religious life, which promulgated Cushing to destroy his documents that recorded “sacred and esoteric aspects of Zuni life” and to end his collecting efforts (Parezo 1985:772). Cushing is a rare example that illustrates early ethical efforts regarding the collecting of Indigenous material culture.

Classifying Culture: From Typologies to Fine Art

Responding to the ever-increasing amount of ethnographical and archaeological specimens that entered into museums, anthropologists developed museum classificatory systems to organize and display Indigenous cultures within the walls of natural history museums. Geographical and typological classifications were some of the earliest to be developed, and served to legitimize European colonial power and conquest in foreign lands. Fabricated images of the exotic primitive Other were perpetuated through the relegation of Non-Western cultures into the realm of natural history:

Following the tradition of the cabinets of curiosities, primitive peoples were considered to be part of nature like the flora and fauna, and therefore their arts and crafts were to be classified and presented according to similarity of form, evolutionary stage of development, or geographical origin (Ames 1992:51).

Bouquet (2012:65) traces geographical classification of museum objects to the development of “contemporary scientific theories, notably Darwinian evolutionism and more general ideas about progress and social evolution.” This taxonomic method organized objects based on “geography and function” which “was an underlying ranking of nations in terms of their achieved levels of civilization” (Bouquet 2012:77-78).

Contrastively, typological classifications primarily emphasized object form and function. This latter form of classification reflected social evolutionary theory and the notion that cultures existed on an evolutionary spectrum, from primitive savagery at one end to Euro-American civility on the other (Westermann 2005; Morphy and Perkins 2006; Svašek 2007). Typological schema legitimized cultural evolution through the positioning of objects found cross-culturally into a sequential-developmental fashion. Tools were particularly effective at demonstrating how cultures developed along a cultural-evolutionary spectrum. The Pitt Rivers museum in England is a classic example of a museum that arranged and continues to arrange their exhibits through typological classifications as determined by the museum's founder General A.H.L.F. Pitt Rivers. (Bouquet 2012; Chapman 1985).

The final classification scheme developed in the late 19th century was contextual classification, an approach towards museum display that famed anthropologist Franz Boas developed. Contextual classification organized objects according to their use-context in a particular cultural setting. Boas developed this approach because he regarded functional and typological displays of objects as flawed. He also regarded the cultural evolutionary schema behind these two methods of display as a fallacy that could be resolved through the study of particular cultures within their own cultural context. Boas (1887:66-67), in describing museum classification systems, argued that objects needed to be displayed within their own cultural context, idealizing the perfect ethnographic display as one that was “a collection representing the life of one tribe” organized through a “tribal arrangement of collections” (in Jacknis 1985:79).

One way in which Boas attempted to achieve this contextualized approach was by exhibiting Native cultures through life groups. Life groups displayed objects on mannequins or models that depicted a particular aspect of native life.⁶ As Jacknis states (1985:82):

...the contemporaneously introduced life group was anthropology's attempt to create a functional or contextual setting for its specimens. Artifacts were thus displayed in association with related specimens from specific cultures, as Boas had called for. But instead of communicating cultural integration by means of object juxtaposition and labels, to be synthesized in the viewer's mind, the life group was a presentational medium, allowing these cultural connections actually to be seen.

Life groups were very popular, but they were limiting; they were costly to install and presented a fragmented realism of Indigenous cultures. Boas suggested that small life groups interspersed throughout the gallery with smaller dioramas were more effective than having multiple large dioramas (Jacknis 1985:100-101). Boas also saw the display of single mannequins in museum cases alongside certain objects as an effective means of contextualization (Jacknis 1985:95).

Boas was a progressive thinker of his time who problematized the practices of museum classifications and challenged cultural evolutionary theory. However, much like geographical and functional classifications, he continued to regard the objects of the cultural "Other" as mere "specimens." Although Boas and his students were influential in the development of cultural relativism, they continued to operate under the paternalistic framework of salvage anthropology, a popular ideology in the early 20th century that

⁶ Although Boas developed life groups in American museums he did not favor the use of wax figures. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991:401) states the Boas thought wax figures were "...so lifelike they were deathlike."

legitimized anthropological collecting in non-Western cultures under the guise of acculturation and the inevitable disappearance of Indigenous cultures worldwide due to colonialism and modernity. As explained through the previous example of the BAE, salvage anthropologists focused on preserving the remnants of older forms of “traditional” culture (Parezo 1985). This strategy resulted in biased collections that did not reflect the current innovations and material culture of Indigenous peoples, and further escalated the loss of traditional knowledge within Indigenous communities.

Conal McCarthy provides another perspective on how collecting and displaying damaged and demoralized Indigenous peoples. Drawing from his research on colonial museums in Aotearoa (New Zealand) and the display of Māori ethnographic objects (2007), McCarthy writes that “exhibiting Māori implied the possession of the people and their land who, like the native flora and fauna, were apparently doomed to extinction” (2007:14). Presenting natives peoples as inferior beings that would either die out over time or assimilate to the dominant colonial culture is a trademark of early representations of Indigenous peoples within ethnographic museums in Europe and America that extended out to the colonial peripheries, such as found in Aotearoa.

Simultaneously, the category of “primitive art” emerged within art circles. Surrealist artists such as Picasso drew inspiration from non-Western objects and saw within them affinities that crossed-cultural boundaries. However, paternalism was also evident within art contexts through the designation of non-Western objects as *primitive art* (Price 1989; Graburn 2006). Labeling non-Western art as “primitive” was based on the trope that non-Western peoples did not make “art for the sake of art” and thus were

not “true artists” like their Western counterparts. The selection of primitive art pieces reflected an imposition of Western Kantian aesthetic categories onto non-Western objects. Such selections led to the development of the art/artifact distinction. “Art” distinguished artists driven by creative genius from craftsman, individuals who made utilitarian objects. Over time with the rise of industrialization and mass-produced culture, primitive art became an essential dichotomous category for defining contemporary art (Marcus and Myers 1995).

Additionally, art museums began to display primitive art differently from their natural history counterparts. Glass cases crammed with assemblages of collections and dioramas were replaced with decontextualized objects that emphasized aesthetic qualities. Placing objects on daises under boutique lighting alongside contemporary Western artworks developed images of primitivism as the “raw” and “underdeveloped” artistic talent of non-Western artists.

In recent decades, categories such as primitivism and the art/artifact distinction have been challenged (Vogel 2006; Clifford 2006). The category of “art” currently is used ambiguously to describe Western, non-Western, utilitarian, and non-utilitarian objects that are recognized to have some form of aesthetic quality. Even the term *aesthetics* has come under scrutiny (Svašek 2007). Now, fields such as “visual anthropology” and “visual cultural studies” bridge anthropology and art history, providing “multiplex approaches” towards the study of art and art objects (Pinney 2006; Conkey 2006; Phillips 2005a; Svašek 2007; Kopytoff 1986; Sansi 2015; Howes and Classen 2013; Blier 2005).

Indigenous Anthropology

Indigenous anthropology is discussed in the critical museology section because it represents a turning point within the discipline of anthropology. Indigenous/native anthropology theory is a critical and developing interdisciplinary approach that has provided an intellectual space for Indigenous peoples to explore alternative and Indigenous ways of conducting research (for example see Ka'ili 2015). I find Tengan (2008:25) particularly useful in explaining my role as a Native Hawaiian anthropologist and the role of Indigenous anthropology:

As an 'Ōiwi [anthropologist], I have a special kuleana (right, responsibility) to nurture and maintain the genealogical connections between place, people, and gods. I also seek to tell new mo'olelo ([stories] using both English and Hawaiian) that shed light upon our ability to traverse the borders of insider/outsider, Indigenous/foreign, colonized/decolonized, global/local, and modern/traditional.

Research for Indigenous anthropologists is a navigation between worlds which requires the need for reflexive practices to assist native researchers in negotiating numerous and complex identities, in addition to addressing the colonial encounter within Indigenous communities, and the recognition of the inherent subjectivities and biases of the research process (Jacobs-huey 2002; Hau'ofa 2008; Kovach 2009; Tuhiwai Smith 2012; Denzin, Lincoln, and Tuhiwai Smith 2008; Wilson 2008; White and Tengan 2001).

The term *reflexivity* as described in Indigenous anthropology is key to critical museology (Kreps 2008a; Kreps 2003). Reflexivity is a tool for museum anthropologists and professionals that goes beyond mere reflections of museum past practices. On an individual level, reflexivity is the self-awareness that comes with critically recognizing our personal viewpoints and “vested interests” as both anthropologists and museum professionals (Kreps 2003:6). Reflexivity aids in the reconfiguration of museums as

critical forums rather secular temples of the past (Cameron 1971). The “critical” component of critical museology, as Conal McCarthy suggests, is that we look “beneath the surface to see what assumptions are influencing the circumstances and what is happening in the wider social contexts [of museums]” (2011:20). Reflecting, learning, and applying museum history to current practice allows us to critically engage with the museum field and develop culturally appropriate and reflexive museum practices.

Collaborative Museology

Collaborative museology refers to trends within the museum profession to partner with and seek out Indigenous and minority communities in the creation and curation of museum exhibits and collections. The new democratic turn in museums through the new museology movement, and the critical reflection of museum practices and colonialism brought forth by critical museology, resulted in the development of collaborative museology, which aims to enhance our understanding of the changing relationships between museums and their communities.

Museums as Contact Zones

Seminal to collaborative museology theory is James Clifford’s (1997) conceptualization of museums as *contact zones*. Clifford borrows the term from Mary Louise Pratt who describes contact zones as “the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other *and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict*” (in Clifford 1997:192, emphasis added). The

recognition of museums as places of coercion, inequality and conflict are key areas of collaborative museology that scholars have grappled with over the decades.

As contact zones, museums are framed as negotiations between two cultures—that of the museum and of the communities that museums represent and engage with. Scholars who describe this meditative aspect of the contact zone have frequently cited Clifford’s narrative of a consultation between the Portland Art Museum and a group of Tlingit elders as *the* quintessential example of a contact zone. In short, the consultation revealed a series of *performances*, in using Clifford’s own term, which revealed conflicting assumptions on the purpose of the consultation by the Tlingit and the museum. Some of the conflicts included the differing expectations of the Tlingit elders and museum staff, the use of the objects by Tlingit elders as *aides-mémoires* rather than as temporally-bounded museum objects, and the transformation of the consultation into a ceremonial space (Clifford 1997:189).⁷ Clifford lists numerous questions that the museum, through this consultation, was forced to contemplate:

...Could they reconcile the kinds of meanings evoked by the Tlingit elders with those imposed in the context of a museum of “art”? How much could they decenter the physical objects in favor of narrative, history, and politics? Are there strategies that can display a mask as simultaneously a formal composition, an object with specific traditional functions in clan/tribal life, and as something that evokes an ongoing history of struggle? Which meanings should be highlighted? And which community has the power to determine what emphasis the museum will choose? (Clifford 1997:192)

Many of the questions posed above continue to be at the core of collaborative museology. Within this framework, museums are forced to break away from traditional

⁷ Another example of the use of objects as *aides-mémoires* can be found in Fienup-Riordan (2003).

curatorial approaches in order to explore critical means of presenting multiple voices and interpretations. Questioning the worth of Indigenous and Western meanings of objects, negotiating which stories should be told through the exhibits, and exploring ways for multiple knowledge systems to converge within museums are all explored in the praxis of collaborative museology (Bowe chop and Erikson 2005; Graham and Murphy 2010; Harth 1999; McCarthy 2011).

In recognizing the inequality of the contact zone, Clifford advocates for museums to move past *consultative* modes of engagement with Indigenous peoples towards more *collaborative* modes. For Clifford, consultation reiterates power structures within museums and perpetuates community perceptions of museums as paternalistic institutions. Curators “invite” communities to museums to provide input on pre-determined exhibit ideas. In contrast, collaboration begins by including source communities at the onset of discussions regarding the vision and content of future exhibits (Boast 2011).

The sharing of power and authority over Indigenous collections and the representation of Indigenous peoples in museums are radical vis-à-vis Western museological history. The single authoritative voice of the curator is no longer accepted wholeheartedly as the only form of interpreting culture. As evident in the past, such monovocal Western representations have led to what Clifford calls *border wars*—places where conflicts and discrepancies between Indigenous and Western ways of knowing are performed publically. *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada’s First Peoples* and *Into the Heart of Africa* are two famed examples of border wars in Canadian museums

that have had resounding impacts in terms of greater collaboration with Indigenous communities (for example, see Phillips 2005 and Simpson 1996). For Clifford, these two exhibits exemplified the need for more collaboration and less consultation in museums:

Until museums do more than consult (often after the curatorial vision is firmly in place), until they bring a wider range of historical experiences and political agendas into the actual planning of exhibits and the control of museum collections, they will be perceived as merely paternalistic by people whose contact history with museums has been one of exclusion and condescension. (Clifford 1997: 208).

Recognizing museums as contact zones is the first step towards greater transparency, collaboration, and the development of an authority-sharing museological enterprise.

Robin Boast's article titled "Neocolonial collaboration: Museum as Contact Zone Revisited" (2011) provides a refreshing revision to the contact zone approach and reminds museum professionals that the contact zone is not "partial and rosy" by nature. Perpetuating the notion of museums as contact zones as postcolonial institutions for Boast, creates an illusion of museums that disguises neocolonial practices of objectifying and manipulating Indigenous peoples under the guises of "consultation" and "collaboration." Boast iterates that Pratt's definition of the contact zone consists of "conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" that are ipso facto at the core of contact zone interactions (in Clifford 1997:192).

Boast supports his claims by returning to Clifford's case study of the Stanford Papuan Sculpture Garden, which Boast considers to be a prototypical example of a contact zone. In 2008, Boast visited the garden with Clifford who initially recollected his writings regarding the sculpture garden and the outcomes of such a "collaborative" undertaking:

It was a project that directly supported Indigenous artists by bringing them into direct and meaningful engagements with a diverse group of people on the other side of the world. It was a change for them to speak for themselves and to demonstrate their artistic productions—for these works of art to be displayed for posterity in a permanent site on campus. What more do we want from a contact zone (Boast 2011:63)?

Later, Clifford expressed “that the Papuan artists expected something more, more long term, out of the exchange” (Boast 2011:63). Boast concludes that the sculpture garden clearly reflects the asymmetries that are characteristic of any contact zone:

What we see in the New Guinea Sculpture Garden at Stanford University is not just a contact zone that, ultimately, failed to live up to the Papuan artists’ expectations. What we see is the conflict between two fundamentally different sets of assumptions about what the engagements were for. For the Papuan artist the expectations included sets of reciprocal obligations for the gifts of their time, effort, and works that never materialized. Such engagements entail ongoing obligations between people that are part of the agreement to come and help. For the people who participated and helped in Palo Alto over that year of 1994, it was a change to engage with these talented artists, to speak with them and show them California culture, but mostly to promote them by permanently displaying their art (Boast 2011:63).

Stanley (2006) and Silverman (2006) share similar sentiments on the Papuan sculpture garden as a complex set of engagements that ultimately reflects the inequality and coercive nature of contact zones.

Through the sculpture garden, Boast highlights the underlying conflicts of contact zones and the need for museums and scholars to critically reflect on the contact zone concept. When museums fail to recognize the coercive, inequitable, and conflicting nature of museum and community engagements, they downplay discussions on museum democratization, and blindly perpetuate a romanticized contact zone concept that fails to recognize how museums can serve as “instrument[s] of governmentality, expressed as

multiculturalism” (Boast 2011:59). In revisiting museums as contact zones, Boast ends his argument by advocating for museum decolonization. To achieve this, he writes:

...museums of the 21st century must confront this deeper neocolonial legacy. This is not only possible but, I would argue, could renovate the museum into an institution that supported the enrichment, rather than authorization, of collections. To do this however, requires museums to learn to let go of their resources, even at times of the objects, for the benefit and use of communities and agendas far beyond its knowledge and control (Boast 2011:67).

Decolonization in museums requires a substantial transformation in museological theory and practice that has yet to be achieved. As Lonetree also describes (2012:5):

A decolonizing museum practice must involve assisting our communities in addressing the legacies of historical unresolved grief. Doing this necessarily cuts through the veil of silence around colonialism and its consequences for Native families and communities.

Within collaborative museology, the destabilization of museums occur through efforts to transform museums from contact zones into equitable institutions that values collaboration over consultation. This shift also includes the return of curatorial authority over collections and exhibitions to Indigenous peoples, the circulation of objects to wider audiences, and the return of Indigenous collections to their source communities (Boast 2011; Lonetree 2012).

Moving past the Contact Zone: The Development of Collaborative Museology

The contact zone concept is integral towards understanding the development of collaborative museology and has manifested itself in various iterations. Two of the earliest works on collaborative museology are the volumes titled *Exhibiting Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Display* (1991), and *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (1992) which explores ways that museums in the late 1980s and early 1990s were developing methods for democratizing museum practice. These two volumes

predates Clifford's articulation of the contact zone concept. Nevertheless, these volumes address similar concerns and solutions regarding the need for greater equity in museums that Clifford advocates for. Harrison (2005) notes that the 1990s was an era where the "free-enterprise, business management model for museums" became standard as museums lost substantial public funding—something that has continually decreased over the decades. The greater demand for self-reliance increasingly resulted in the "disneyfication" of museums to follow a model of "fun" (Harrison 2005; Terrell 1991). This model did withal increase museum revenue, but simultaneously created tensions between museums and communities through the perpetuation of stereotypes and "certain mythologies as truth" (Harrison 2005:45).

Secondly, the 1980s and 1990s were also characterized as an era of revitalization for material culture research which resurrected museum anthropology from the depths of anthropological history. New interest in developing material culture theory and method increased public interest in museum collections and resulted in greater discussions over ownership, representation, and curatorial authority. In the United States, such discussions have their roots in the passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990. This piece of legislation was key in the development of collaborative museology in the US and will be discussed later.

Karp and Lavine (1991) predate Boast (2010) and Clifford (1997) and recognize that "collaboration" was becoming a means of presenting museum interactions with Indigenous groups as positive, when in actuality, such interactions only perpetuated the authoritative power of museums over collections and interpretations. Recognizing the

need for reform, Karp and Lavine proposed ways that museums could move towards a truly collaborative endeavor:

...the museum world needs movement in at least three arenas: (1) the strengthening of institutions that give populations a chance to exert control over the way they are presented in museums; (2) the expansion of the expertise of established museums in the presentation of non-Western cultures and minority cultures in the United States; and (3) experiments with exhibition design that will allow museums to offer multiple perspectives or to reveal the tendentiousness of the approach taken (Karp and Lavine 1991:6).

These recommendations are broad in scope, but provide some foundational points that were explored in later writings such as *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture* (1992), which addresses the complex and contested relationship of museums to different communities. Edited by Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine, the chapters in this volume highlight the political nature of museums. *Museums and Communities* built on *Exhibiting Culture* by broadening the scope to include the process of creating collections, the role of museums in civil society, and the development of relationships between museums and communities as key areas of museological scholarship.

Initially, the conference which resulted in *Museums and Communities* was titled “Museums and Their Communities.” *Their* was consciously removed from the book title because it “rested on the false assumption that the politics of museums and communities had easy solutions...the act of possession inserted in our original title unconsciously reproduced the acquisitive relationships we challenged” (Karp 1992:2–3). Although this reorientation may seem minute, discussions on the relationship of museums to “their” communities remains at the core of collaborative museology.

Karp also considers the role of hegemony within museums and communities. Hegemony describes the process by which certain assumptions and cultural values are replicated and normalized into everyday life. These norms are then perpetuated unquestionably by society. As hegemonic institutions, museums and communities reinforce dominant social and cultural norms and uphold national ideas, values, and beliefs within their own spheres of existence (Karp 1992; Bennett 1995). In the same sense, communities, as various cohesive units of society, follow a similar hegemonic process of reproducing community ideals:

...when people enter museums they do not leave their cultures and identities in the coatroom. Nor do they respond passively to museum displays. They interpret museum exhibitions through their prior experiences and through the culturally learned beliefs, values, and perceptual skills that they gain through membership in multiple communities (Karp 1992:3)

Karp cites the work of Antonio Gramsci as key for understanding hegemony in museums. Hegemony serves as an explanatory framework for understanding the naturalization of power within museums. Undoubtedly, the power structure of museums today are rooted in Victorian-era museum theory which have been ingrained as commonsense “through the production of cultural and moral systems that legitimate the existing social order” (Karp 1992:4). Bennett (1995) explores the hegemonic power of museums in his work when looking at the role of museums in shaping a civilized public. Kreps further problematizes museum practices by identifying the hegemony behind the notion of Western museum practices as “best practices” (Kreps 2003a).

Museum audiences are not a “...single commonality, but many commonalities, called communities” (Karp 1992:14). These communities can and do contest the values and representations in museums, ultimately challenging the hegemonic power of

museums. In this process, the identity and power of both the community and the museum enter a realm of contestation and negotiation which can actively promote multiculturalism within museums (Karp 1992:6).

Museums and Source Communities (2003a) also addresses the importance of negotiation, contestation, and collaboration in museums. Edited by Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown, the volume expands the dialogue first started by Karp and Lavine (1991) and Karp et al. (1992). Rather than focus on *all* communities, *Museum and Source Communities* primarily emphasizes “every cultural group from whom museums have collected: local people, diaspora and immigrant communities, religious groups, settlers, and Indigenous peoples, whether those are first Nations, Aboriginal, Maori, or Scottish” (Peers and Brown 2003b:2). In order to describe this diverse group of collectives, the term *source communities* is used.

Much like Karp et al. (1992), power relations between museums and source communities are highlighted by Peers and Brown (2003). Inequality continued to characterize museum practice in the early 2000s and reflects Boasts (2011) comments regarding the perpetuation of neocolonial practices in museum. However, Peers and Brown believes that a truly collaborative (equal) museology is achievable. At the core of this equitable museology is the recognition that source communities continue to hold relevance to objects in museums that were made by their ancestors. As objects of their cultural past, source communities see the potential of utilizing objects to “revivify” forgotten traditional knowledge and community histories. Judith Binney and Gillian Chaplin’s chapter in the book highlights how returning objects, specifically photographs,

to the Tūhoe people (Māori) allowed for elders to revisit their past while rewriting their official history. Chaplin and Binney also encountered how objects are valued and treated differently within their source communities. For the elders, the photographs of their ancestors *were* their ancestors; photographs are believed to capture the *mauri*, the life force, of the individual(s) in the photographs. Thus, returning the photographs were “as if we were bringing the ancestors, the tīpuna, to visit” (Binney and Chaplin 2003:100).

The example above is one of many case studies presented in Peers and Brown (2003) that illustrates the engagements that can occur between museums and source communities. No longer is it acceptable for museums to collect objects and information without properly reciprocating to source communities. Museums also have a moral responsibility for seeking redress with source communities by returning ancestral objects and collaborating on future exhibits. At the apogee of collaborative museology is the *equal* sharing of authority between museums and source communities:

At the core of these new perspectives is a commitment to an evolving relationship between a museum and a source community in which *both parties are held to be equal and which involves the sharing of skills, knowledge and power to produce something of value to both parties*. This is very different from the traditional curatorial approach in which museum staff, on the basis of professional knowledge and authority, control exhibition content, storage facilities, and other museological functions. *It involves learning from source community representatives what they consider appropriate to communicate or display about traditional care practices, and implementing those desires and suggestions* (Peers and Brown 2003:2, emphasis added).

Watson in *Museums and their Communities* (2007) shares similar sentiments regarding the need for involving communities in museum work. However, the existence of unequal relationships between museums and communities is regarded as a given. Watson chose to include “their” in the volume’s title to recognize the acquisitive

relationship of museums to their communities that Karp (1992) did not want to perpetuate. Watson notes that it would be “unrealistic to deny” the existence of the unequal relationship between museums and communities. Ownership, power, identity, and memory—concepts which at this point have become a staple within collaborative museological scholarship—are discussed in *Museums and Their Community*. Rather than advocate for museum equity the volume addresses the following question: “...how can museums establish transparent, inclusive and fair relationships with all communities?” (Watson 2007:2). The development of *inclusive* and *fair* practices recognizes the inherent power structures in museums and strives for ways to work around said system. Consultation is an example of museum inequality which illustrates how museums *choose* to meet with a particular community over particular collections.

Watson draws from the works of Derrida and Foucault to describe the inherent power inequalities and political nature of museums. Derrida is useful because he “questioned the stability of meanings and postulated that these are multiple and always conditioned by past interpretations and represent conditions” (Watson 2007:9). Foucault “examined the way in which power operates throughout society to provide ‘official or dominant knowledges’ which impart power to those who know and speak them” (Watson 2007:9). Translated into museums, Derrida and Foucault allow us to critically examine inherent museum power structures. This allows us to challenge long-held views of museums as places of objective and scientific knowledge and unveils the political nature and extant contestations contiguous to museological institutions.

Additionally, Watson builds on Ivan and Karp (1992) and reflects on how the term *community* has often become “synonymous with goodness and moral standards” (Watson 2007:2). In much the same fashion as Boast (2011), Watson argues that this rosy image of community fails to recognize communities as living and political entities, constantly evolving and changing through time. Much like the inequality in museums, so too does unequal power relationships exist within communities. Inequality between museums and communities is best illustrated in the privileging of individuals to represent entire communities, the selection of certain versions of community history over others, and the choice of museums to work with certain communities rather than others (Watson 2007:19).

Museum and Communities: Curators, Collections, and Collaboration (2013), edited by Viv Golding and Wayne Modest, revisits some of the underlying theoretical developments outlined in previous volumes. Modest and Golding’s contribution to collaborative museological theory is their emphasis on the role of collaborative museology in international human rights movements. The authors of *Museum and Communities* call for museums to take risks and to develop radical approaches that move away from traditional museum practices of othering. Instead, museums should implement inclusive practices that share power with multiple communities and audiences. The term *polyvocality* describes such practices and is a mode of sharing power within museums that strive for “non-tokenistic ways that bestow equal respect—on a platform to safeguard the fundamental ethical values surrounding international human rights” (Golding and Modest 2013:3).

Golding (2013) in the volume, proposes a dialogical model of collaborative museology. She describes the establishment of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience and the role that museums serve in connecting museum visitors to the past and to contemporary issues. As sites of conscience, museums engage people in a dialogical exchange by “remembering past struggles for social justice” and “by addressing contemporary pernicious legacies such as racism, which demands taking action to make a difference in the present” (Golding 2013:21). Golding draws upon her experiences at the Museum of Tolerance and the Japanese American National Museum to explore ways that museums can “occupy a position that is mutually respectful toward local ideas and ways of life around the world and to universal laws upheld by democratic nation-states that secure liberty and freedom” (Golding 2013:25).

The most recent volume, *Museum as Process: Translating Local and Global Knowledges* (2015), provides a refreshing update on how collaborative museology has developed over the decades. Editor Raymond Silverman recognizes that museums are processes, constantly changing, learning, and adapting through the politics and practices of museum work. Such a processual orientation “draws attention to the potential of museums as spaces in which diverse intellectual, professional, and cultural communities meet and engage in work that yields new ways of thinking, new ways of living” (Silverman 2015:2). Collaborative failures are highly valued if we think of museums as process because the end goal of collaborative endeavors seeks to learn from mistakes that can lead to success in the future. Recognizing the value of both success and failure

dismantles essentialist views of collaboration as a simply positive and morally uplifting experiences.

Museum as Process also builds on the notion that museums are places where knowledges are translated for different audiences. The plural form of knowledge recognizes the cross-cultural characteristic of knowledge as something that is produced differently across cultures. Silverman cites Walter Benjamin, who states that “translation is an interpretive process in which the original text is invariably shaped by the particular *context* in which the translator is working” (in Silverman 2015:4):

Indeed, translation is much more than simply attempting to derive equivalent meaning for and understandings of cultural phenomena that have significance for two or more communities. *It is a social process that brings knowledges into a common signifying space in which meanings are negotiated and articulated, in which objects of knowledge are defined and redefined, and given new meaning* (Silverman 2015:4, emphasis added).

Translation can thus be regarded as the reorientation of museums from rigid objective institutions that are emotionally-detached to humanitarian institutions comprised of various subjectivities. For Karp and Kratz (2015) the dialogical relationship between museums and communities is a characteristic of the *interrogative museum* which “...strives—through exhibiting, research, and even collections management—to develop a plural sense of answers to the enduring and changing questions that museums ask” (Karp and Kratz 2015:281). The negotiation of these pluralities is evident in the process of translating knowledges—something that continues to be explored in collaborative museology in the year 2015.

In describing my conceptualization of collaborative museology, I would like to discuss two examples of collaborative museology at the national level. The first case

study describes the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in the United States. The second case study discusses the bicultural museum model in Aotearoa.

Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)

On November 10, 1990, the United States Congress passed NAGPRA which provided the legal structure for Indigenous peoples of the United States to claim rights to human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony in museums. Harrison notes that “only three museums testified in favor of this legislation at the Senate hearings—two from the Southwest and the *Bishop Museum in Hawai‘i*” (2005:46, emphasis added).

NAGPRA defines “museums” as “any institution or State or local government agency (including any institution of higher learning) that receives Federal funds and has possession of, or control over, Native American cultural items” (U.S. Congress 1990: 168).⁸ Under NAGPRA, museums that receive federal funds are legally required to submit an inventory of all NAGPRA-eligible materials in their possession. Additionally, museums needed to “identify the geographical and cultural affiliation of such item[s]” early on so that any lineal descendant, federally recognized Indian Tribe, or Native Hawaiian organization that claims cultural affiliation to those objects and individuals can request for their repatriation (U.S.Congress 1990:172). Although tens of thousands of

⁸ NAGPRA does not apply to the “Smithsonian Institution or any other Federal agency” (U.S.Congress 1990:168). The Smithsonian Institution is exempt from NAGPRA due to the passage of the National Museum of the American Indian Act in 1989 which established the National Museum of the American Indian; “...the act required the Smithsonian to create and carry out an institution wide repatriation policy regarding Native American human remains and certain cultural materials” (Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian 2015)

human remains and objects have been returned to Indigenous communities since the passage of NAGPRA, many of these collections continue to stagnate in the backrooms of museums, awaiting for their returned to Indigenous hands. For instance, only 27% of all human remains in U.S. museum collections have been culturally-affiliated (Nash and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2010:99). Furthermore, human remains and objects of tribes that are not federally recognized are classified either under the categories of “culturally unaffiliated” or “culturally unidentifiable”, making repatriation difficult and near impossible (Brown and Bruchac 2006:203). In addition, the dispersal of collections in various institutions have made it difficult to recover funerary objects that were originally excavated from the same site (Bruchac 2010). Recently, some museums have attempted to deal with their collections of unaffiliated objects and human remains (for example, see Colwell-Chanthaphonh, Maxson, and Powell 2011).

Regardless of its pitfalls, NAGPRA has had profound impacts on the relationship between museums and Indigenous communities. Here in the United States, the collaborative museological enterprise largely is credited to the passage of NAGPRA:

...[NAGPRA] provided a forum for an intense debate between the various political and professional constituencies involved in museums, and enabled external constituencies to stake their claim for a larger involvement as stakeholders in the museum’s role as managers of cultural heritage (Sullivan, Abraham, and Griffin 2000:240).

The reconfiguration of power relations in museums also allowed Indigenous communities to challenge Western museums and other Western scientific institutions as the final retainers of the histories and cultures of humanity. NAGPRA also resulted in the development of reflexivity within the scientific community, as scientists from various

disciplines grappled with the supposed irreversible loss of data that would result from this legislative act (Sullivan et al. 2000).

Over the decades, the myth regarding the loss of general knowledge through repatriation has been demystified. A growing list of insightful literature specifically addresses the complex interactions between museums and Native peoples that NAGPRA has and continues to facilitate (Harth 1999; Nash and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2010; Graham and Murphy 2010; Moore 2010; Sullivan, Abraham, and Griffin 2000). As an example, Graham and Murphy (2010) narrate three case studies on how NAGPRA consultation vastly transformed the relationship of the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) to three federally recognized Native American tribes. NAGPRA for the AMNH facilitated a positive and enriching exchange that solidified a continual reciprocal relationship between the museum and the three tribes. AMNH's experiences also provide three possible outcomes that can ensue from the NAGPRA process. These outcomes included the successful repatriation of a Tlingit prow piece to Kootznoowoo, Incorporated and its subsequent reintegration into ceremonial life; the compromise between the AMNH and the Grand Ronde to keep *Tomanowos*, a sacred meteorite, in the museum while providing the Grand Ronde with special privileges to hold annual ceremonies in the museum; and AMNH's collaboration with the Caddo Nation regarding the NAGPRA-eligible W.T. Schoot Collection which resulted in a plethora of publications that provide a greater understanding of Caddo Nation culture and history.

Moore (2010) also describes the practice of “propatriation”—the commissioning of native artist to create new pieces to replace objects that are repatriated through

NAGPRA—as another outcome of the NAGPRA process. Not only does this approach allow museums to retain and increase their collections of Indigenous material culture, it also recognizes the continuation of native traditions in the contemporary world.

NAGPRA has paved the way for collaborative museology within the United States between museums and Indigenous communities.

In addition, the greater presence of Indigenous peoples within museums has also facilitated the integration of Indigenous care methods into mainstream collections care (Ogden 2004; Sullivan and Edwards 2004; Flynn and Hull-Walski 2001; Rosoff 1998). Flynn and Hull-Walski (2001) in particular discuss the integration of Indigenous care methods at the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) and remind us that caring for culturally-sensitive materials is a cross-cultural and complex phenomenon. Care practices used in one cultural context may not be suitable for caring for objects from a different culture. Some examples of the integration of Indigenous care practices at the NMNH include using Indigenous terminologies to identify objects, re-arranging the storage of objects to reflect culturally-appropriate spatial contexts, allowing for visitors to leave offerings and “feed” objects, and providing some restrictions when it comes to accessing certain items (Flynn and Hull-Walski 2001). I will return to Indigenous care methods in the section on Indigenous Museology.

Collaborative Museology in Aotearoa (New Zealand)

Museology as practiced in Aotearoa is relevant for my own research because 1) the native people of Aotearoa (Māori) and Hawai‘i (Kanaka Maoli) share a deep historical and cultural connection, and 2) museums in Aotearoa are at the forefront of

collaborative museological efforts. Following the national framework of biculturalism, the coexistence of both Māori and Pākehā (white; non-Māori) within Aotearoa, museums in this Pacific nation are well aware of the need to build positive relationships and provide various modes of redress to the various *iwi* (tribes) of Aotearoa (Butts 2002). Although biculturalism was a concept that entered political discourse in Aotearoa in the 1940s, it was not until the famed *Te Maori* exhibit that biculturalism entered the domain of museums (McCarthy 2011). *Te Maori* had a resounding impact on the practice of curating Indigenous collections and working with Indigenous peoples in Aotearoa and the United States.

Unlike older monovocal exhibits that presented the Māori through a Western gaze, *Te Maori* elevated Māori collections to works of art and recognized their value as *taonga tuku iho*, treasures handed down and cared for through the generations. Māori Scholar Hirini (Sidney) Moko Mead notes this elevation of Māori material culture in his work titled *Magnificent Te Maori: Te Maori Whakahirahira*—a series of short essays that Mead wrote during the course of *Te Maori*'s travels throughout Aotearoa and the U.S. Mead also served as one of the primary curators for the exhibit.

The nine-year long journey of developing *Te Maori* through intensive consultation with numerous Māori *iwi* (tribes) was unprecedented in Aotearoa.⁹ Historically, the domain of authority and control over exhibits fell within the hands of

⁹ Mead does not use the term consultation to describe meeting with the various *iwi*. Rather, consultation is implied through “calling the tribes together, talking to them about the idea of the exhibition, and then seeking their support and agreement to participate...” (Mead 1986:10).

museum professionals and scholars who claimed scholarly expertise on Māori collections. This is reflected in Conal McCarthy's research on the history of displaying Māori culture in New Zealand museums as a method to legitimize colonialism on the colonial frontier (McCarthy 2007). *Te Maori*, however, brought about a new era of engagement between museums and Māori. No longer were Māori people regarded as a secondary audience; they were recognized as the rightful stewards and spiritual owners of the *taonga* in museums. Mead provides an excellent description of what *taonga* are and the inherent responsibility that Māori people have towards these precious objects:

The word *taonga* describes a sacred dimension to our artworks. They are not just secular objects that are detached from our social history. Rather, they represent a link between our ancestors and us, between the past and the present, between the dead and the living. We, who are alive today, are the trustees of the *taonga* and indeed of all our heritage. We have a duty and a responsibility to care for the *taonga* so that generations yet unborn can enjoy them (Mead 1986:83).

In order to exhibit *taonga*, *Te Maori* included a range of protocols and ceremonies that were conducted by the Māori to properly honor the *taonga* and prepare them for display. When *Te Maori* visited four large museums across the U.S between 1983 and 1986, each exhibit opening included opening Māori ceremonies. As the exhibit toured, a group of Māori *kaumātua* (elders) representing the various *iwi* whose *taonga* were displayed, traveled with the *taonga*. Their public presence and the performance of Māori cultural protocols clearly illustrated that the Māori were the rightful stewards of *taonga*. When *Te Maori* was hosted by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the opening ceremonies were publically televised throughout the U.S. The wider awareness of who the Māori were in the U.S. and the success of *Te Maori* was an eye opening event for Aotearoa and U.S. museums:

For the first time New Zealanders saw *taonga Māori* exhibited as art works of international standing rather than ethnological specimens and, moreover, were able to glimpse something of the relationship between *taonga* and tribal people. This revelation reinforced the already growing recognition in many New Zealand museums of the need to redevelop the exhibits of *taonga Māori* that had remained essentially unchanged for decades. The Māori protocol used by the elders to ceremonially open *Te Māori* quickly became the accepted form for opening most exhibitions of *taonga Māori* in New Zealand museums. The level of consultation between Māori and museums about issues of Māori collection care and interpretation increased significantly in the wake of *Te Māori* (Butts 2002:228–229).

McCarthy (2011) lists some of the changes in New Zealand museum practice that were a direct result of *Te Maori*, including the integration of Māori cultural protocols and practices into curatorial work. *Te Maori* also instigated the need to develop Māori capacity within museums as professional *kaiārahi* (guides) and *kaitiaki* (custodians) of *taonga* (McCarthy 2011).

For Mead, *Te Maori* not only changed museum practices but also reaffirmed Māori identity. The elevation and recognition of *taonga* as Māori art was a far cry from earlier approaches that presented the Māori as savage peoples. For Mead, the message of *Te Maori* was clear:

We [, the Māori,] stand taller after TE MAORI, we speak with greater assurance and dignity, we are more hopeful about our future, we are confident about being Maori, and we feel less threatened by others. We have a magnificent heritage and a beautiful future ahead of us (Mead 1986:118).

Arapata Hakiwai, Curator of Māori Collections at Te Papa Tongarewa, the national museum of Aotearoa, shares Mead's sentiments and McCarthy's observations on the influence of *Te Maori* in changing museum practices in Aotearoa. In retracing the growing presence of Māori communities within Aotearoa museums in a book chapter titled "The Search for Legitimacy: Museums in Aotearoa, New Zealand—A Maori

Viewpoint” (2005), Hakiwai reflects on past, present, and future ways for museums to strive for legitimacy amongst Indigenous peoples. Legitimacy for Hakiwai centers around a “dynamic relationship...built on trust, respect and understanding,” between museums and Māori communities (Hakiwai 2005:155). This dynamic relationship reflects the bicultural model of museology in Aotearoa, which strives to encourage the development of tribal museums within Māori communities and the placement of Māori individuals at all levels of museum management in mainstream institutions (Hakiwai 2005:160). The national museum of Aotearoa, Te Papa Tongarewa, is regarded as the foremost model for bicultural museology (McCarthy 2011; Alivizatou 2012).

The examples of NAGPRA and *Te Maori* reflect my theorization of collaborative museology. Existing on a spectrum of interactions between Indigenous communities and museums, collaborative museology allows us to gain a greater appreciation and understanding of the ways that Western-museums work with non-Western communities in the process of curating collections and exhibits. Inherent in this relationship is the recognition that museums are processes of power and politics that continue to change over time. Rather than perpetuate the notion of singular ownership over objects, stories, people, and cultures, Harth (1999:279) argues that museums have and should continue to adopt their role as “custodians” and “stewards.” As repositories of history and culture, museums have an ethical obligation to strive for multiculturalism in theory and practice in the process of decolonization.

Appropriate Museology

Whereas critical museology and collaborative museology have largely focused on critiquing and reshaping museum practice in Western society, appropriate museology is unique in its orientation towards the integration of Western museum practices in non-Western cultures. Much like the arguments made by Nicholas Thomas in his seminal work on the two-way process of appropriation between Western and non-Western cultures (1991), appropriate museology recognizes that Indigenous communities can and do *appropriate* Western museological traditions for use within their own cultures—much like how Western museums have appropriated (integrated) native practices into collections care.

Appropriate museology is both a theoretical and practical model towards understanding museums in context, i.e. how museums are shaped by the cultures, place, and temporality in which they exist. Developed by Christina Kreps, it recognizes that museums and their meanings, are “contextual and contingent” (Macdonald 2006:2). Recognizing the cross-cultural nature of museological behavior is also a key theoretical feature of appropriate museology, which can be:

...embedded in larger cultural forms and systems such as vernacular architecture, religious beliefs and practices; social organization and structure (especially kinship systems and ancestor worship); artistic traditions and aesthetic systems and knowledge related to people’s relationships and adaptations to their natural environment (Kreps 2008a:194–195).

Kreps developed appropriate museology from decades of cross-cultural and comparative research on Western and non-Western museological behavior. As Kreps describes:

“appropriate museology is an approach to museum development and training that *adapts museum practices and strategies for cultural heritage preservation to local cultural*

contexts and socioeconomic conditions” (2008:23, emphasis added). The term *adaptation* is important to note here because it argues for the individualization of professional practices to fit the needs of specific museums in specific contexts. Adapting professional practices actively engages with the challenges that museums located in rural areas or under-developed countries face. Ergo, appropriate museology rejects the notion of one universal set of “best practices” in favor for practices that are culturally-appropriate and relevant. I use the term *contextualization* as a synonym of adaptation.

Contextualization is commonly used in material culture studies to describe 1) how objects are given meaning in their original cultural contexts, 2) how these objects are decontextualized from their original contexts through the process of removal, and 3) how museum objects from source communities are recontextualized and imbued with new meanings and values over time as ethnographic objects (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991). Many ethnographic objects of the past became the possessions of museums and represent a long history of dispossessing Indigenous peoples from their land, culture, and material culture. Through the practice of ethnography, as well as other modes of collecting such as travel and tourism, the cultural objects of Indigenous peoples have been dispersed globally (Phillips 2005b; Phillips and Steiner 1999).

Contextuality also entails that object meanings are relativistic by nature. This is clearly seen with the transcendence of ethnographic objects as mere *curios* of “primitive” societies into highly-esteemed objects of fine art (Bouquet 2012; McCarthy 2007; Svašek 2007; Phillips 2005; Westermann 2005). In retracing historical collecting activities and the desire to learn more about the objects they possess, “museums are more concerned

than ever to discuss the contextualization of the objects they hold and to historicize the social activities that led to their collection” (Handler 1992:21). Contextual approaches in museums parallel the call in anthropology to contextualize theory and practice (Marcus and Fisher 1999).

I would argue that contextualizing museum practices is included in this endeavor. Understanding the various practices that surround object curation allows for their adaptation to varying sociocultural and historical conditions. Contextualizing the curation and display of objects can lead to better decisions about the care of museum collections and allows museums to reflect on how to better curate their collections. In particular, I return to Kreps (2008) to describe what I refer to as cultural contextualization.

Cultural Contextualization

Cultural contextualization is the process in which Indigenous or other appropriate methods of collections care are integrated into standardized collections care practices and policies. The integration of non-Western ways of curating objects reflects appropriate museology’s roots in the New Museology movement as an engagement with museum democratization. Adapting professional collections care methods to incorporate Indigenous ways of caring for objects recognizes the worth and value of Indigenous knowledge systems within museums.

An example of cultural contextualization in Kreps (2008) is the construction of traditional *Omo Hada* on the Island of Nias in Indonesia. Nias is known for this particular vernacular architecture and is also the location of the Nias Heritage Museum. After a devastating earthquake that shook the island in 2005, constructing new *Omo Hada* was

part of humanitarian aid and recovery efforts. Compared to their concrete counterparts, many of the *Omo Hada* remained intact after the earthquake. *Omo Hada* are constructed with locally available hardwoods and vegetal materials, and are “an outstanding example of a building style...highly adapted to specific environmental conditions” (Kreps 2008:36).

Staff members of the Nias Heritage Museum supported the resurgence of traditional vernacular architecture by assisting families in the construction of new *Omo Hada*, houses erected on stilts with steeply pitched roofs that serve as “a repository for a community’s history and culture, as well as space in which such knowledge is transmitted” (Kreps 2008:36). Although this event took place outside of the Nias Heritage Museum, the participation of museum staff members reflects the relationship of museums to communities and external processes (Kreps 2015). Cultural contextualization is demonstrated here because *Omo Hada* are an example of Indigenous curation; they are structures adapted to their local environment that were given new meaning as a resurging cultural art form. Traditionally, *Omo Hada* “long served as a repository for community history and culture, as well as space in which such knowledge is transmitted” (Kreps 2008:36). Rebuilding *Omo Hada* in the face of disaster thus allows for the continuation of such traditions for future generations and can be understood as a form of cultural humanitarianism which is “the integration of cultural heritage work into humanitarian efforts” (Kreps 2015:252).

Kreps briefly discusses the cultural contextualization of museum practices within the Nias Heritage Museum. During her visit, many of the collections were exhibited in a

style similar to many ethnographic museums of the West, where typological and thematic organization of collections are used in displaying non-Western objects. To encourage innovation and creative solutions towards the display of their collections, Kreps and museum staff members discussed local and traditional forms of object display. In addition, Kreps further describes how “the museum also offered workshops on traditional arts such as carving, dance, and music, in an effort to revitalize and preserve them” (Kreps 2008:33-34). Taking on the responsibility of becoming a cultural space that not only curates objects but also curates living culture is an important cultural contextualization process. Cultural contextualization is therefore conceived as the adaptation of museum practices to fit cultural needs, but can also include the re-contextualization of museums as places of living culture. Throughout this thesis, I describe various examples of cultural contextualization that I experienced at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum.

Indigenous Museology

Indigenous museology recognizes that museological behaviors, customs, beliefs, and practices to care for and display precious objects, are cross-cultural phenomenon. This concept is reflected in the integration of Indigenous methods of care and the greater representation of Indigenous peoples within Western museums as discussed in my section on collaborative museology, and demonstrated through the contextualization of museum practices in the appropriate museology section. Here I would like to further describe forms of museology in non-Western contexts.

Krouse (2006:174) opines that “the primary difference [between Indigenous and Western forms of museology] is that Indigenous museum-like collections focus only on the Indigenous culture itself, not on the collection and display of objects from other cultures.” Krouse’s definition is taken lightly, since Indigenous communities *do* collect Western materials; collecting and curiosity are not wholly a Western phenomena but represents a cross-cultural practice.¹⁰ Moving past historical anthropological approaches that regard native peoples as organisms living in a synchronic bubble of the ethnographic present, recent approaches in anthropology complement Indigenous museology by demonstrating the diachronic and processual nature of culture. Obsolete theories on acculturation and the eventual disappearance of Indigenous cultures through “progress” have been replaced with approaches that demonstrate the complex entanglements that Indigenous peoples face as a result of colonialism within their communities (Kreps 2007; Daehnke 2009; Thomas 1991; Simpson 1996; Clifford 2013).

Hirini Moko Mead and Indigenous Museology

Hirini Moko Mead was one of the first anthropologists to write about Indigenous museology. In 1983, Mead published a short article titled “Indigenous Models of Museums in Oceania” in *Museum*, an international journal published by UNESCO.¹¹

¹⁰ Western curiosity in Indigenous objects is clearly implicated in the example of the *Wunderkammer*, cabinets of curiosities that displayed hodgepodes of Indigenous objects and natural history specimens as *curios* (exotic objects of fascination; see Bouquet 2012; O’Hanlon 2000; Errington 1998; Stocking 1985; Sturtevant 1973 for example). However, authors such as Thomas (1991) and Neller (2002) provide examples of how Western materials were collected and appropriated by Indigenous communities.

¹¹ *Museum* is now formally known as *Museum International*.

Mead argues that the fundamental feature of Western museums, as institutions dedicated towards the preservation and display of precious objects, is recognizable in non-Western museum-like institutions. However, he identifies the meticulous preservation of objects as a Western preoccupation. In certain Indigenous contexts, objects were allowed to rot and disintegrate over time. When objects were no longer usable, they were simply replaced or remanufactured (Mead 1983:99).

Drawing from his own cultural background, Mead describes the *whare whakairo* (carved meeting-houses) as a museum-like institution where precious objects such as *taonga* (ancestral objects) and photographs of deceased family members are displayed. The *whare whakairo* is the central altar of a *marae*, which Mead describes in a footnote as a “Polynesian stone platform forming a temple with a courtyard surrounded by walls and a central altar” (Mead 1983:99). Mead goes on to note that the “Maori housebuilders of the late nineteenth century [who built *whare whakairo*] were already moving towards the idea of a museum” by labeling photographic images of the ancestors (Mead 1983:98). In contrast to Western museums which are open to the public for extended periods and traditionally emphasized the display of objects, *whare whakairo* are community-gathering places that are only open to the public on certain ceremonial occasions. The primary role of the *whare whakairo* is one that is social and is used for *tangihanga* (death rituals, funerals) and hosting special visitors to the *marae* (Mead 1983:98).

Mead’s article ends with a short commentary advocating for the need to develop low-cost conservation techniques that Indigenous peoples can implement to prolong the life of their objects. Rather than send collections overseas for other non-Indigenous

scholars to study, Mead calls for the retention of Indigenous collections within Indigenous communities to serve as objects that maintain customs and practices. For Mead, the Western museum model is too specialized and expensive, which risks disenfranchising Indigenous communities: “Rather than dismantle the belief system of the Indigenous people for the sake of setting up a European-style museum, *one should work within that belief system as much as possible*” (Mead 1983:101, emphasis added). In outlining some foundational concepts of Indigenous museology, Mead ends by warning of the outcome of adopting a Western museum model:

To accept the Western model is to lose control over the culture itself and especially the Indigenous philosophy and educational system. Modern societies would find it valuable to look again at their own museum—like structures and at their own ways of managing them. Perhaps now is the time to revive them.

As part of the era of decolonization, Indigenous museology is emerging as a critical field of scholarship that tracks the development and maintenance of museums and museum-like institutions in Indigenous communities.

Other Early Writings on Indigenous Museology

Although Mead’s piece primarily focused on Indigenous museology as practiced within Indigenous communities, the scholarship that follows primarily focuses on the appropriation of the Western museum model in non-Western contexts. Some of the earliest writings on this phenomenon can be traced back to the development of tribal museums along the Northwest Coast. James Clifford’s chapter titled “Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections” (1991) and “Kwakwaka’wakw Museology” (1995) by Barbara Saunders are useful examples that trace the development of the Kwagiulth Museum and Cultural Centre and the U’mista Cultural Centre in Canada.

The establishment of both museums are directly linked with the repatriation of materials that were confiscated by the Canadian government in 1921 during a potlatch ceremony hosted by Dan Cranmer in Alert Bay. These objects were removed from the community because potlatching at the time was outlawed as a way to encourage the assimilation of Northwest Coast peoples into mainstream Canada. Although the objects were removed from their original contexts, they remained in the memory of those who participated in the potlatch and their descendants. When the anti-potlatch law was lifted in 1951, community effort's to regain ownership of the collections intensified, culminating in the opening of the Kwagiulth Museum and Cultural Centre in 1979 and the U'mista Cultural Centre in 1980. The establishment of two museums was a direct response to concerns that were raised by Gloria Cranmer Webster, daughter of Dan Cranmer, the chief who hosted the potlatch in 1921. Cranmer Webster claimed that the Kwagiulth Tribal Council failed to consult "any of the 'original owners' nor their descendants in their decision to house the collection at Cape Mudge" (Saunders 1995:42). As a form of compromise, the collection was split and repatriated to two cultural societies—the U'mista Society (1974) and the Nuyumbalees Society (1975)—which both have corporate responsibility of their respective collection and manage the each museum.

Although the museums have similar potlatch materials, the objects are interpreted and exhibited differently. At the Kwagiulth Museum and Cultural Centre, the objects are displayed in a manner that reflects the use of mainstream museum practices. Well-lit and uncluttered glass cases house the objects, which accentuates the "decay of objects rather than their 'aesthetic qualities', 'ethnographic interest' or historical or narrative

significance” (Saunders 1995:48). However, the ambiguous use of tenses within the labels and the grouping of objects according to traditional ownership categories, were considered to be anomalies that deviated from mainstream practices (Clifford 1991:227). Although individual ownership is recognized, Saunders criticizes the display at Kwagiulth Museum for decontextualizing the objects as mere representations of the authentic past. For Clifford, the museum was an intimate expression of community memorabilia, but had a “sleepy feel” (1991:228).

In comparison, the U’mista Cultural Centre as a museum that is dynamic and actively engaged with the outside world (Clifford 1991). Rather than celebrate the return of the collections as mere memorabilia, the potlatch objects were historicized and confronted the collection’s colonial past. Visitors are forced to contemplate the objects in more than just aesthetic terms. Quotes and stories collected by anthropologist Franz Boas were also reintegrated into the displays as expressions of Kwakwaka’wakw identity alongside contemporary oral histories. Additionally, the objects were displayed in a miniature traditional big house on daises lining raised platforms on three sides of the room. Their arrangement reflect their appearance during a potlatch, starting with the most prestigious items (coppers) followed by other paraphernalia (masks, costumes, whistles, etc.). Unlike the museum cases at the Kwagiulth museum, the objects at U’mista are displayed with no glass cases, allowing visitors to intimately engage with the objects. The room’s two large doors face the sea and allow the room to be opened and utilized for ceremonial purposes. Clifford notes that “the smell of wood is pervasive” in the “dark big-house room”, suggesting that the sense of smell is a key part of the experience in the

exhibit (1991:237). Saunder explains the atmosphere of the room succinctly as an “inner sanctum: the objects sacralized, the atmosphere rarified, silence pervasive, requiring of its visitors a transcendental aesthetic sensitivity” (Saunder 1995:49).

As Saunder (1995) suggests in the title of her piece, the Kwagiulth Museum and Cultural Centre and the U'mista Cultural Centre are two forms of Kwakwaka'wakw museology. As forms of Indigenous museology, both museums illustrate how the Western museum model can be appropriated by non-Western communities in divergent ways. The heterogeneity of Indigenous cultural approaches towards displaying objects is further complicated when considering how both institutions share some fundamental similarities. For example, both museums face the sea. The orientation of the museum reflects Kwakwaka'wakw beliefs that the inland forests areas are the domain of supernaturals and spirits (Saunder 1995:45).

Developing the Concept of Indigenous Curation

Although Clifford and Saunders discuss Kwakwaka'wakw methods of caring for and interpreting Indigenous objects, they did not use the term *Indigenous curation* to describe the phenomenon they observed. The development of Indigenous curation as a term to encapsulate a theory on Indigenous care methods came a few years later. Kreps (1998a:3) states that “...nearly all cultures keep objects of special value, and many have created elaborate methods for storing, conserving, classifying, displaying, and transmitting knowledge about them.” This recognition of the cross-cultural nature of curation is encapsulated in the term *Indigenous curation*. The example of ordering objects according to their appearance in a potlatch ceremony and the multi-sensory

experience of the miniature big-house in the U'mista Cultural Centre is a form of Indigenous curation.

Kreps correlates the greater interest in Western museums to learn about Indigenous knowledge systems and methods of care as a direct outcome of changing power relations within museums. In the post-NAGPRA era, the presence of Indigenous peoples in museums as curators, staff, consultants, and stakeholders have paved the way for greater innovation and scholarship (Graham and Murphy 2010; Beisaw 2010; Sullivan, Abraham, and Griffin 2000; Nash and Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2010; Bruchac 2010; Moore 2010). The greater integration of Indigenous care methods have challenged museum “best practices”—the myth that a single universal set of practices exist to care for the diversity of cultural collections that museums hold in their collection—in favor for “appropriate practices” that are culturally informed.

Indigenous curation recognizes that the imposition of Western museum practices onto Indigenous communities can be detrimental to the well-being and continuation of cultural traditions. Kreps illustrates this in her essay on the Museum Balanga in Central Kalimantan, Indonesia (1998b). Although the curatorial practices at Museum Balanga reflected an integration of Western and Dayak methods of curation, the museum operated as an extension of the Indonesian government, which treated Indigenous care methods as “obstacles to development and modernization” (Kreps 1998b:9). Kreps supports this point by describing the tension in curating *balanga* (type of Chinese ceramic jar) at Museum Balanga. Local Dayak experts fluent in the language of caring for *balanga* are undermined in favor for professional mainstream museum practices, and result in the

displacement of local techniques and practices due to professionalization. Some of these displacements include the lost opportunity to co-curate *balanga* with local experts and the choice to not utilize an Indigenous classification system. At a deeper level, the museum as an agent of Indonesian modernization operates under what James Clifford described as a “salvage paradigm”, whereby the museum serves as the final repository of Dayak history and culture that “will inevitably disappear in the wake of progress and development” (in Kreps 1998a:13).

This is not to suggest that Indigenous communities are not concerned over the loss of traditional culture in the wake of colonialism. Indigenous curation also refers to the practices that Indigenous peoples employ in the preservation of a vastly disappearing traditional culture. Graburn (1998:18) describes this “emergence of the consciousness of cultural loss” in his comparative essay on museums in the eastern Canadian arctic. For example the Saputik Museum was established in 1978 to preserve the history and culture of the local community. Tamusi Qumak Nuvalinga, the founder of the named the museum “Saputik” (The Weir) because it envisaged his Indigenous conception of “time as a river carrying everything irrevocably out to sea to be lost forever” (Graburn 1998:26).

Molly Lee also presents yet another perspective on Indigenous curation in Bethel, Alaska. Using a comparative framework, she traces the development and history of the Ugtarvik Museum and the Yup’ik Piciryarait Museum (YPM). The Ugtarvik Museum was established in 1967 and represented the views of Bethel’s white residents in preserving the remnants of Yup’ik culture. Most of the collections at Ugtarvik were

“replicas of Indigenous artifacts such as dolls, masks, ivory carvings, and bentwood food dishes” that were obtained from various sources. Community engagement with the local Yup’ik was minimal and in 1990, the Ugtarvik Museum closed its doors.

Five years later, the YPM was established. What made this institution different from its predecessor was that “the Yup’ik Piciryarait Museum would be not only *about* the Yup’ik culture, but *by* and *for* it” (Lee 1998:47). This new orientation meant that the YPM served as a hub for the Yup’ik community to see their traditional objects and culture elevated to the status of high art. The museum also developed “artifact-based apprentice programs” for young Yupiit artists to learn traditional art forms from Yu’pik elders, which illustrates the role of museums as institutions of living culture

All of the essays described above present foundational pieces in the development of Indigenous curation in the context of non-Western museums. In later years, Kreps developed the concept of Indigenous curation in subsequent publications (Kreps 2006; Kreps 2008a; Kreps 2003a). Her writings demonstrate that Indigenous curation can effectively serve as a cross-cultural approach towards cultural heritage management. As Indigenous communities continue to “appropriate” the Western museum model, Indigenous traditions can serve as effective means of hybridizing museums to reflect the complex and dynamic cultures in which they exist. In the aftermath of colonialism, Indigenous peoples are further adopting or developing new Indigenous curatorial methods to preserve their cultural heritage (Graburn 1998; Lee 1998; Clifford 1991; Saunders 1995).

The edited volume *The Future of Indigenous Museums: Perspectives from the Southwest Pacific* (2007a) adds to our understanding of Indigenous curation from a Pacific context. In his introduction, Nick Stanley (2007b) explains that Indigenous museums are the most precarious type of museums, often times closing after a few short years of operation in the face of lost momentum or lack of resources. Indigenous curators also face greater difficulty in dealing with Indigenous copyright and curating traditional knowledge within individual museums. However, Indigenous museums highlight the social role of museums in communities and “reinforce the sense of community and belonging to all who are both subject and object of representation” (Stanley 2007b:9). Furthermore, Stanley argues that “these institutions can reconfigure museum objects not as relics but as “material for the reformulation of future cultural renaissance” (2007b:5).

As localized institutions, Indigenous museums do not aim to present microcosms of the world like mainstream Western museums. Rather, they are more like ecomuseums, where community concerns, culture, and history are placed at the forefront of the museum’s agenda (Davis 2008; Davis 2011). Kreps (2007:225) adds that “issues of voice, authority, and control are defining characteristics of Indigenous museums.” Learning how Indigenous museums negotiate these contestations can provide excellent models of cross cultural heritage management and curation (Kreps 2007). Indigenous museums bring a “new dimension and human potential to curating objects” that recognize the interconnectedness between museums and “wider cultural heritage management” (Kreps 2007:229).

In 2006, Kreps published a chapter titled “Non-Western Models of Museums and Curation in Cross-cultural Perspective” which builds on some of her earlier works by further developing Mead’s articulation of Indigenous museums (1983). She lists various examples of Indigenous museum models and forms of curation from Oceania and abroad. Some examples include the *parsoeroan* temples of the Pardembanan Batak of Sumatra, Dayak *lumbung* (rice barns) in Indonesia, Māori *pataka* (store houses) in Aotearoa, and the *haus tambaran* in the Sepik River region of Papua New Guinea. Kreps discussion on these various structures highlight the cross-cultural nature of curating objects in specific structures and specific ways.

Indigenous Curation as Intangible Cultural Heritage

In the edited volume *Intangible Heritage*, Kreps explicates her views on how Indigenous curation can be a form of intangible cultural heritage. The term *intangible cultural heritage* (ICH) has gained credence over the past two decades and is inextricably tied with national and international prerogatives to protect and preserve Indigenous cultural heritage. Greater discussions on ICH is the direct outcome of the *Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* which was passed in 2003 by the United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization (UNESCO). In the Convention, ICH is defined as:

...the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (Article 2.1, Definitions).

Note that this definition highlights the link between ICH and tangible cultural heritage. Therefore, Indigenous curation can be regarded as a performance of intangible cultural heritage which aims to preserve tangible heritage. The preservation of immaterial methods and the philosophies of caring for tangible family and cultural heirlooms are both crucial for cultural transmission and preservation. Kreps (2008:194) notes that:

...the importance of ICH marks a shift in museological thinking and practice from a focus on objects and material culture to a focus on people and the sociocultural practices, processes, and interactions associated with their cultural expressions. Taken together these current museological trends and the Convention indicate how concerns over cultural and human rights are increasingly being addressed in museums and global public culture.

Following the passage of the Convention in 2003, the United Nations passed the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP) in 2007. This document follows in the footsteps of other key Indigenous rights documents such as Convention no. 169 of the International Labour Organization, and outlines the rights of Indigenous peoples internationally. Many of the articles in UNDRIP speak of the rights of Indigenous peoples to self-determination, to practice and revitalize Indigenous customs and traditions, and to seek redress from nation states (United Nations 2008). Although it is not explicitly stated, Indigenous curation can be regarded as a traditional custom or practice. Thus, Indigenous museums (as a type of Indigenous institution), and the perpetuation of Indigenous forms of curation, are recognized as an Indigenous right under UNDRIP.

Marilena Alivizatou further examines the development of ICH discourse and practice in her book titled *Intangible Heritage and the Museum: New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation* (2012). Through the use of multi-sited ethnography, Alivizatou

examines ICH at five postcolonial institutions: Te Papa Tongarewa in New Zealand, Vanuatu Cultural Centre in Vanuatu, the National Museum of the American Indian in the United States, the Horniman Museum in London and the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris. In chapter two of her book, Alivizatou presents a compelling history of ICH discourse in the context of the development of international human rights. Hafstein traces the “intellectual origins” of ICH “in folklore studies, anthropology research, and intellectual property debates, but also in the cultural preservation framework of Japan and Korea” (in Alivizatou 2012:17).

Alivizatou is critical of the language used in ICH discourse and argues that the language used in the *Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* reflects the perception of heritage in constant danger of being lost. She uses the term erasure to encompass the notion of heritage as in the constant state of “decay, salvage, and loss” (Alivizatou 2012:16). However, her research reveals that ICH, at least at these five institutions is regarded as a fluid and creative process: “Here, processes of globalisation and cross-cultural hybridisation often revive rather than endanger cultural heritage, allowing it to respond to contemporary multifaceted social and cultural environments” (Alivizatou 2012:192).

ICH in this regard is a dynamic process of transformation. This conceptualization is particularly useful for considering how ICH plays out within the realm of Indigenous museology. It highlights that Indigenous methods of caring for objects are not static. In fact, it provides legitimization for Indigenous communities who are faced with developing new methods of caring for objects in museums in the postcolonial era.

Summary

In the following chapter, I have traced the development of five museological theories. Table 3.1 summarizes the key concepts for each of the theories I discussed. I begin this chapter with a brief introduction into the new museology movement. The new museology was instrumental in transforming museums from method-oriented temples of the past to people-oriented public forums. Theorist such as Hugues de Varine and Georges Henri Rivière were instrumental in the development of the ecomuseum—a museum model that emphasized the curation of local history by local communities. The greater call for multivocality and inclusive practiced is a direct outcome of the new museology movement.

Theory	Context	Key Concepts	Key Readings
The New Museology	Western	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People-oriented. - Moving away from the “old” museology. - Democratizing museum practice - Ecomuseums and community-oriented museums. 	(Davis 2008; Davis 2011; Vergo 1989; Krouse 2006)
Critical	Western	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Critical reading of Western museum history. - Understanding the transition of Indigenous artifacts through various taxonomic systems (typological, geographical, contextual, primitive art, fine art). - The development of museum anthropology and the exploitation of native peoples. - New approaches in anthropology such as Indigenous anthropology and reflexivity. 	(Bennett 1995; Simpson 1996; Bouquet 2012; Svašek 2007; Thomas 1991; Kreps 2003a)
Collaborative	Western	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “Consultation” vs. “collaboration.” - Integrating non-Western practices into Western museums. 	(Clifford 1997; Boast 2011; White 2012; Karp 1991;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognizing power and politics as inherent museum structures. - Museums as contact zones. - Museums as process. Recognizing change and adaptation in museums. 	Karp 1992; Peers and Brown 2003a; Golding 2013; Raymond A. Silverman 2015)
Appropriate	Non-Western	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Recognition of the cross-cultural nature of museological behavior. - Contextualizing museum practice (cultural contextualization). - Challenging “best practices” in favor of “appropriate practices.” 	(Kreps 2008; Thomas 1991; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991)
Indigenous	Non-Western	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Valuing Indigenous curation - Intangible cultural heritage - Cross-cultural approaches to heritage management. 	(Kreps 2008b; Kreps 2008a; Mead 1983; Alivizatou 2012)

Table 3.1. A summary of five museological theories.

As part of the new museology movement, scholars began to question the role of museums in society. This cultural critique also includes critical reflections on anthropology’s relationship to colonialism through the collecting and objectification of Indigenous peoples within museums. Removing and decontextualizing objects from their Indigenous contexts through fieldwork was legitimized under salvage anthropology. Although the colonial encounter was devastating, categorizing Indigenous peoples as mere victims fails to consider the exchange of ideas, culture, and objects between Indigenous and Western peoples (Thomas 1991).

In the past three decades the development of new theories on material culture have revitalized the sub-discipline of museum anthropology. These new theories on visual culture are further complemented by writings by Indigenous anthropologists who

study their own cultures. Such new theories emphasize the need to reflexively considering one's positionality to their own research.

Critical museology also developed alongside collaborative museology theory. The term *collaborative museology* is applied to the increase of interactions between Western museums and Indigenous communities. Collaborative museology is the development of new approaches towards curating Indigenous exhibits and collections. Two examples of collaborative museology that I describe are the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and the bicultural museum model as practiced in New Zealand. Collaborative museology is useful for considering shifting power systems within museums. As Indigenous communities increasingly advocate for greater inclusivity and better representations of their cultures, the concept of museums as contact zones becomes apparent and highlights the differences between the consultative and collaborative model of working with Indigenous communities.

Appropriate museology theory is akin to collaborative museology but primarily elaborates on collaborations within a non-Western contexts. In particular, I find appropriate museology useful in describing how museum practices can be contextualized. Rather than perpetuate the stereotype of "best" practices, appropriate museology advocates for "appropriate" practices that are adapted to operate within any given cultural context.

Lastly, Indigenous museology recognizes that museological behavior is a cross-cultural phenomenon. The Indigenization of the Western museum model by Indigenous communities reflects a cross-cultural approach towards cultural heritage management.

Two key theoretical developments in Indigenous museology are the concepts of Indigenous curation and intangible cultural heritage which are Indigenous right as outlined by the *Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* and the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. The theories listed above guided my research into the curation of *ali'i* collections in Hawai'i-based museums.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter outlines the research design I utilized for this endeavor. A research design is analogous to a traveler's road map or an architect's blueprint and outlines the steps that a researcher utilized to examine their research questions (LeCompte and Schensul 2010:87). In the following pages, I describe in detail the research questions that I pursued, the methodologies that justified the methods I used, and some of the ethical concerns regarding research with Indigenous peoples.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided my inquiry into the curation of *ali'i* collections at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum. The primary research question that guided this study was: How are *ali'i* collections curated at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and the Lyman House Memorial Museum? The term *curation* entails a large assemblage of practices and philosophies. Thus I developed three sub-questions to further explore different domains of curation:

1. How are *ali'i* collections conserved, handled, and stored by collections managers at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum?
2. In what ways are *ali'i* collections represented through exhibits at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum?

3. How our Native Hawaiian beliefs and practices integrated into the curation of *ali'i* collections?

Site Selection

I chose research sites and interviewees purposefully to address the research questions stated above. Patten (2005:113) describes this method of selecting as “purposive criterion sampling.” My primary research sites were the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (July 22- August 6, 2015) and the Lyman House Memorial Museum (August 11-August 22). I chose these museums for comparative purposes based on their location, *ali'i* collections, and staff demography. On average, my visits to each museum took place between the hours of 9:00am through 5:00pm on weekdays (Monday-Friday).

Location

I chose the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum because they are both located in the Hawaiian Islands. The Bishop Museum is located in Honolulu on the Island of O‘ahu and the Lyman Museum is situated in Hilo on the Island of Hawai‘i. I also visited two secondary research sites. These sites were museums that I visited during my fieldwork that yielded some comparative information. The research collected at these secondary museums are not substantive, but provide relevant information to my research questions. These two secondary research sites were the National Museum of Natural History in Washington D.C. and the Hulihe‘e Palace in Kailua-Kona, Hawai‘i Island. Table 4.1 provides information on the name of each field site including their classification as either a primary or secondary research site, their geographical location, and the type of collections and exhibits that are displayed in each museum.

Museum	Primary/ Secondary Research Site	Location	Collections Type	Dates of Fieldwork
Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum	Primary	Honolulu, Hawai‘i	Natural History, Ethnology	July 22- August 6, 2015
Lyman House Memorial Museum	Primary	Hilo, Hawai‘i	Historic House, Natural History	August 11- August 22, 2015
Hulihe‘e Palace	Secondary	Kailua-Kona, Hawai‘i	Historic House	August 19- 2015, August 19, 2015
National Museum of Natural History	Secondary	Washington, D.C.	Natural History	June 23- July 18, 2015

Table 4.1. Description of four museums where data collection took place.

Collections

The Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum were chosen because they both possess *ali‘i* collections. For research purposes, I define *ali‘i collections* as any object that falls within the category of *ali‘i* material culture, that is, any object that was either manufactured, produced, or utilized by the *ali‘i*. Classic examples of *ali‘i* material culture are featherwork artifacts such as *lei hulu* (feather garlands), *‘ahu‘ula* (feathered cloaks), *kāhili* (feathered standards), and *akua hulumanu* (feathered gods). Other well-known *ali‘i* artifacts are *lei niho palaoa*. Objects that clearly show an association to an *ali‘i* either through previous ownership or oral history were also encompassed in the term *ali‘i collections*. For example, the three founding collections of the Bishop Museum were those of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, Emma Kaleleonālani Rooke, and Ruth Ke‘elikōlani—all women of *ali‘i* ancestry (Rose 1980b). These collections are regarded as *ali‘i* collections because of their association with these three individuals.

The Bishop Museum clearly has *ali'i* collections that are both associated with individual *ali'i* and more broadly with *ali'i* material culture. The museum is well known internationally for having the largest collection of *ali'i* material culture in the world. In contrast, the Lyman Museum houses small collections of *ali'i* objects. The objects in these collections are not traceable to individual *ali'i*. Thus I considered these objects to be *ali'i* collections because of their association to *ali'i* material culture.

Definition of Terms

As an anthropological study, I am interested in how *ali'i* collections are curated by Native Hawaiian and Local museum professionals. As noted in the introductory chapter, the terms *Native Hawaiian*, *Hawaiian*, and *Kanaka Maoli* are used exclusively to refer to descendants of the aboriginal peoples who lived in the Hawaiian Islands prior to the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. *Local* is used to describe individuals who do not identify as Native Hawaiian but were born and raised in the Hawaiian Islands. The Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum employ Native Hawaiian and Local museum professionals who work with *ali'i* collections.

Methodology

Kaplan defines *methodology* as “the study—the description, the explanation, and the justification—of methods, and not the methods themselves” (as cited in Carters and Little 2007:1318). Carters and Little further go on to describe methodology as an assemblage of “epistemic contents” (2007:1318), reflecting the connection between methodology and epistemology, the study of how knowledge is produced, collected, transformed, and perpetuated. Critically reflecting on the epistemic foundation of

research is a reflexive practice for researchers to interrogate the underlying philosophical, practical, and theoretical foundations of their research (Carters and Little 2007:1321; Finlay 2002).

The first methodology that I utilized was museum ethnography, which allowed me to frame my research as an ethnographic inquiry into the behaviors and patterns of caring for *ali'i* collections within museums. The second methodology that I used was decolonizing (Indigenous) methodologies, an emerging paradigm that is transforming and expanding our knowledge on how Indigenous peoples approach the research process. As an Indigenous methodology, Hawaiian epistemology is also discussed.

Museum Ethnography

Museum ethnography is a methodology that developed from ethnography within the sub-disciplines of cultural anthropology and museum anthropology. Traditionally, ethnography was the primary methodology within anthropology used for gaining knowledge on how non-Western “people[s] construct and make meaning of their world” in “highly variable and locally specific” contexts (LeCompte and Schensul 2010:1). Ethnography varies from other scientific approaches because ethnographers cannot control the events that precipitate during the research process. Similarly, museum ethnographic inquiry is based on situation and context. Museums constantly change as new collections and exhibits are accessioned and installed in exhibitionary spaces. In terms of scale, museum ethnography utilizes a micro-approach to understand the cultures of different museums through the use of ethnographic research methods. Understanding

the culture of museums enrich our understanding of museums through the use of an array of textual, visual, and material culture methods (Bouquet 2012:95).

Bouquet (2012:99–100) provides three “points of departure” for museum ethnography which include the close-study of how museum collection are created, the process of exhibit-making, and the narratives told through guided tours. My research does not neatly fit into any of these categories. My aim is to understand how collections managers integrate Native Hawaiian or Local beliefs and practices into the care of *ali‘i* collections. The integration of personal or cultural beliefs into the care of collections transpires at the individual and collective level and represents the ways that collections managers sensitize and indigenize the curatorial process. Analyzing exhibits on *ali‘i* culture within each institution further adds to the picture of how *ali‘i* culture is valued, interpreted, and represented within museums. By utilizing this methodology, I aim to explore “how people think, believe, and behave” within a “local time and space”—that of the museum (LeCompte and Schensul 2010:12). My research thus falls within a fourth point of departure in museum ethnography which is the process of analyzing the curation of museum collections and exhibits.

Indigenous Methodologies

Margaret Kovach (2009:20) succinctly defined the term *Indigenous methodologies* in her book *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts*. Indigenous methodologies recognize that there is not a single Indigenous methodology. The plural form is used “to describe the theory and method of conducting research” from various Indigenous epistemological foundations (Kovach 2009:20).

Understanding the epistemic foundation of research is crucial for interrogating the premises behind the methodologies and methods employed in the research process.

Kovach goes on to write that the term *Indigenous methodologies* is interchangeable with terms like *Indigenous research frameworks*, and *Indigenous inquiry* which also reflects the multiple approaches to Indigenous research that have developed in recent decades (Kovach 2009:21).

Indigenous methodologies challenge Western methodologies rooted in empiricism and positivism (Meyer 2001). The Cartesian tradition of separating mind from body is challenged by Indigenous scholars such as Meyer (2004, 2008) who contends that Indigenous methodologies are holistic and see no distinction between mind, body, and spirit. Rather, these attributes are all integral to the research process. Indigenous methodologies problematize the hypothesis-testing-quantitative model of research in favor of research designs that reflect Indigenous values, beliefs, and ways of knowing.

Tuhiwai Smith provides an eloquent description of Indigenous methodologies:

Indigenous methodologies are often a mix of existing methodological approaches and Indigenous practices. The mix reflects the training of Indigenous researchers, which continues to be within the academy, and the parameters and common sense understandings of research which govern how Indigenous communities and researchers define their activities (Tuhiwai Smith 2012:144).

Tuhiwai Smith was one of the first Indigenous scholars to advocate for the acceptance of Indigenous knowledge and methodologies as a legitimate form of scholarship within academia. In her book titled *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2012), Tuhiwai Smith raises critical questions regarding the nature of research and the need for decolonizing and indigenizing scholarship. Traditionally, anthropologists objectified Indigenous peoples as research objects. “Research” was a

guise used to legitimize the robbery of cultural knowledge and the desecration of Indigenous sacred sites and human remains. All such acts played a role in the cultural genocide of Indigenous peoples. Because of this history, Indigenous peoples regard “research” as “probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary” (Tuhiwai Smith 2012:1).

The negative association to research is slowly changing as Indigenous peoples pursue research within their own communities. Such an upsurge has given way to Indigenous research paradigms that provide a foundation for Indigenous methodologies, theories, and methods, and reflect research endeavors *by* Indigenous peoples *for* Indigenous communities (Wilson 2008). In his book *Research is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods*, Shawn Wilson expresses that at the core of Indigenous methodologies is the need to understand the differences between ontology (the nature of existence), epistemology (the nature of thinking and knowing), methodology (how knowledge is gained) and axiology (the ethics and morals behind research; Wilson 2008:33–34). By operationalizing Indigenous methodologies, researchers acknowledge the existence of multiple ways of knowing. The Western methodological tradition is not and should not be regarded as the absolute truth and the only form of “legitimate” research. Pursuing alternative approaches to research, such as Indigenous methodologies, represent modalities towards democratizing academia through the production of “counter hegemonic forms of discourse” (Denzin, Lincoln, and Tuhiwai Smith 2008:8).

Hawaiian Epistemology

As a Native Hawaiian museum anthropologist, my positionality and approach to scholarship is rooted in my upbringing within a Native Hawaiian community and an Indigenous education system. Writings on Hawaiian epistemology, particularly those of Meyer (2004, 2008), are explored to explicate my usage of Indigenous methodologies. In her essay titled “Indigenous and the Authentic: Hawaiian Epistemology and the Triangulation of Meaning”, Meyer describes the fundamental tenets of a Hawaiian epistemology. In particular, her discussion on knowledge acquisition through the body is illuminating.

Meyer argues that the separation of the body and mind within the Western Cartesian tradition does not exist within a Hawaiian worldview. Meyer supports her argument by discussing the linguistic relationship between the term *na ‘au* (stomach, gut) and its derivative, *na ‘auao*, (wisdom, heart, emotion, intelligence). This linguistic connection is not coincidental but reflects a Hawaiian perspective on the interconnectedness of bodily engagement with the world as a vital process for knowledge attainment:

Body is the *central* space in which knowing is embedded...Our body holds truth, our body invigorates knowing, our body helps us become who we are. This was not simply a metaphoric discussion with sensation and conceptualization. Our thinking is not separated from our feeling mind. *Our mind is our body. Our body is our mind.* And both connect to the spiritual act of knowledge acquisition (Meyer 2008:223).

Meyer clearly understands Hawaiian epistemology and knowledge acquisition as a multi-sensorial process. This is further reflected in the term *‘ike* which translates to knowledge as gained through the various senses.

Hawaiian epistemology is rooted in *‘ōlelo no ‘eau*, Hawaiian proverbial sayings passed down from our *kūpuna* (ancestors) that reflect Hawaiian ways of living and knowing. In particular, two *‘ōlelo no ‘eau* which reflect Meyer’s writings come to mind. First, the saying *nānā ka maka; ho ‘olohe ka pepeiao; pa ‘a ka waha*, observe with the eyes; listen with the ears; shut the mouth, is a traditional saying that I, along with many other Hawaiian language immersion students were taught as young children (Pukui 1983:248). Learning occurs through careful observation and by listening to what occurs in one’s environment. Speaking is not regarded as a primary learning mechanism, especially when a *keiki* (child) listens to the stories of *kūpuna* (elders). Not only is listening without interruption a sign of respect, it teaches *keiki* to be mindful of their surroundings and to learn from the sounds around them, rather than the words coming from their own *waha* (mouth).

Secondly, the *‘ōlelo no ‘eau pa ‘a ka waha, hana ka lima*, shut the mouth, keep the hands busy, further explicates on what a Hawaiian epistemology entails. In addition to seeing (*nānā*) and hearing (*ho ‘olohe*), doing (*hana*) with one’s hands (*lima*) is another process of acquiring knowledge. Once again, speaking is not regarded as a primary method for learning. This multi-sensory and experiential approach to learning is key to Hawaiian epistemology and knowledge acquisition (Meyer 2004).

Utilizing both museum ethnography and Indigenous methodologies presents a cross-cultural and mixed-methodological approach towards exploring the curation of *ali ‘i* collections in two Hawai‘i-based institutions.

Qualitative Research Methods

Since most of the data I collected consisted of interviews, photographs, and archival documents, my research falls under the category of qualitative research.

Qualitative research is a catchall term used to describe a range of theoretical constructs and methods that oftentimes work in tandem with quantitative research to address hypothesis- and question-driven research models.

Qualitative approaches to research emphasize the collection of qualitative data—texts, photographs, and any other form of information that is difficult to reduce to quantitative data (e.g. numbers, statistics). Qualitative approaches are process-driven and explore subjective realities through an array of research questions. Greater interest is placed on understanding an individual's or a group's subjective experience of a particular phenomenon. Statistics are replaced with systematic data collecting and data analysis to ensure robust descriptions from a reliable data set. In many instances, a mixed-method approach drawing from both quantitative and qualitative data sets can yield an enriched analysis of a cultural phenomena.

For my research, I collected multiple forms of qualitative data in order to enrich my analysis (Bernard and Ryan 2010). Although scholars recommend a mixed-methods approach to research (e.g. utilizing both qualitative methods and quantitative methods), I did not find it necessary to answer my research questions (Sandelowski 2001; Yin 2009). The methods described below reflect my qualitative approach towards data collection and data analysis.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is the quintessential method of cultural anthropology. First developed by anthropologists such as Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski in the early 20th century, participant observation reoriented anthropology from an armchair, at-home discipline into an action-oriented approach that immersed anthropologists within foreign and exotic cultures. This method is crucial for collecting first-hand information from key informants (Darlington and Scott 2002). Gray (2004:241) notes that “with participant observation, the researcher becomes a member of the group being researched and so begins to understand their situation by experiencing it.” In my research, the group in question are collections managers who work at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum. Although they all come from various cultural and educational backgrounds, their common connection is that within the museum world, their primary focus is to care for collections and to prepare objects for exhibition.

Gray (2004:242) goes on to describe the distinction between insider and outsider. Insider refers to the research participants and their inclusion within a culture or sphere of activity that the researcher, as an outsider, studies. However, through participant observation, the distinction between outsider and insider can blur, especially when the researcher participates in cultural activities and becomes an insider. Participant observation in this sense is heuristic in that the ethnographic experience of the researcher becomes a means for self-adaption (Bohannon and van der Elst 1998). At another level, the insider/outsider distinction can blur when the researcher is studying his or her own

culture—a typical dilemma within native anthropology (Jacobs-huey 2002; Abu-Lughod 1991; Tengan 2005).

In considering the insider/outsider distinction, I find it appropriate to discuss my positionality as a Native Hawaiian museum anthropologist operating as an insider and an outsider. Firstly, I am an insider because *ali'i* collections are part of my own culture as a Native Hawaiian; growing up, I learned about the *ali'i* and how to honor them properly through song and dance. At the same time, I claim to be an insider because I am a museum professional. My background in museum anthropology and work experiences within museums are crucial in how I interpret and understand the processes that I study. Fieldwork conducted at the Lyman Museum was done from an insider perspective because of my previous relationship with staff members at the museum.

Concomitantly, I am also an outsider because I am not a staff member at either museum. My research into the curation of *ali'i* collections is done within an academic institution rather than for internal dispersal within each museum. In addition, my fieldwork at the Bishop Museum operated from an outsider perspective. Prior to my fieldwork, I only visited the Bishop Museum once in my life. The only staff member that I knew at the museum was the Vice President of Cultural Collections whom I met in 2013 at a museum conference. As part of the outsider experience, I introduced myself to the rest of the collections staff, built rapport, and spent some time in the collections and exhibits in order to familiarize myself with my surroundings.

Field Notes

As part of participant observation, I generated three types of field notes. Bernard (2011) describes them as jottings, logs, and diaries. Jottings refer to sporadic notes that record important pieces of information that emerge through the research process. They include notes taken during interviews, comments, questions, and other relevant information that informants shared with me during fieldwork. The jottings that I generated were recorded in a single field notebook. Descriptive notes were generated through these jottings and allowed for preliminary data analysis.

The second set of field notes that I generated was a log. Logs are useful in tracking “what you plan to do and what you actually did on particular days” (Bernard 2011:295). For my research, I kept two logs. The first log outlined daily happenings on an excel spreadsheet. This log provided a quick reference point to recall particular days and events. The second log that I generated described in detail what occurred during each day. This information was recorded in a Microsoft Word document for ease of access. The second log also served as a field journal in the sense that it tracked my research progress and allowed me to record my observations and construct a preliminary-theory on the curation of *ali‘i* collections.

The third and final field note that I generated was a diary. I kept a diary to “reflect on what happened during the day” (Bernard 2011:294). Whereas the two logs systematically outlined the events that transpired on particular days and stored my preliminary analyses, I used a diary to record my own subjectivities and concerns. As many anthropologists know, fieldwork can be an isolating experience for the researcher.

Thus, a diary allowed me to come to terms with some of the emotions and anxieties I experienced in conducting fieldwork for the first time. I also used a diary to describe events or instances where I chose not to collect data. As an example, I described in my diary an incident on July 24, 2014, when I chose not to photograph a particular case in the Wao Lani exhibit at the Bishop Museum. The case contained *kālaipāhoa*, images associated with sorcery and used in “dark magic”, and I did not feel comfortable photographing them. This example, demonstrates a researcher’s justification for excluding certain types of data. Keeping a diary was useful in recording my subjective experiences which I later utilized in interpreting my field notes.

Archival Research

Archival research traces the ways in which objects enter the museum sphere as gifts, donation, purchases, or through ethnographic fieldwork. This method is also useful for reconstructing the sociocultural and historical contexts surrounding an object’s conversion into a museum object. These records further reflect how objects are circulated within museums and given meaning through exhibits, aspects of and object’s trajectory that traces the social biography of objects in different regimes of value (Kopytoff 1986; Myers 2001).

Archival research was integral in answering my main research question. I gained valuable information on the institutional histories, collections, historical exhibits, and development of the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum. When I looked at records in each museum’s archive, I explicitly looked at photographs, past museum catalogues,

and monographs that reflected historical practices utilized in the care of *ali'i* collections at each institution.

I also turned to historical Hawaiian language newspapers for information on institutional histories as well as the historical discourse surrounding *ali'i* collections. I consider historical Hawaiian language newspaper research as a practice of decolonizing methodologies. As a method, analyzing these historical writings represent a primary source of information that represent the views and opinions of Kānaka Maoli and *Haole* (non-Hawaiian, foreign) writers of the 19th century, often recording counternarratives that challenged dominant narratives of Hawaiian culture and history (Reyes 2013; Basham 2008; Nogelmeier 2010).

Semi-structured Interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews with collections managers at the Bishop Museum that took place between July 22 and August 6, 2014. Subsequently I interviewed staff members at the Lyman Museum and other Hawai'i museum professionals based on Hawai'i Island between August 18 and August 21, 2014. Interviews, as described by Darlington and Scott (2002:50), are an “active-meaning making process” where the researcher engages in face-to-face interaction with the participant to understand their particular views or experiences with a particular phenomenon. Specifically, the semi-structured interviews “allows the researcher to ‘probe’ for more detailed responses where the respondent is asked to clarify what they have said” (Gray 2004:214).

Marie Crowe convincingly argues that interviews should be viewed as a type of confessional. Drawing from Foucault’s “technique of the self”, Crowe argues that

interviews are like confessions because a participant's responses to interview questions is "a process of publicly defining the self which in turn mirrors culturally determined subjectivities" (Crowe 1998:342). The narratives that are produced through this confessional process reflect a reconstructed past and not the actual event itself. Recognizing this is important for considering how interviews are descriptions of life events and people and not *the* event itself. I regarded interviews as an individual's reconstructed past (Flick 2006).

Prior to fieldwork, I created a list of potential informants. I chose these informants because they were key contact persons for both research sites. Initially, my plan was to interview these individuals and ask them to suggest other individuals that I should interview. This approach is known as snowball sampling and is a useful method for identifying other potential interviewees (Patten 2005; Darlington and Scott 2002). In the end, snowball sampling was not required as my key contact persons scheduled my interviews with other collections managers and museum personnel.

Before I interviewed informants, I built rapport in order to gain their trust (Patten 2005; Darlington and Scott 2002). When it came time for the interview, I allowed the interviewees to choose the location of the interview. This usually resulted in the interview taking place in secure rooms at each institution. Before starting the interview, I presented each interviewee with an informed consent form (Darlington and Scott 2002:56). The form outlined the purpose of my research, how the data collected would be interpreted and utilized, and whether or not I could use their name in future publications. The consent form also asked participants to provide their consent to be recorded with a digital

recorder. All of the collections managers agreed to be recorded. Each recorded interview was later transcribed through transcription software. After transcription, the transcripts were sent to the participants for further comment via email (Langlas 2006).

I used an interview protocol to guide each interview (see appendix A) (Langlas 2006; Patten 2005). The interview protocol consisted of questions that I developed beforehand and a script to introduce each set of questions. When participants answered these questions, I asked follow-up questions so participants could elucidate on specific words and concepts that were brought up during the interview. The questions in the interview protocol were divided into three sets that elicited responses from each interviewee on 1) how they became collections managers, 2) how they curate *ali'i* objects, and 3) their personal opinions regarding the use of Hawaiian practices in professional museology (see appendix a). During each interview, I provided each interviewee with a physical copy of the interview protocol for their personal reference.

Langlas (2006) was a useful resource on how to interview Native Hawaiian informants. For example, Hawaiian *kūpuna* (elders) will judge the interviewer based on how they “feel” about you (Langlas 2006). Explaining your objectives and how the research will reciprocate to the Hawaiian community is a way to transparently discuss the benefits and purpose of your research. For my own research, I clearly expressed my research goals to each participant. Building rapport also led to interviews that were conversational and comfortable for myself as well as for interviewees.

Langlas also points out that researchers should bring *makana* (a gift, typically food) for each participants that is interviewed. Unfortunately, I could not present *makana*

to each individual because food is prohibited in most museums. My solution to this was to send *makana* to participants at the end of my fieldwork.

While at the Bishop Museum I held an informal focus group interview with the staff members of the Cultural Collections division. Alasuutari (1995:92) states that focus groups allow for the interviewer to “see, hear and analyze aspects that do not surface in individual interviews.” By bringing collections managers together to discuss their experiences in working with *ali ‘i* collections, I hoped to expose “the terms, concepts, perceptions of argumentation within which the group operates and thinks as a cultural group” (Alasuutari 1995:92). The focus group occurred on July 24, 2014 over lunch and was not recorded with a digital recorder. Speaking with the collections staff in a group context generated discussion on their experiences in curating *ali ‘i* collections.

Exhibition Analysis

Exhibition analysis is an interpretive approach to critically analyze museum exhibits. In particular, I utilized a constructionist approach as defined by Bouquet (2012:121) which “focuses on the internal creation of meaning through design and display methods, which naturalize and legitimate selected meanings.” Kratz (2011) further demonstrates how critical evaluations of museum displays can produce multiple interpretations of objects. The works of Lonetree (2012), McCarthy (2007), Clifford (1991), and Sanders (1995) also provide models for conducting an analysis of exhibits.

My research utilized exhibition analysis to analyze three museum exhibits. These exhibits were chosen because they display and interpret *ali ‘i* collections. The first exhibit space was the Abigail Kinoiki Kekaulike Kāhili Room at the Bishop Museum. This

exhibit is the primary exhibitionary space for displaying the Bishop Museum's extensive collection of *kāhili* (feather standards). The second exhibit that I analyzed was Wao Lani, the third floor of Hawaiian Hall at the Bishop Museum. Wao Lani is divided into a series of cabinets that discuss *ali'i* history in relation to Hawaiian history. Lastly, I analyzed the Hawaiian section of the Island Heritage Gallery at the Lyman Museum, a relatively small exhibit compared to those at the Bishop Museum that present small assemblages of Hawaiian material culture. A single case is dedicated to telling the story of the Hawaiian monarchy. *Ali'i* objects are scattered throughout the Hawaiian section of the Island Heritage Gallery exhibit cases.

Exhibition analysis was facilitated through photographs. I produced photographs in a consistent manner to ensure that all cases, objects, and exhibit labels were accounted for (Collier and Collier 1986; Banks 2001). In considering the need for multi-sensory research in anthropology, I also recorded the sensations that I felt at certain exhibits through my diary (Grimshaw 2005; Blier 2005; Belova 2012; Howes and Classen 2013). Audible sounds such as chanting were recorded using the video function on my camera.

Data Analysis: Interpretive and Narrative Analysis

I utilized interpretive and narrative analysis in order to analyze my field notes, interviews, and exhibit photographs. Both approaches were useful in tackling different sets of information. Bernard (2011:415) described interpretive analysis as a means towards identifying meanings and their interconnection to cultural expression. This is similar to the method of "thematic analysis" which aims to find patterns and repetitions in data in order to establish cohesive and analytically robust units (Sandelowski and Barroso

2003; Bernard and Ryan 2010). I found this method particularly useful in identifying the theory and practice behind curating *ali'i* collections as described by collections managers and as experienced through the exhibitions and storage areas.

Narrative analysis is a method for identifying “regularities in how people within cultures tell stories” (2011). During the interviews, many of the collections managers narrated their experience of becoming collections managers. Their life experiences, training, and backgrounds were crucial in how they currently care for *ali'i* collections within museums. Further, museum exhibits are designed to narrate particular stories. Exhibits follow a set order of displaying objects through temporal, geographical, typological, or contextual means. Thus, narrative analysis was useful in understanding the similarities and differences within the narratives generated through interviews and narratives as seen in museum exhibits.

Coding

Coding allows researchers to systematically identify emerging patterns within the data which are further explored in subsequent data analysis (Darlington and Scott 2002; Gray 2004; Bernard and Ryan 2010; Gee 2014; Dey 1999). This method was primarily utilized in analyzing the interview transcripts and field notes. The interviews and field notes were uploaded into atlas.ti, a qualitative data analysis software (QDAS). Within the social sciences, QDAS is gaining popularity as a tool for managing large sets of data and mainstreaming the process of coding through textual and visual information.

Open coding is an iterative process of reading, re-reading, and identifying emerging themes (Patten 2005). For my research, I read through my transcripts and field

notes constantly in order to identify key themes that emerged. These emerging themes comprised primarily of keywords that collections managers constantly used throughout the interview (Bernard 2011:429). In the process of developing codes from these themes, I used the key-word-in-context (KWIC) method to extract the themes and organize them into categories. These overall categories then became the codes used in coding the transcripts. For example, the terms “*kūpuna*” and “mentors” were stated frequently in the interviews to describe influential individuals who shaped the perception of collections managers regarding the care of *ali‘i* collections. Thus, the code “*kūpuna* and mentors” was created to code particular instances that collections managers described as influential figures in their development. A total of 23 codes were generated and were used to code all interview transcripts and field notes (see Appendix B).

Haku Mele (Song Composition) as Method

I composed a *mele* (Hawaiian song) to record my fieldwork experiences which appears in the epilogue of this thesis. *Mele* composition is a reflexive tool for researchers. Like other forms of narrative, *mele* are abstractions (or reductions) of particular events and circumstances. In this instance, the *mele* I composed serves as a narrative of the self in which “lives are the pasts we tell ourselves” (Ochs and Capps 1996:21). Surprisingly, the process I pursued in composing the *mele* reflects my overall research design.

I composed the *mele* through the field notes that I generated during field work. As mentioned earlier, these field notes included jottings, a field journal, and a diary. Memory is key in this process, especially in recollecting sensorial and other relevant experiences that may not have been recorded in the field records. These records provided the main

source of inspiration in choosing specific places and people to refer to in the *mele*, and hint towards my use of Hawaiian epistemology as an Indigenous methodology.

Archival sources were also consulted in the *haku mele* (song composition) process. Although I am literate in *ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i* (Hawaiian language), my skills in Hawaiian poetical composition are limited. Ergo, I relied heavily on other Hawaiian language resources to ensure that my use of key words and metaphors were culturally and linguistically accurate.

Two of the resources I utilized were wehewehe.org and nupepa.org. Wehewehe.org is the online Hawaiian dictionary and allows users to easily search for dictionary definitions of Hawaiian words. It also is an excellent search engine for composers such as myself who need support in locating poetical words to use in songwriting. In addition, nupepa.org provides users with access to the historical Hawaiian language newspaper repository. These resources provided examples of Hawaiian poetical conventions (*meiwi*) that I incorporated into the *mele*, including linked assonance, repetition, naming, and borrowing phrases from other *mele*.

This process resulted in a *mele* consisting of 11 couplets that recount my experiences. I would argue that the final product is what Prendergast (2008:xxii) refers to as *Vox Autobiographica/Autoethnographia* which is defined as “research voiced poems [that] are written from field notes, journal entries, or reflective/creative/autobiographical/autoethnographical writing as the data source.”

Ethics

What are some of the ethics involved in research conducted by Indigenous researchers within their own communities? At the basic level, my research follows the code of ethics as set forth by the American Anthropological Association (AAA). The principles that are outlined in this document remind anthropologists of their obligations to the communities they study and the need for inclusive, transparent, and accountable research practices (American Anthropological Association 2012). Another code of ethics that specifically reflects a concern for working with Native Hawaiian communities is the “Statement of Ethical Guidelines for Hawai‘i” published by the Society of Hawaiian Archaeology (SHA; 2010). This document acknowledges the need for archaeological research that is respectful of Hawaiian protocols and traditions. It further outlines the need for consultation, collaboration and participation with Native Hawaiian individuals and communities. Lastly, my research was approved by the University of Denver Institutional Review Board (IRB) under the category of expedited review. I argued that my research posed minimal risks (social, psychological, and physical) to the research participants.

Although these codes of ethics and institutional protocols ensure that researchers actively consider the ethics of their research, they do not adequately address the ethics involved in conducting research with one’s own community and culture. Tuhiwai Smith problematizes these ethical standards as Western constructs that overshadow Indigenous ethical concerns: “The social ‘good’ against which [Western] ethical standards are determined is based on the same beliefs about the individual and individualized property”

(Tuhiwai Smith 2012:123). In recognizing this, I find it necessary to describe Indigenous ethics. Such alternative ethics concern collective rights over intellectual and cultural property and are embedded in Indigenous cultural systems and within international human rights documents that outline the rights of Indigenous peoples to self-determination.

Ngahua Te Awekotuku describes an ethical code for working within Māori communities. Interestingly, Awekotuku adapted the code of ethics of the New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists in order to reflect an Indigenous ethical perspective. She outlines seven principles to guide researchers in working with Māori communities (in Tuhiwai Smith 2012:124):

1. *Aroha ki te tangata* (a respect for people).
2. *Kanohi kitea* (the seen face, that is present yourself to people face to face).
3. *Titiro, whakarongo...korero* (look, listen...speak).
4. *Manaaki ki te tangata* (share and whose people, be generous).
5. *Kia tupato* (be cautious).
6. *Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* (do not trample over the *mana* of people).
7. *Kia mahaki* (don't flaunt your knowledge).

I found these seven principles useful when interviewing and gathering information from Native Hawaiian and Local collections managers. These principles are also useful for conducting oneself within exhibits. Akin the concept of *taonga* in Māori culture, Native Hawaiians believe in the inherent *mana* (spiritual energy) of objects.

Some objects further are regarded as vessels for *‘aumākuā* (familial ancestors; see Johnson 2003 for example). Ethics therefore are extended to include proper engagement and respect for objects.

Within Hawai‘i, ethical principles are codified in the Aloha Spirit law. There are no legal obligations to comply with this law; it merely serves as an ethical document to remind public officials of the basic practices of conducting oneself properly and respectfully in Hawai‘i. The law complements Awekotuku’s framework and expands on the Hawaiian concept of *aloha*:

‘Aloha’ is more than a word of greeting or farewell or salutation. ‘Aloha’ means mutual regard and affection and extends warmth in caring with no obligation in return. "Aloha" is the essence of relationships in which each person is important to every other person for collective existence. ‘Aloha’ means to hear what is not said, to see what cannot be seen and to know the unknowable. (Hawai‘i Revised Statutes, § 5-7.5)

The word “aloha” is used as an acronym to describe five Hawaiian concepts, *akahai* (kindness), *lōkahi* (unity), *‘olu‘olu* (pleasantness), *ha‘aha‘a* (humility), and *ahonui* (patience). I tried to instill these characteristics during fieldwork and in subsequent communications with the collections managers and museums.

In further considering a “Hawaiian ethical framework”, the term *kuleana* (responsibility) comes to mind. *Kuleana* refers to my inherent responsibility as a Native Hawaiian to my community, culture, and self. Kawelu (2014:37) defines *kuleana* as “responsibilities associated with things like family, homeland, and expertise. My obligation is to care for my *kuleana*, while not interfering with the *kuleana* of others”. Kawelu’s definition reflects her fieldwork amongst Native Hawaiians and their views on archaeology as conducted in Hawai‘i. For many of the interviewees, archaeologists are

regarded “as involving themselves in matters that do not concern them—a breach of *kuleana* because most archaeologists are not working on the remains or lands of their own communities” (Kawelu 2014:38). The frustrations expressed by Kawelu are an example of the frustrations within Indigenous communities regarding research in their communities as discussed by Tuhiwai Smith (2012).

For Native Hawaiians conducting research in our own communities, *kuleana* is inherent in the work that we do. Tengan (2005) provides an interesting perspective on his *kuleana* as a Native Hawaiian anthropologist. Rather than use the term *Native Hawaiian* Tengan self-identifies as an ‘*Ōiwi* anthropologist which “involves the *kuleana* (responsibility, right, claim, authority) to ‘*ho ‘ōla i nā iwi*’ (to care for one’s ancestors or literally, to ‘make the bones live’)” (2005:252). In this vein, “*kuleana* ...chooses us rather than the other way around, and it comes as a gift from our *kūpuna* (ancestors both living and deceased)” (Tengan 2005:252). As researchers, the products that we produce and the process that we go about collecting information is informed by our connection to place and people across temporal boundaries. Ethics in this sense are not detached considerations for working with Indigenous communities. Rather, ethics become embedded in concepts such as *aloha* and *kuleana*, concepts that outline proper research protocols and practices but also are guiding frameworks for a way of life.

The methodologies, methods, and ethical concerns that I described above are what facilitated my research process and reflect a cross-cultural, critical, and comparative research design for examining the curation of *ali ‘i* collections.

CHAPTER FIVE: CURATING ALI‘I COLLECTIONS AT THE BERNICE

PAUAHI BISHOP MUSEUM

Introduction

<i>E ala ke aloha ma ka hikina Ka pi‘ina a ka lā i Ha‘eha‘e e.</i>	The beloved awakes at the East The rising of the Sun at Ha‘eha‘e.
<i>Ha‘aheo o Kaiwi‘ula i ka la‘i La‘ila‘i i ka ho‘okipa malihini.</i>	Kaiwi‘ula sits proudly in the calm Peacefully welcoming visitors.
<i>E walea mai i ka pā ‘Ōlauniu ‘Oluea mai i ke ‘ala hīnano.</i>	Relaxing in ‘Ōlauniu wind Surrendered to the fragrance of the Hīnano Blossom.
<i>E kipa mai i ka hale ā Pauahi E ola nō kākou ā mau aku e.</i>	Welcome to the home of Pauahi We shall live on.

Throughout my fieldwork, it became apparent that the sharing and performance of *mele*, an oral art form that has been practiced in the Hawaiian Islands since time immemorial, is a growing practice within museums that reflects the indigenization of the Hawai‘i museum profession. Pukui and Elberts (1986:245) define *mele* as a “song, anthem, or chant of any kind.” They further go on to explain that *mele* can also be used as a verb in describing the act of singing or chanting. Basham (2008:152) provides further clarification as to the meaning and importance of *mele* to Kānaka Maoli:

Mele, which are poetry, music, chants, and songs, have been a foundational part of the histories and lives of the Kānaka Maoli of Hawai‘i. *We have used mele to record and recount our histories and stories*, as well as our ideas about the lives of our people and our land (emphasis added).

Basham’s definition of *mele* acknowledges the connection of *mele* in recounting *mo‘olelo* and *mo‘okū‘auhau*, which I described in chapter two as two integral practices within *ali‘i* culture. When describing singular examples of *mele*, especially if they are pieces that utilize traditional poetical devices and are performed in a traditional manner, they are referred to as *oli* (chants).

I begin this chapter and chapter six with a *mele kāhea* (chant of welcome) from each museum as a means to introduce the readers to each institution using a traditional form of welcoming guests. *Mele kāhea* is a genre of traditional Hawaiian chant performed by hosts as a way to formally invite guests into their home. As an adaptation of this tradition, staff members at the Bishop Museum perform the *mele kāhea* printed above to formally welcome guests into the museum (Silva 1989). The *mele kāhea* is titled “Oli Aloha/Oli Ho‘okipa” (Chant of Welcome) and was composed by Miki‘ala Ayau, a former museum staff member. While I was at the Bishop Museum, I learned “Oli Aloha/Oli Ho‘okipa” because I was going to perform this *mele* with other staff members during the Bishop Museum’s annual fundraising *lū‘au* (festive dinner, celebration), which generates over \$350,000 annually.¹²

In addition to learning “Oli Aloha”, the staff, myself included, also learned “Pauahi ‘O Kalani”, a song written by Queen Lili‘uokalani, the last reigning monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom.¹³ The song “Pauahi ‘O Kalani” is of great importance to the

¹² From this point forward, Oli Aloha/Oli Ho‘okipa will be referred to as Oli Aloha.

¹³ For an example of the staff practicing the two *mele* in Hawaiian Hall, see “Bishop Museum Pauahi O Kalani,” YouTube video, 4:54, posted by “Peter Krape,” July 31, 2014, <http://youtu.be/wwSKxNtE32A>.

Bishop Museum because Lili‘uokalani was the first recorded visitor to the Bishop Museum in 1889. Inspiration for the composition came from Lili‘uokalani’s cousin, the Bishop Museum’s namesake, Bernice Pauahi Bishop. Each verse recollects numerous *wahi pana* (named places) across the island chain, and evoke a range of emotions, memories, and metaphors. Through this “Pauahi ‘o Kalani”, Lili‘uokalani expresses her love for Pauahi.

On July 31, 2014 I joined the museum staff to practice both the chant (Oli Aloha) and song (Pauahi ‘O Kalani) in the atrium of Hawaiian Hall during visitor hours. The performance of these pieces for visitors to hear and engage was a breath of fresh air that highlighted a sense of transparency that is seldom experienced within the walls of museums. As a Kanaka Maoli, performing “Oli Aloha” and “Pauahi ‘O Kalani” in the presence of my *kūpuna* (ancestors)—both in the form of their material and ethereal manifestations—was an unforgettable and profound moment in my career. Visitors lined the ornate railings on all three floors to listen to the harmonious voices that rang throughout the space. The two *mele* echoed, piercing through each glass case as if the objects themselves were listening to the museum-staff-turned-choir. Such a visceral experience reflects what one of the collections staff at the Bishop Museum stated during our group interview, that “glass cases do not sever connections” (group interview, Kamalu du Preez, July 24, 2014). When the last note of “Pauahi ‘O Kalani” left our tongues, it was—as we say in Hawai‘i when something raises the hairs on our forearms

and neck—a very “chicken-skin” moment. On the night of the *lū‘au*, our practice paid off, and we performed both pieces under the lights of the main stage for all to witness.

The performance of *mele* at the Bishop Museum for various museum functions is a form of cultural contextualization. Introductions are a key custom within Hawai‘i that initiates proper engagement between two parties. Traditionally, *mele kāhea* were used to welcome guests into one’s home or village, or in this instance, the museum. When staff members perform “Oli Aloha”, especially to greet individuals or groups into the museum, it serves as the beginning of an exchange protocol, where visitors may respond with a chant or present a *makana* (offering or gift) to the museum. The structure of introductory exchanges between the museum and visiting groups is not set; in some instances, the exchange might begin with the visiting group offering an *oli komo*, a chant requesting permission to enter.

“Oli Aloha” introduces the historical, geographical, and cultural landscape of the Bishop Museum. The *oli* situates the Bishop Museum on the lands of Kaiwi‘ula.¹⁴ The *oli* further names the ‘Ōlauniu as a wind that Kaiwi‘ula is known for. Inserting place names and famed natural features like the name of a particular wind or rain is an Indigenous poetical device (*meiwi*) found in *mele* of various genres. “Oli Aloha” ends with the formal welcome *e kipa mai i ka hale ā Pauahi/ e ola nō kākou ā mau aku e*, welcome to

¹⁴ Kaiwi‘ula literally translates to “the red bone.” This reference to bones and the color red connotes the sacredness of the area. Traditionally, the color red (‘*ula*) held numerous symbolic meanings. In Pukui and Elberts (1986:367), ‘*ula* refers to a) the skin-color of Hawaiians, b) blood, c) ghost or spirit, and d) sacred; sacredness; regal, royal.

the home of Pauahi/ we shall live on, which does two things; it formally greets visitors into the museum and connects said visitors to the museum's longevity.

Chapter Overview



Figure 5.1. The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. (Photograph by Casey Hewett).

The first section of this chapter provides a brief institutional history of the Bishop Museum with an emphasis on the museum's leadership. Tracing the development of the Bishop Museum over its 125 years of existence under various leadership regimes sets the stage for my analysis on the curation of *ali'i* collections at the Bishop Museum *today* (Figure 5.1). In the second section, I summarize interviews with five staff members who work directly with *ali'i* collections in the Cultural Collections division. The interviews reveal a complex network of relations that inform the unique approaches that each collections staff utilizes towards the care of *ali'i* collections. In addition, staff members also discuss specific examples of Indigenous concepts and care methods that are integrated into the care of *ali'i* collections.

The third section describes how cultural contextualization is manifested through the physical storage of *ali'i* collections. The manner in which collections staff store and

handle the collections reflects a sensible approach towards culture and conservation.

Lastly, in the fourth and fifth sections, I provide a comprehensive analysis of the Kekaulike Kinoiki Kawānanakoa Kāhili Room and the third floor of Hawaiian Hall named Wao Lani. Both exhibitionary spaces are the primary locations for the interpretation and exhibition of *ali 'i* collections to the public. *Mo 'okū 'auhau* (genealogy), cultural survivance, and celebrating indigenous Hawaiian culture as it relates to the lives of the *ali 'i*, are evident through the displays methods and textual/visual interpretations of particular *ali 'i* objects. In these sections, I also take the liberty of reflecting on the theoretical implications behind some of the content, including for example, reference in the exhibits of *ali 'i* objects, culture, and history as gifts to Kānaka Maoli and to museum visitors. A thematic approach is used from the second through the fifth sections. What is revealed through this analysis is a multiplex and dynamic system of exchanges between collections staff, visitors, and *ali 'i* objects that operate in various ways to honor, respect, and glorify Hawai'i's royal class.

Institutional History

Established in 1889, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum is one of the oldest continually operating museums in the Hawaiian Islands. Charles Reed Bishop, founder of the Bishop Museum, built the museum to preserve and showcase the collections of his late wife, *Ke Ali 'iwahine* (Princess) Bernice Pauahi Bishop. When Pauahi passed on, she bequeathed to her husband all of her personal property, including a large collection of Hawaiian ethnographic material. Included in this assemblage of Hawaiian objects were a

collection that she inherited from her late cousin, Ruth Ke‘elikōlani.¹⁵ Although Charles Reed Bishop was interested in establishing a museum, Rose (1980:9) highlights that the passing of Emma Kaleleonālanī Rooke, wife of Kamehameha IV and Dowager Queen of the Hawaiian Islands, served as the final impetus for the creation of a new museum.

Emma explicitly named Charles Reed Bishop in her will as the heir to all of her “native curiosities” under one condition:

that at some future day...together with all similar articles belonging to the late Bernice Pauahi Bishop, or to Charles R. Bishop, aforesaid, be presented to him to certain parties (hereafter to be named by him), as trustees of an institution to be called the Kamehameha Museum...(in Rose 1980:10).

Contemporaneous newspapers at the time reported the establishment of a new museum, and oftentimes referred to the new institution as the “Kamehameha Museum”, otherwise known in the Hawaiian language as *Ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike o nā Kamehameha* because of the relation that all three *ali‘iwāhine* (chiefesses)—Bernice Pauahi Bishop, Ruth Ke‘elikōlani, and Emma Kaleleonālanī Rooke—had to the Kamehameha dynasty. Rather than name the museum as the Kamehameha Museum, Bishop decided to honor his late wife, and named the new institution as the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. Even though the name Kamehameha Museum was never the official name of the museum, it continued

¹⁵ Other than her collections, Pauahi was also one of the largest landholders in the Hawaiian Islands at the time of her death. She set aside over 375,000 acres for the education of Hawaiian children, and explicitly stated in her will that two schools—one for boys and one for girls—would be established and called “Kamehameha Schools” (Kamehameha Schools 2015a). Today, Kamehameha Schools is one of the largest landholders in the State of Hawai‘i with three K-12 campuses on O‘ahu, Māui, and Hawai‘i Island that serve approximately 6,900 students of Native Hawaiian ancestry (Kamehameha Schools 2015b).

to be and still is regarded as the treasure house that stores the tangible remains of the *ali'i* of the Kamehameha lineage.

Bishop did not establish the Bishop Museum on a whim. In previous years, he served as the administrator of the Hawaiian National Museum, whose collections were later appropriated by the Bishop Museum after it closed (Kamehiro 2009). Rather than serve a nationalistic purpose though, Bishop's intention for the Bishop Museum was to serve as a memorial to Pauahi. However, the museum's first Director, William T. Brigham (1888-1918), had other plans.

Brigham came to the Bishop Museum as an experienced museum professional and traveler who held the previous title of Curator of Geology and Botany at the Boston Society of Natural History. Surely this previous post influenced his ambitions to establish the Bishop Museum as one of the premier institutions of Pacific Natural History and Ethnology (Rose 1980b). Brigham was entrenched in the *zeitgeist* of his time, operating within the museological framework of the 19th and early 20th centuries where systematic collecting and scientific study of ethnological and natural history specimens reigned supreme (McCarthy 2007; Ames 1992; Bouquet 2012). As the first Director, Brigham expanded the museum's collections, and established the Bishop Museum's reputation as a scientific research institution (Rose 1980b). He also published extensively on the museum's collections, and traveled the world to learn about new and innovative museum practices from leading museological institutions (Brigham 1898).

Successive directors after Brigham also left their mark on the museum's institutional development and history. Herbert Gregory (1919-1936) and Te Rangi Hīroa

(also known as Sir Henry Peter Buck; 1936-1951), were Directors at a time when the Bishop Museum was at the forefront of salvage anthropology in the Pacific.¹⁶ In response to growing concerns about modernization and the acculturation of Pacific peoples, the Bishop Museum sent ethnographers and researchers all over the Pacific Islands to collect the remnants of traditional cultural lifeways before they were lost. Numerous monographs were produced during this time under the Bishop Museum Press which documented and preserved facets of Pacific languages, cultures, and traditions (Buschmann 2009:160). Some refer to this era in the museum's history as the "golden years of research at the Bishop", characterized by the regularity of expensive field expeditions (Kelly 1994:41). The emphasis on research and scholarship resulted in the deterioration of the museum's public face, the exhibits. Directors during the early half of the 20th century saw "no obligation to the public", as stated by Hīroa, since the Territory of Hawai'i did not provide any financial support to the Bishop Museum (in Kelly 1994:42). Oftentimes, funds that were allocated for exhibits and museum administration were funneled to support the expeditions, leading to the financial mismanagement of the museum (Kelly 1994). When anthropologist George Murdock from Yale University visited the museum after the death of Hīroa in 1951, he "initially believed" that the museum was "beyond salvaging" (Kelly 1994:42).

Directors after Hīroa, notably Alexander Spoehr (1951-1962) and Roland Force (1962-1977), resurrected the ailing Bishop Museum through a range of strategic and

¹⁶ Te Rangi Hīroa was one of the first persons of indigenous ancestry (Māori) to become the director of a museum.

financial strategies. Greater emphasis was placed on public education, outreach, and increasing local visitorship to the museum (Kelly 1994). Spoehr and Force were both former curators of the Field Museum in Chicago and understood the importance of fundraising as a source of revenue. Spoehr is also credited for establishing the Bishop Museum Association which aimed to “generate local sponsorship” and to gain public support and sympathy (Kelly 1994:42). Force in contrast capitalized on the newly established national endowments and other federally-funded programs. Funding for applied research and contract archaeology at this time flourished. In addition, the museum also focused more of its energy on marketing the museum to a growing tourist population in the islands (Kelly 1994:43). Unfortunately, sustained funding for the institution was non-existent; Funds raised through tourism were not steady, while other funds like the national endowments were project-based. Once again, the museum struggled financially, and Edward Creutz’s (1977-1984) era of leadership was marked by fundraising efforts to keep the Bishop Museum operational (Kelly 1994:43).

W. Donald Duckworth (1984-1991) replaced Creutz and completely changed the museum’s dynamic and history. Coming from the Smithsonian’s S. Dillon Ripley Center in Washington, D.C., Duckworth “represented a radically different perspective: one that courted the media, the public, and a variety of funding sources” (Kelly 1994:43). The term *courting* used here by Kelly, highlights Duckworth’s “edutainment” approach to museum practice, which emphasizes bringing visitors into the museum through education and entertainment (Combs 1999). As an example, in 1988, Duckworth installed a “6,000-square-foot, air-conditioned tent...in the museum’s parking lot to house robotic

dinosaurs” (Kelly 1994:44). Although such blockbuster-type exhibits were popular and generated media attention and income for the museum, they were quite controversial.

Bishop Museum staff member DeSoto Brown states that:

...on one hand people were saying, 'Is Bishop Museum's mission to bring in fake dinosaurs, or is it to study and preserve the natural cultural history of the Pacific?'

The other side was going, 'Wait a minute — it is a good community thing to be providing something that people like' instead of saying, 'No, that's beneath us.' (in Hoover 2005).

Naughton (2001) further notes that the museum’s mission statement was changed to accommodate exhibits that had no base in the cultural or natural history of Hawai‘i and the broader Pacific. During Duckworth’s leadership, the museum’s role as a scientific institution “dedicated to collecting, preserving, studying, and disseminating knowledge of the natural and cultural history of Hawai‘i and the Pacific” drastically changed, with a greater emphasis placed on entertainment and dissemination (Naughton 2001:181). Such a reorientation of the museum’s mission was also accompanied by numerous staff cuts that occurred in 1985, 1992, 1998, and 1999 (Naughton 2001). One of Duckworth’s legacies at the Bishop Museum is that blockbuster exhibits continue to be hosted.

Ironically, from February 28 through September 7, 2015, the museum hosted an exhibit titled “Dinosaurs Unleashed”—yet another exhibit that featured animatronic dinosaurs.

In light of drastic transformations under Duckworth’s leadership, the museum continued to curate some phenomenal exhibits that focused on Pacific history and culture. In conjunction with the *Te Māori* exhibit which toured the United States in the mid-1980s, the Bishop Museum curated an exhibit titled *Celebrating the Maori* which opened in 1985. Since the Bishop Museum was not one of the hosting institutions for *Te Māori*,

Celebrating the Maori contained professional photographs of *Te Māori* interspersed with the museum's own collection of Māori objects. In addition, *Celebrating the Maori* honored past Director of the Bishop Museum, Te Rangi Hīroa by exhibiting his personal collections and other-related memorabilia. Timing for the exhibit was crucial; opening ceremonies for the Bishop Museum's Māori exhibit coincided with the arrival of Māori constituencies in Hawai'i from Aotearoa (New Zealand) who were on their way to the continental United States for the opening ceremonies of *Te Māori* (Naughton 2001).

Like the *Te Māori* exhibit, *Celebrating the Maori* was developed through partnerships between the Bishop Museum and various Māori individuals and communities. Naughton describes the exhibit as "a spiritual meeting between two Polynesian peoples which would move those participating as had never been seen at the museum" (2001:117). Through collaboration and consultation, Māori, Kānaka Maoli, and museum staff came together and developed an exhibit that respected and integrated traditional Māori care methods to care for and exhibit *taonga*.¹⁷ As an example, Naughton (2001:115-116) describes how food and drink were not consumed around *taonga*.¹⁸ In addition, museum staff, particularly women, were advised to not step over *taonga* because "the spiritual power contained in the pieces could be negative and enter a

¹⁷ I provide a definition of *taonga* in chapter three in the collaborative museology section. *Taonga* are ancestral Māori heirlooms that have *mana* (spiritual energy).

¹⁸ Naughton also notes that the Bishop Museum operated under a double standard regarding the consumption of food around sacred objects. Although this restriction was enforced with Māori objects, the Museum continued to hold formal dinners in Hawaiian Hall, which contains many objects that are regarded as sacred to Kānaka Maoli (Naughton 2001). During my fieldwork, food was no longer allowed into Hawaiian Hall and other galleries.

person through any orifice, including the vagina” (Naughton 2001:116). The opening ceremonies of the exhibit included the formal welcoming of the Māori constituency by Hawaiian chanters, the blessing of the exhibitionary space, and a large *lū‘au* (dinner party) that included an array of cultural performances. The opening ceremony of *Celebrating the Maori* serves as an example of the cross-cultural exchanges and protocols that can occur in preparation for displaying ancestral works (Naughton 2001).¹⁹

Tragically, *Celebrating the Maori*’s significance was overshadowed by the museum’s participation in contract archaeological work in the Hawaiian Islands and other museum mishaps. In the mid-1990s, contract archaeology tarnished the Bishop Museum’s reputation amongst Kanaka Maoli communities. At a time when the museum struggled financially, contract archaeology provided a source of income. Thus, the museum became involved with the H-3 highway construction project, a “billion-dollar federal highway” that “crosses O‘ahu’s Ko‘olau Mountains to connect the Marine Corps station at Kane‘ohe with the Naval base at Pearl Harbor” (Kelly 1995b:235). Beginning in 1986 and ending in the mid-1990s, the museum’s involvement with the H-3 project was characterized by controversy through the misinterpretation of Native Hawaiian

¹⁹ For a detailed description of the opening ceremonies, see Mead (1986). Although *Celebrating the Maori* is an accomplishment in terms of innovative museum practice, it occurred at a tumultuous time in the museum’s history. The exhibit opened a few weeks after the museum fired 13 employees. Protestors as part of a group called Ho‘o Hawai‘i met with the Māori delegation that arrived for the opening ceremonies to voice their concerns. As a result, the Māori delegation decided that “it was not their battle and the protestors agreed out of deference to the Māori to hold off their protests while the events were taking place” (Naughton 2001:117).

archaeological sites and the subsequent destruction of significant religious sites on the island of O‘ahu.

The Bishop Museum’s implementation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) also brought the museum under heavy scrutiny. As noted in chapter three, the Bishop Museum was one of three museums that testified in favor of NAGPRA legislation at Senate hearings (Harrison 2005). However, this initial support for NAGPRA was later met by numerous missteps at the Bishop Museum regarding NAGPRA-eligible materials (Rose 1992; Kelly 1995b; Tatar 1995; Naughton 2001).²⁰ As I will describe in chapter seven, the Bishop Museum even attempted to identify itself as a Native Hawaiian Organization in 2004 as defined under NAGPRA legislation (Daehnke 2009).

The tribulations that occurred through NAGPRA and contract archaeology resulted in a mixed-perception of the Bishop Museum by various Native Hawaiian organizations and communities. As Marjorie Kelly aptly states (1995b:229–230):

Some Hawaiians believe that the museum’s chiefly origins and collections privilege their position. Meanwhile, the museum feels constrained by its contractual relationships with other, more powerful entities; i.e., the state and federal governments. In short, the issue is very much one of ownership, domain, and sovereignty.

Yet beyond these controversial moments in the museum’s history, Kānaka Maoli were not prepared for the Bishop Museum to permanently close its doors. This perception is

²⁰ Naughton’s (2001) descriptive texts on three NAGPRA examples highlights the complex legal and political issues behind the Bishop Museum’s implementation of NAGPRA. In addition, Naughton also identified a conflict of interest that existed between the Bishop Museum and Hui Mālama i nā Kūpuna o Hawai‘i Nei. Members of Hui Mālama were also employees and consultants to the Bishop Museum during some NAGPRA cases.

partly due to the fact that the museum is ipso facto the largest repository of Native Hawaiian history, language, and culture that exists locally in the Hawaiian Islands.

In 2001, William W. Brown succeeded Donald Duckworth as the Director and Chief Executive Officer of the Bishop Museum.²¹ During Brown's leadership, the Bishop Museum came under scrutiny for attempting to identify itself as a Native Hawaiian organization as defined under NAGPRA (Daehnke 2009). In response, Kanaka Maoli groups like Hui Mālama i nā Kūpuna o Hawai'i Nei were outraged and rallied for Brown's resignation (Agpar 2004).

Although Brown's approach to NAGPRA is questionable, his leadership was instrumental in resurrecting the Bishop Museum's languishing buildings and collections. Hoover (2007) states that Brown saved the Bishop Museum from a financial disaster as well as years of internal conflict. Brown led major expansion projects, including the opening of the \$17 million dollar Science and Adventure Center and the launch of the \$20 million dollar restoration of Hawaiian Hall in 2006. In addition, he also doubled the museum's endowment and increased the number of Kānaka Maoli that occupied seats on the museum's Board of Directors, something that was unheard of in the museum's history (Hoover 2007).

Brown resigned in 2007 and Timothy Johns (2007-2011) was appointed. Johns maintained Brown's momentum in securing the museum's finances and oversaw renovations throughout the museum campus. In contrast to Brown, Hui Mālama i Nā

²¹ The change from referring to the executive leader of the Bishop Museum as President and Chief Executive Office rather than Director of the museum has to do with the corporate restructuring of the Bishop Museum as a 501(c) 3 nonprofit organization.

Kūpuna o Hawai‘i Nei favored Johns because of his previous experience in working with Native Hawaiian organizations and communities as the former director of the State of Hawai‘i’s Department of Land and Natural Resources. Johns completed renovations to Hawaiian Hall in 2009, a monumental undertaking that provided a much needed update to the exhibits and programming. This reinstallation of Hawaiian Hall is what is currently on display.

Blair D. Collis is the current Chief Executive Officer and President of the Bishop Museum. Collis is unique amongst his predecessors because he was formerly a staff member of Bishop Museum before adopting his new executive leadership role. Starting off as a grant writer in 1999 under Duckworth, Collis returned to the museum in 2003 to become the head of the Bishop Museum Press and later the Senior Director of Sales and Marketing (Nakaso 2006). Collis’ long history of working within the institution prior to becoming CEO and President is unique amongst other past leaders who came to the Bishop Museum having little to no institutional memory or experience in working at the institution.

On July 22, 2014, I conducted an informal interview with Collis. Following in the footsteps of his two predecessors, Collis strives to maintain the museum’s finances while developing plans and securing funds for further expansions to the museum campus. More recently, the museum successfully completed an eight-year, \$8.5 million dollar renovation of Pacific Hall which reopened in 2013.²² Collis recognizes the importance of reincorporating scholarship as a primary concern within the Cultural Collections division,

²² For a review of Pacific Hall, see Golub (2014).

and also acknowledges the worth of the Hawaiian collections at the Bishop Museum to Kānaka Maoli. The future of the Bishop Museum continues to unfold as Collis leads the institution into the 21st century.

What is revealed through this institutional history is a museum that is continuously learning, evolving and adapting as it strives to become more relevant to the public, engage critically with Kanaka Maoli and Local communities, and maintain its status as the premier Pacific research institution. Likewise, the curation of *ali'i* curation at the museum is also evolving and adapting in the process.

Interviews with Collections Staff

During interviews with the Bishop Museum's Cultural Collections's staff, one staff member noted that “people should know who you are because your expectations sometimes come from your family background” (Betty Lou Kam, personal interview, July 28, 2014). Those expectations also come from training and other life experiences. As I reflected and read through each interview, Kam's words, and the *'ōlelo no 'eau* (Hawaiian proverb) *kū i ka māna*, “like the one from whom he received what he learned”, came to mind (Pukui 1983:202).

Children learn various skills and traits from those around them. From these experiences, a child takes on certain characteristics, values, and behaviors that may serve as indicators of where they were raised and the people who were responsible for their upbringing. This process of becoming through learning and doing continues throughout a child's lifetime and is fundamental in the construction of identity from a Kanaka Maoli standpoint. This philosophy is echoed in the constructivist approach

to museum education, where emphasis is placed on experiential and individualized learning.

Kū i ka māna reminds us that even collections staff members bring with them a set of experiences that inform their interactions with *ali'i* collections. The Bishop Museum does have a standard set of procedures for dealing with museum collections—in fact, there is a comprehensive collections management handbook that outlines standard museum practices (The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum 2011). In addition to these professional practices, collections managers also integrate highly idiosyncratic and Indigenous care methods that illustrate the praxis of indigenous and appropriate forms of museology within Hawai'i-based museums.

Connections to the Familial: Family Beliefs and Practices

Each member of the collections staff bring with them a set of practices and beliefs that they learned from their families. These beliefs in some instances inform how they interact with *ali'i* objects. For example, Kamalu du Preez, Assistant Collections Manager, described how women from her paternal side were not allowed to participate in the *act* of fishing, which included any type of shore-line or pelagic fishing, as well as collecting delicacies such as *'opihi* along the shoreline. Women could however prepare the fish and other resources for consumption once they were caught.

During conversations with her relatives, du Preez learned that women should not handle fishing-related objects. In describing these restrictions, she used the term *kapu*, a key concept in *ali'i* culture that was discussed in chapter two. *Kapu* also will be discussed

later in this chapter and in chapter six. Because of her upbringing, du Preez avoids handling fishing-related objects in the collections when possible:

...there are things in this collection where I kind of will say, ‘hey somebody else can...’ You know I always ask for help or someone else can handle it. And if need be, I’ll handle it and do my pule (prayer) or do whatever I have to do...those are some of the things I learned from my father and his family (personal interview, July 31, 2014).

Nicole dela Fuente, Assistant Conservator, also described a set of practices that was instilled in her by her two grandfathers. dela Fuente is not Hawaiian by ancestry, but was born and raised on the Island of O‘ahu and grew up in close proximity to the Hawaiian culture; she described for instance how she learned basic *hala* weaving skills from “tūtūs”,²³ at Pākī Park in Honolulu. dela Fuente’s two grandfathers were highly influential figures in her upbringing; her paternal grandfather was a hard worker and always put his family first, a work ethic that dela Fuente herself lives by. When dela Fuente’s interviewed for an internship at the Bishop Museum, she told her interviewer, “I’m a worker, I’m a pack mule, so whatever you need, you can put me anywhere you want” (personal interview, July 31, 2014).

dela Fuente also credits her paternal grandfather for instilling in her the idea of treating her coworkers as part of her extended family. She used the term *family-unit environment* to describe how she regards other staff members as her brothers or sisters. As part of this environment, dela Fuente also referred to the objects as her “children”, i.e.

²³ A Hawaiian/Local term used affectionately to refer typically to a female elder.

as objects that she is responsible for (personal interview July 31, 2014). Such a family-oriented perspective towards collections management is shared by other collections staff members and reflects a deep trust amongst each other and a certain respect for *ali 'i* collections.

Learning from Mentors and Advisors in the Community

Not all cultural beliefs and practices are learned within the household. From the late 1960s onward, academic and community-based programs have fostered generations of Native Hawaiians that have learned traditional cultural beliefs and practices within both formal and informal learning environments. I use the term *programs* loosely to describe Western and Indigenous institutions where Hawaiian learning takes place. These programs include classes at the collegiate level, *hālau* (Hawaiian schools of learning), and other cultural programs that an individual participates in throughout his or her lifetime. Staff members have participated and continue to participate in various programs. It is through these programs that connections to those outside of the institution are established. The collections staff thus become liaisons or “connections” between the museum and various communities. As noted by Kam:

When you need to reach out and find these people and when they... [come] to you, and they are connected, that’s an important thing for our museum to be connected to a community. And you’re connected to your community through your staff (Betty Lou Kam, personal interview, July 28, 2014).

One of the connections that many of the collections staff discussed during the interviews was the relationship between the Bishop Museum and the University of

Hawai‘i at Mānoa (UH Mānoa). Three of the staff members in the Cultural Collections division started working at the Bishop Museum as interns as part of their degree requirements at UH Mānoa. From these internships, the staff members continued volunteering at the museum until staff positions opened up. The internships varied, and each student met with professors and museum staff members to develop internships that suited their individual interests. Like other museum professionals, internships complement academic coursework by providing on the job experience. Partnerships between museums and academic programs are crucial for providing opportunities for students interested in becoming the next generation of museum professionals. In the case of the Bishop Museum, internships brought in and continue to bring in students who are knowledgeable in Hawaiian language and cultural traditions.

The collections staff also noted the importance of mentors that have impacted how they interact with *ali‘i* collections. For example, two of the collections staff were students of John Keola Lake, a well-respected *kupuna* (elder) and *kumu hula* (hula teacher) who was born and raised on the island of O‘ahu. Kamalu du Preez and Marques Marzan, Cultural Resource Specialist, were *hula* students of Lake and danced in Lake’s *hālau hula* (dance school) known as Hālau Mele. Lake passed down knowledge of cultural protocols, chants, and other practices to du Preez and Marzan that they access in certain contexts while working with *ali‘i* collections. Betty Lou Kam also mentioned Lake during her interview, and described the importance of reaching out to *kupuna* and other individuals who are knowledgeable in traditional beliefs and practices. For Kam, learning from others outside of the institution was and still is crucial to how *ali‘i*

collections are cared for: “that kind of influx wasn’t only beneficial to me but it was also beneficial to the museum and to our whole approach about caring for the collection” (Betty Lou Kam, personal interview, July 28, 2014).

The connection between the museum and *hālau hula*, schools of Hawaiian knowledge that specialize in the art of Hawaiian dance (*hula*), is an area of future scholarship that is fruitful for understanding the confluence of professional and traditional care methods. As institutions of cultural transmission, *hālau hula* are like museums in the sense that they are repositories of traditional practices and art forms that become animated through the performance of *hula* (dances), and *mele* (songs), many of which commemorate the *ali‘i*. Such a mode of “curating” *ali‘i* culture presents a modality of indigenous curation within a Hawaiian context that merits closer examination.

In addition to mentors such as John Keola Lake who bequeathed his wisdom onto collections staff, there are also individuals at the Bishop Museum who hold great knowledge in properly engaging with *ali‘i* collections. Patience Namaka Wiggin Bacon, otherwise known fondly at the Bishop Museum as “Auntie Pat”, worked periodically at the Bishop Museum since 1939 up until her retirement in the 2000s. Although not Hawaiian by blood, Auntie Pat was *hānai* (adopted) by Henry and Pa‘ahana Wiggin, whom Auntie Pat considers to be her grandparents. Auntie Pat’s adopted mother was Mary Kawena Pukui, whom I described in chapter two as a Hawaiian ethnographer who prolifically published on various aspects of Hawaiian language and culture (Serrano 2005). Pukui, and later Auntie Pat served as cultural advisors to the Bishop Museum for

decades. They were considered to be the “go to” staff members when there was a need for conducting Hawaiian protocols or practices in the care of collections.

For Kam, Auntie Pat and Mary Kawena Pukui, were “the Hawaiian presence in the museum”; they were both “brought up Hawaiian” and understood “different Hawaiian traditions and practices—but [they were] also very open to seeing how changes come about” (in Serrano 2005). In the anecdote below, Kam describes a conversation she had with Auntie Pat that impacted her approach towards caring for *ali ‘i* collections:

I can remember going to talk to Aunty Pat Bacon and I said, ‘you know I don’t understand, what are you supposed to do when you move *ali ‘i* things? What are you supposed to do? What’s the protocol? You know because I see this happen, but it doesn’t you know, it doesn’t feel right it just doesn’t feel normal, it just feels strange.’

And Aunty Pat over different times had told me and when I specifically asked her that question, this is what she told me. She said, ‘You know Betty, all you need to do is to just make sure that when you’re there with *ali ‘i* collections, is you just, you don’t even have to say this out loud, you just have to make sure your heart is open and that you’re there to let them know what’s happening. That’s...you just have to be open and you have to make sure that whatever you’re doing is not for yourself and that you’re doing it for the good, for the appreciation, for the longevity, for the care and for the appreciation of those pieces and all you have to do is have a clean heart. That’s all you have to do. That’s all you have to do.’ And she said that and I take that quietly in my heart and that’s always been what I

hope I can do and maybe sometimes I do things too quickly, but that was it, you come with a clean heart. That's all.

Kamalu du Preez also described Auntie Pat's suggestions to the staff when they installed a display for the exhibit *Nā Hulu Ali 'i* (2006-2007), an exhibit that highlighted the museum's collection of featherwork *ali 'i* objects. When the staff were installing *'umeke* (containers, calabashes), Auntie Pat suggested that they should be placed on top of a *moena* (mat) and not on the ground. Such a small piece of advice was highly valued and the staff placed the *'umeke* on mats. This practice is a form of cultural contextualization because *'umeke* are highly valued. Placing them directly on the ground would be a sign of disrespect. In addition, du Preez described the choices that were made in grouping objects sensibly in the same exhibit:

... [The purpose of *Nā Hulu Ali 'i*] was to show as much featherwork that we had as possible. So you know we even had the *akua hulumanu* (feathered-god image) from O'ahu College which is Punahou and it was restored...He was up, actually two of them were up and then I think Līloa's sash was out so it was in a very special case... I would have done it a little bit different but then again it's just looking at the context of certain things. You know like food things don't match with sacred things or things you know like toiletry items you know. Or like hair items shouldn't go near any things that you wear on your body...So it's all these different things that you learn about your own culture you know, those older traditions of those kind of things. And I think *we try to work that into the sensibility of when we group things together*, so that's what we're also kind of

injecting into things you know? *It's not just only 'put Hawaiian texts in there' but it has to have a, 'what is the relationship, what is the pilina (relationship) of these things and how would they be...how would they have been seen together?'* What is the relationship of that (Kamalu du Preez, personal interview, July 31, 2014, emphasis added).

John Keola Lake and Auntie Pat are two knowledgeable elders and mentors that played a crucial role in how *ali'i* collections are exhibited and cared for at the Bishop Museum. For Marques Marzan, Kumu John Keola Lake and Auntie Pat were two influential individuals that made him “think about things from a Hawaiian perspective” (personal interview, August 1, 2014).

Marzan has a unique role at the Bishop Museum as a Cultural Resource Specialist. Whereas Auntie Pat’s responsibility as a cultural advisor to the museum was never a formal position, the Cultural Resource Specialist position was created in the 2000s and formalized the “relationship between the museum and those...individuals who have [Hawaiian] cultural knowledge that can aid in providing cultural sensitivity issues [and] cultural awareness to the museum management and staff” (Marques Marzan, personal interview, August 1, 2014). For an institution that claims to be a “Hawaiian” institution—an identity which till today remains contested and complicated—formalizing and recognizing the need to integrate cultural protocols and establish connections to communities outside of the museum is a crucial step for keeping the museum relevant to Kānaka Maoli.

Protocols: Exchanges with *Ali'i* Collections

The term *protocols* was used during interviews to describe a range of cultural, individual, and personal practices that facilitates “proper” engagements with *ali'i* objects. Betty Lou Kam described protocols as practices that show gratitude and respect to the *ali'i* that “are meant to be meaningful” for the person who performs protocols (personal interview, July 28, 2014). Marzan further adds that protocols are not enforced when visitors or museum staff members visit the collections. Rather, protocol can include anything that an individual or a group of people feel is appropriate to perform:

...the intent that we think of when we go into the museum, into the storage areas... these are all safe places...*you only get back what you bring in yeah?* So if you bring, you come in with...an open mind and aloha, that's what you'll get back from the collections... (Marques Marzan, personal interview, August 1, 2014, emphasis added).

Engaging with *ali'i* objects through protocols represents exchanges between objects and people. One such exchange revolves around the concept of *mana* (spiritual energy), which is briefly discussed in the institutional history of the Bishop Museum. As noted by Naughton (2001), *mana* is used to describe various spiritual relationships between people and objects, and discussions and recognition of *mana* at the Bishop Museum can at least be traced to the late 1970s and early 1980s. During our interview, Marzan provided his personal definition of *mana*:

For me, *mana* is the spiritual energy in anything on this planet. So inanimate objects have *mana* you know rocks...wood, trees, plants, animals, they all have

mana as well as ourselves...Teeth and bones from animals and individuals carry the *mana* of those particular things and people and animals. So I think that's, again, it's that spiritual energy within every one of us.

...in the Hawaiian perspective, you are born with a certain degree of *mana* depending on your birth... [and] the lines you come from. But you can also increase your *mana* by the deeds that you do in your life. And that's obvious in the story of Kamehameha. You know Kamehameha wasn't a high ranking *ali'i* with a lot of high-ranking *mana* at birth. But with all of his deeds and actions that he had done over his lifetime, it raised his *mana* to the level that it was, that it is viewed today.

Man-made objects also contain the *mana* of the person who produced it as well as those who owned, touched, held, and utilized an object. In various NAGPRA cases, objects, especially carved images (*ki'i lā'au*), are described as vessels for ancestral spirits (*aumākua*), which concentrate *mana* into a single space (Johnson 2003; Daehnke 2009). Naming an object, based on its physical characteristics or after a deceased relative or ancestor is also a means of imbuing an object with *mana* (Naughton 2001). Lastly, *mana* is transferrable between people, objects, and places. In recognizing that objects contain *mana*, protocols are a means to facilitate positive exchanges of *mana* between people and *ali'i* objects.

In addition, there are times when protocols are utilized to protect oneself when working with collections that are "heavy" spiritually or are associated with negative forms of *mana*. Kamalu du Preez described protocols that she employed when she was a

NAGPRA intern at the Bishop Museum in the early 2000s. Many Kānaka Maoli believe that a person's *mana* is contained in their *iwi* (bones). Thus working with NAGPRA collections and *ali'i* objects that contain *iwi* involves handling numerous objects that contain the *mana* of numerous unknown individuals. As a precaution of working with NAGPRA collections, du Preez carried a small *pu'olo* (bundle) with her every day:

I used to make a little *pu'olo* every day, a little bundle, with *pa'akai* (salt) and with a *mu'o* or the bud of the ti-leaf. I used to put it in a little *pu'olo*, put it in my shirt, and I would have that every day. I would make a new one every day when I was doing more NAGPRA related stuff and I was actually doing inventory you know, looking through inventories and things like that. Checking through inventories. Just in case to be exposed to those kind of things. I don't do that on a normal basis but when I do, if I have to do anything that has to do with handling *iwi*, I do always do a *pule* for protection of myself or you know, I don't always make the *pu'olo* (personal interview, July 31, 2014).

Another protocol that was described by collections staff was the act of cleansing by submersing oneself in saltwater. Cleansing in this manner is analogous to the practice of *kapu kai* or *pī kai*, described by Kamakau as the act of sprinkling sea water mixed with *'ōlena* (turmeric) onto any person or object as a means of purification (1964:35). During one of my collections storage tours, remnants of a *pī kai* ceremonies performed in the collections storage area was visible; small salt crystals can be spotted on some of the metal cabinets. Kamakau goes on to describe saltwater as a universal remedy to cure ailments and to purify objects and personal relations, a practice which Hawaiians

continue to perform till today (Kamakau 1964; Kamakau 1870). The need to cleanse after working with certain collections and the presence of salt in the collections storage highlights the spiritual awareness of collections staff and visitors when they interact with *ali 'i* collections and other Hawaiian collections.

Protocols can also refer to a particular mindset for working with *ali 'i* collections. Quiet contemplation and mental recognition of the sacred qualities of *ali 'i* collections honors and provides proper respect for *ali 'i* objects as well as the *ali 'i* who once owned them. Lissa Gendreau, Collections Technician, described this informal form of protocol:

I think the way I prepare, is...I guess it's just a mindset. I realize that there's a lot of sensitivity with some of these things but at the same time, I also realize that this institution exists, these things exist in our care, and so the way I prepare is just to have the best frame of mind possible when I'm working with these things...Clearing your head of negative thoughts and you know, not making jokes when you're handling some of these things. Yeah, just recognizing that it's something that requires attention and respect from you. But, that's how I prepare, just when I go into storage rooms, I go 'okay I'm here, I'm in good spirits, I've got good intentions' (Lissa Gendreau, personal interview, August 6, 2014).

Gendreau's comments are similar to Betty Lou Kam's approach to caring for *ali 'i* collections with a "clean heart" (personal interview, July 28, 2014). These informal and daily protocols highlight the confluence of professional and cultural practices in the care of *ali 'i* collections.

Cultural Contextualization: The Physical Storage of Ali‘i Collections

As described in chapter two, Cultural contextualization is the process of integrating Indigenous or other appropriate methods of collections care into standardized collections care practices and policies. My conceptualization of cultural contextualization is derived from appropriate museology theory and practice. At the Bishop Museum, the praxis of cultural contextualization is visible in the manner in which object histories and biographies are translated into physical practices of storing *ali‘i* collections.

At the foundational level, *Ali‘i* collections, most notably featherwork objects and some of the museum’s most precious objects, many of which are described in chapter two, are typically stored separately from other objects for conservation and cultural purposes. Separate storage of *ali‘i* objects recognize their association to the *ali‘i* class. Storing *ali‘i* collections with objects of lesser status such as objects associated with *maka‘āinana* (commoners) could be regarded as inappropriate.

Some of the objects are also stored according to their placement on the human body. Objects that are stored on higher shelves are physically worn above the waist such as *kīhei* (sash worn from the shoulder to the waist) and *lei* (necklace or garland). In contrast, objects that are worn below the waist are stored at lower levels and includes items like *malo* (loin cloth) and *pā‘ū* (skirt). Figure 5.2 illustrates the storage of *kāhili pa‘a lima* (hand-held *kāhili*) and the concept of storing objects at different levels.



Figure 5.2. The physical storage of *kāhili pa‘a lima* (hand-held *kāhili*). An example of the confluence of cultural and conservation concerns in the care of *ali‘i* objects. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

Figure 5.2 is an example of the confluence of both cultural and professional practices through the process of cultural contextualization. From a conservation standpoint, storing *kāhili pa‘a lima* with their feather plumes facing downward provides the least amount of stress on the feathers. Placing each of the feather plumes in containers also minimizes the amount of dust that accumulates on the fragile feathers. Although this positioning of *kāhili pa‘a lima* could be read as inappropriate, placing the *kāhili pa‘a lima* at higher levels, similar to the height that they would have been shown in use-context, is interpreted as a means of honoring the object while caring for the object as best possible. The tubes that protect the feather plumes also contain holes at the bottom that allow each of the *kāhili pa‘a lima* to “breathe.”

Since many of the *ali‘i* collections are associated with particular *ali‘i*, there is a conscious effort to honor those *ali‘i* through the storage of the collections. For example, if there are two *ali‘i* that were not fond of each other or were known to feud, the

collections staff tries to store the objects of those two *ali'i* separately. In addition, *ali'i* objects from different families and lineages are stored separately. This type of storage is a form of honoring the *ali'i* by thoughtfully considering the histories behind each object. Cultural contextualization can thus be regarded as the sensitizing of professional practices through the integration of traditional practices in order to respect and honor the *ali'i* and the histories of each object.

Neutral Storage: Storing Sacred Objects

Some objects that are sacred by nature are stored so that they are not fully visible to visitors who enter the collections storage areas. Providing a “buffer” of some sort, such as a plain white sheet that covers an object, recognizes an objects sacred qualities and reinforces the notion of visiting special collections with a purpose. I use the term *neutral storage* to describe objects that are stored in such a way. During one of my collections tours, Kamalu du Preez described the care of the temple drum named Nāniuola as a form of neutral storage. Nāniuola is a significant piece in the collection that was used for temple rituals and was only shown and utilized on certain occasions (Kamehiro 2009). In storage, Nāniuola is partitioned off by a plain white sheet so that the object is not in full-view during collections tours. “Hiding” Nāniuola in this way respects the object’s nature and history and ensures that those who want to visit Nāniuola are there with purpose. It also is a conservation measure that reduces the accumulation of dust on Nāniuola’s surface. In addition to Nāniuola, collections staff also mentioned that the *ki'i lā'au* in the collection are also covered while in storage, which signifies that the objects are sleeping.

Ki'i lā'au replicas too are covered in this way and recognizes the continuity of *mana* within contemporaneous objects.

Clearly, collections staff at the Bishop Museum are consciously making choices in the care of *ali'i* collections that aim to respect and honor *ali'i* objects. How then are these *ali'i* objects displayed and interpreted for the public in the museum's exhibitionary spaces?

The Abigail Kinoiki Kekaulike Kāhili Room

The Abigail Kinoiki Kekaulike Kāhili Room, otherwise known simply as the Kāhili Room, displays the Bishop Museum's impressive collection of *kāhili*—feather standards that serve as royal insignias and reminders of the exalted status of the *ali'i*.²⁴ The Kāhili Room was one of the Bishop Museum's original galleries and was designed specifically to house the museum's collection of *kāhili kū* (standing *kāhili*), ranging in height from two to five meters (Rose 1980b; Rose, Conant, and Kjellgren 1993).

Over time, the *kāhili* in the Kāhili Room were removed and the gallery was utilized as a temporary exhibit space (Harrison 1993). It wasn't until the exhibit *Nā Mea Makamae: Treasures of Hawai'i* (1997) that considerable effort was made to restore the *kāhili* to their former home. Burlingame (2000) notes that the "Bishop museum created a coalition of community and Hawaiian consultants and museum professionals to figure out what to do with the Kāhili Room." All parties involved reached a consensus to return the *kāhili* to the Kāhili Room and in 2000, the Kāhili Room was reopened to the public (Burlingame 2000). In 2006, the Kāhili Room was rededicated and renamed as the

²⁴ *Kāhili* is the plural form of *kahili*.

“Abigail Kinoiki Kekaulike Kāhili Room” after Princess Abigail Kawānanakoa, a controversial figure within Hawaiian history who has ties to the Kawānanakoa royal lineage and is the great grandniece of Queen Lili‘uokalani.²⁵

The following description of the Kāhili Room is provided to visitors via the museum’s website: “The Abigail Kinoiki Kekaulike Kāhili Room honors cherished *ali‘i* and displays the precious *Kāhili* (feather standards) associated with them. On display here are portraits of the Hawaiian Monarchy and some of their personal effects” (The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum 2015). The configuration of the portraits and the *kāhili* within the room “mimics the design ethic of Victorian exhibitry without the era’s clutter and lack of focus” (Burlingame 2000). Burlingame’s comments regarding the Victorian feel of the Kāhili Room reflect the museum’s commitment to maintaining the distinctive Victorian architecture of the building while reinventing the exhibits to reflect a hybrid form of displaying *ali‘i* culture for multiple audiences.

The *kāhili* at the Bishop Museum are considered to be “the most sacred, rare, and fragile of ancient Hawaii” (Burlingame 2000). Burlingame’s use of the term *ancient Hawaii* to describe these objects is problematic since most of the *kāhili* in the collection

²⁵ Kawānanakoa is a controversial figure for numerous reasons. For example, in 1998, Kawānanakoa posed on the palace throne of ‘Iolani Palace for a photoshoot. This infuriated the Director of the museum as well as some of the volunteers. At the time, Kawānanakoa was serving as the President of Friends of ‘Iolani Palace, the non-profit which cares for the Palace (Yuen 1998). More recently in 2013, Kawānanakoa faced backlash and support simultaneously from various factions of the Kanaka Maoli community when she wanted to construct a crypt for herself and her descendants on the grounds of Mauna‘ala, the royal mausoleum of the Hawaiian monarchy (Akaka, Kanahale, and Lui-Kwan 2013). Opinions of Kawānanakoa are further split because she has been a major benefactor to various Native Hawaiian organizations over the decades.

were produced in the 19th century; some *kāhili* were even made with Western materials. Regarding these objects as relics of “ancient Hawaii” reflects the decontextualization of *kāhili* within museums as objects of the past without critically considering their continuance and repurpose in contemporary Hawaiian culture. Burlingame is correct however when he states that *kāhili* are fragile. The feathers, branches and fabrics used in the large cylindrical plumes of *kāhili* are the most susceptible components to deterioration.²⁶ In addition to their fragility, the museum’s *Kāhili* collection is also one of its most valuable. Many of the *kāhili* were some of the first objects accessioned into the Museum’s permanent collection. For instance, ‘Ele‘eleualani (Black Rain of Heaven), a *kāhili* made of the feathers of the endemic ‘ō‘ō bird and an ash pole, was *the* first object accessioned into the museum. It is one of the many *kāhili* that are exhibited in the Kāhili Room.²⁷

²⁶ When I toured Hulihe‘e Palace in Kailua-Kona, Hawai‘i, many of the *kāhili* in their collections showed clear signs of advanced deterioration. Hulihe‘e Palace is the former royal residence of the Governor of Hawai‘i Island and is located in close proximity to the shoreline. Exposed to the salty ocean sea spray and fluxing coastal temperatures, many of the feathers and ‘au on the *kāhili* at Hulihe‘e are cracked, broken, and have fallen off. Yet, these *kāhili* are still displayed for visitors to see, and reflect an approach towards displaying *ali‘i* collections that recognizes the limited life spans of *ali‘i* objects.

²⁷ While I was on a docent tour, one of the docents expressed a great feeling of pride when explaining to the visitors that the Bishop Museum displayed their first accessioned object.



Figure 5.3. The Abigail Kinoiki Kekaulike Kāhili Room at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

General Layout of the Kāhili Room

Throughout the gallery a range of *kāhili kū* are showcased, along with two small display cases located in the center of the gallery (Figure 5.3). Portraits and photographs of individual *ali'i* also hang against the room's neutral-colored walls. The *kāhili kū* are displayed on raised red platforms and sectioned off from visitors through a combination of red velvet dividers and interpretive panels. Ornately carved *kāhili* stands secure the *pou* (staff) of each *kāhili*. The *ali'i* portraits that hang on the walls are lit by track lighting that hang from the gallery's ceiling.

At the superficial level, the Kāhili Room presents basic information on *kāhili* production and symbolism. The juxtaposition of *kāhili* to *ali'i* images evoke the traditional role of *kāhili* as symbols of the sacred and royal status of the *ali'i*. Each *kāhili* in the gallery was intentionally paired with particular *ali'i* portraits as expressed by the exhibition development staff. The *ali'i* portraits or photographs are also accompanied by panels that present vignettes into the lives of the *ali'i* who lived during Hawai'i's

Kingdom era. Some of the portraits are accompanied by personal trinkets that were owned by the *ali'i*. Although renovations to the gallery are needed in the future, closer examination of interpretive texts within the space provides an interesting narrative on the social biography of *kāhili* and the deeper connection of *kāhili* to *mo'okū'auhau* (genealogy).

The Social Biography of *Kāhili*

Kāhili in the Kāhili Room are contextualized in a manner that reveals their lifecycle, beginning with their manufacture and ending with their disposition and transformation into museum objects. Exposing the process of their production and providing information on their specific uses allow us to discern some of “the relations and meanings that surround” the *kāhili* in the Kāhili Room (Mackenzie in Hoskin 2006:79).

The social biography of the *kāhili* in the Kāhili Room begin with the traditional craftspeople who gathered precious materials for the *kāhili*. These people included the *kia manu* (bird catchers) as well as the featherworkers who crafted each *kāhili* (*haku hulu*).²⁸ Yet, the small display case titled “Assembling the Kāhili” which displays how *kāhili* are produced lacks substantial information on these two artisan classes.²⁹ They are

²⁸ Wilkins (2014) notes that *kia manu* were men who ventured into the forest and collected birdfeathers from captured birds. Once these feathers were collected, women were tasked with sorting the feathers by size and length.

²⁹ The “Assembling the Kāhili” case contains the components of a single *hulumanu* (feathered cylinder). The branches (*'au*) and feather bundles (*'uo*) of the *hulumanu* are placed in various piles with accompanying texts that describe each component. The labels in the case describe the various types of coastal and upland bird feathers used to create the feathered cylinders and the integration of Western materials into *kāhili* production.

merely identified as those who collected feathers (*kia manu*) and those who crafted the feathers into feathered objects (*haku hulu*). In addition, Wilkins (2014) describes the separation of roles in producing featherart objects between the sexes; men were the *kia manu* who collected feathers and women were responsible for sorting the feathers by size and length. Other authors have also claimed that featherart objects like *'ahu 'ula* (cloaks), *lei hulu* (feathered *lei*), and *kāhili* were made by *ali 'i* women (Linnekin 1990; Linnekin 1988). Such information is not included within the exhibit text. However, there is a label that describes the embedded identity of the *haku hulu* (featherworker) within the *kahili*: “Because the *kahili* is an expression of respect for an *ali 'i*, the maker is spiritually connected with the work of his hands. The *mana* (power) imparted by the *haku hulu* remains with the *kahili* after it is completed.” Although the original producers of the *kāhili* in the museum’s collection are not known, the recognition of the role of the *haku hulu* and the transfer of *mana* to their products reminds us of the various actors that surround *kāhili* production. These objects are not just symbols of *ali 'i* but reflect the workmanship of particular *haku hulu*. Although the interpretive texts do not adequately provide more information on the craftspeople behind *kāhili* production, they do expand our understanding of *kāhili* and the people (and stories) they are connected with (Kopytoff 1986; Hoskin 2006). In addition, the mention of *mana* in *kahili* in the interpretive texts reflect discussions about *mana* during staff interviews.

The social biography of the *kāhili* in the Kāhili Room are further expressed through short “About this *kahili*” labels that accompany each *kāhili kū*. These labels

provide brief biographical and descriptive information for each *kahili* which includes information on material composition, the *ali'i* associated with individual *kahili*, provenance information, and the official museum identification number. An example of one of these labels is printed below. It is the label that introduces two *kāhili* that are placed at the entrance of Kāhili Room near the introductory texts (Figure 5.1):

About this *kahili*:

This pair of *kāhili*, ***Kaolahaka***, was used at the funerals of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1917 and Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole in 1922. It was originally one *kahili*, associated with the Kamehameha kings. King Kalākaua had it removed from the Royal Mausoleum and Lili'uokalani's chief featherworker made it into these two *kāhili*. They are fashioned with red 'i'iwi and yellow 'ō'ō feathers on poles of turtle shell and ivory.

Lili'uokalani Collection, 1922 (BM number 1922.008.002, 1922.008.003)

This label provides a wealth of information. Firstly, the label describes how *kāhili* were paired. The curatorial choice of using humanizing terms is illustrated through the use of “companion” and “mate” in the labels to refer to these pairings. Although the label do not clearly indicate this, “Kaolahaka” is the name of both *kāhili*. Other *kāhili* in the gallery also bear names, which are either ancestral names passed down through the *ali'i* lineages, descriptive names that describe a *kahili*'s physical characteristics, or names that honor a particular individual (Rose, Conant, and Kjellgren 1993). For example, one of the *kahili* bear the name Keku'iapoiwa who was the mother of Kamehameha the Great. Keku'iapoiwa's mate is named Kumaka, who was an “ancient Māui chiefess of Hāna and Kīpahulu.”

The label above also indicates the connection of *kāhili* to *mo'olelo ali'i* (*ali'i* history). The interpretive text clearly describes Kaolahaka as a single *kahili* that

originally resided at Mauna‘ala, the Royal Mausoleum located in Nu‘uanu, O‘ahu. Later in Kaolahaka’s history, King Kalākaua removed the *kahili* from the mausoleum and split the *pou* in two so that two *kāhili* could be made. Kaolahaka continued to be used at specific *ali‘i* funeral as symbols of royalty.

Ali‘i death is also a recurring theme that relates to the biography of *kāhili*. Figure 5.4 is an image of an unusually shaped *kahili*. The accompanying text for this *kahili* states that:

The unusual bud form may symbolize the premature death at age four of the only child of Kamehameha IV and is thus associated with Queen Emma and the “Prince of Hawai‘i.” The *kahili* is made of dyed red duck or goose feathers on a painted pole trimmed with red, yellow, and pale blue silk.



Figure 5.4. An unusually shaped *kāhili* in the Kāhili Room credited to the Queen Emma Collection. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

The tragic story of Prince Albert Edward Kauikeaouli is repeated elsewhere in the gallery and in Hawaiian Hall. Thus, we see that the biographies of *kāhili* within the Kāhili Room

are inextricably linked to the biography of the *ali 'i*. As tangible emblems of the *ali 'i*, *kāhili* serve as reminders of the tragedy that *ali 'i* faced during the 19th and early 20th century. Evidently in the Kāhili Room, these tragedies are described. Perhaps like their traditional function during *ali 'i* death rituals, the *kāhili* in the Kāhili Room continually watch over and commemorate the lives of the *ali 'i*.

The biographies of *kāhili* are continually being written. For example, most of the ribbon streamers on the *kāhili kū* have been replaced with new ribbons (Figure 5.4). This method of caring for the *kāhili* seems counterintuitive to mainstream museum practice; typically, museums aim to conserve what remains of an object. New additions are often regarded as a diminishment of an object's temporal authenticity. When additions are added to an object, they are made to blend into the older colors and textures of the object.

Yet, as indicated in the Nara document of authenticity (Lemair and Stovel 1994), authenticity is culturally subjective. What is deemed “authentic” in one cultural contexts may vary in others. In the practice of conserving objects, this means that objects are cared for and conserved differently in different cultures.³⁰ At the Bishop Museum, adding new

³⁰ The Nara document of Authenticity was the result of the Nara conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention. The conference was held in Nara, Japan from November 1-6 in 1994, and was organized in cooperation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO), the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). In the Nara document, conventional conservation techniques are questioned in favor for the development of conservation practices that are culturally-informed and culturally-sensitive. The basic premise of the Nara document is that all cultures value and authenticate objects in different ways. Ergo, understanding these various modes of cultural preservation and conservation is necessary for developing culturally-appropriate conservation practices. See Lemair and Stovel (1994).

ribbon streamers to *kāhili kū* that are visually different from the rest of the object can be regarded as an act of cultural preservation and continuance. In a chapter that describes monastery museums in Thailand, Kreps (2014:245) notes that the repair of Buddha images is a “long standing practice” in Southeast Asia and Thailand that continues even after the images are donated to monastery museums. Incorporating new additions are a way to make an object look “new and more attractive”, which ultimately “increases the images power and makes it more efficacious” (Kreps 2014:245).

The stark contrast between the new brightly colored streamers to the dull fragile fabric used in the base of the *hulumanu* is a reminder of the continued relevance of *kāhili* within Hawaiian society. Adding new streamers also increases the efficacy of *kāhili kū* as visual indicators of *ali ‘i* rank and status. Within the museum sector, replacing old *kahili* streamers with new ribbons adds to the biography of each *kāhili* and recognizes an alternative conservation and curation ethic at play at the Bishop Museum. It further suggests that cultural contextualization can include practices that continue to maintain the relevance of objects past and present. Unfortunately, there are no explanatory texts in the Kāhili Room that describes the purpose of replacing old ribbon streamers. Such texts could have served as an opportunity to further discuss the continued relevance of *kāhili* today.

Mo ‘okū ‘auhau: Genealogy on Display

Throughout the Kāhili Room, the social biography of each *kahili* is intermixed with an emphasis on *mo ‘okū ‘auhau ali ‘i* (chiefly genealogies). As discussed in chapter two, chiefly genealogies (*mo ‘okū ‘auhau ali ‘i*) stretch back thousands of generations and

provides the ancestral legitimacy needed for an *ali'i nui* to justify their right to rule.

One's positionality within the *ali'i* lineages also determined one's rank, status, and *mana* (Kirch 2010; Handy and Pukui 1998). Today *mo'okū'auhau ali'i* are studied by Hawaiian scholars, and many Kānaka Maoli regard *mo'okū'auhau ali'i* as part of their own personal *mo'okū'auhau*.

In the Kāhili Room, *mo'okū'auhau ali'i* is described in the exhibit texts and is used as an organizational framework in the Kāhili Room. The portraits that line the walls are organized according to reign in a clockwise configuration, beginning with the first monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom (Kamehameha I) and ending with Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole, an *ali'i* who served as one of Hawai'i's delegates to the United States Congress during the early 20th century. The labels that accompany each *ali'i* portrait provides the name of the *ali'i*, their birthdate and date of death, and a brief paragraph that describes their accomplishments during their lifetime. Included in these labels are some genealogical information that traces *ali'i* ancestry. The example below is the label that accompanies a portrait of Ruth Ke'elikōlani, descendant of Kamehameha I and former Governor of the Island of Hawai'i:

Princess Ruth Ke'elikōlani

Born to Mataio Kekūanaō'a and Pauahi, Princess Ruth Ke'elikōlani was the granddaughter of Kamehameha the Great. She was raised by Queen Ka'ahumanu after the death of her mother during childbirth. Following the deaths of her half-brothers Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V, she became heir to the royal lands.

Princess Ke'elikōlani served as governess of the island of Hawai'i, and was said to be good and kind. Through inheritance and occasional business ventures, she amassed vast land holdings that made her the richest woman in the kingdom. She married twice, though the offspring of these unions died prematurely. When Princess Ke'elikōlani died, her wealth was bequeathed to her cousin, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop.

Birth: 1826 Death: 1883

The label provides an abbreviated version of Ke‘elikōlani’s *mo‘okū‘auhau*, which traces her connection to Kamehameha I. The other portrait labels in the gallery include similar descriptions that trace genealogy and inheritance. Similar to the labels that accompany the *kāhili*, the portrait labels convey a story of death and depression. Ke‘elikōlani’s label for example describes numerous deaths that she witnessed before her own demise. The narrative of loss within the exhibit is further combined with a sense of pride and adoration for the *ali‘i* and their legacy.

In addition to these labels, *mo‘okū‘auhau* in the exhibit can be a multi-sensorial experience for those who are fluent in the Hawaiian language. For these visitors, the visualization of *mo‘okū‘auhau* is accompanied by the oration of *mo‘okū‘auhau. Mele inoa*, songs written in honor of particular *ali‘i*, are played in the exhibit in a continuous loop. Many of the chants that are played in the room are from the Bishop Museum’s early efforts in the 20th century to preserve Hawaiian language and culture. For lay visitors, the chanting may be regarded simply as ambient noise. However, for those knowledgeable in Hawaiian chant, they further add to the overall interpretation of *mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i* in the Kāhili Room. Much like the missed opportunity in describing the significance of changing the ribbon streamers, discussions about the *mele inoa* in the exhibit are lacking. Regardless, a multi-layered approach is witnessed in the Kāhili Room, an approach that is also seen on the third floor of Hawaiian Hall.

Mo'okū'auhau as Gift: Displaying *Ali'i* Lineages

A small interactive screen near the entrance of the gallery provides visitors with the opportunity to explore a family tree that traces the descent of the Hawaiian monarchs and their relatives. The interactive is accompanied by a larger wall panel that provides an enlarged image of the family tree in the interactive (Figure 5.5).

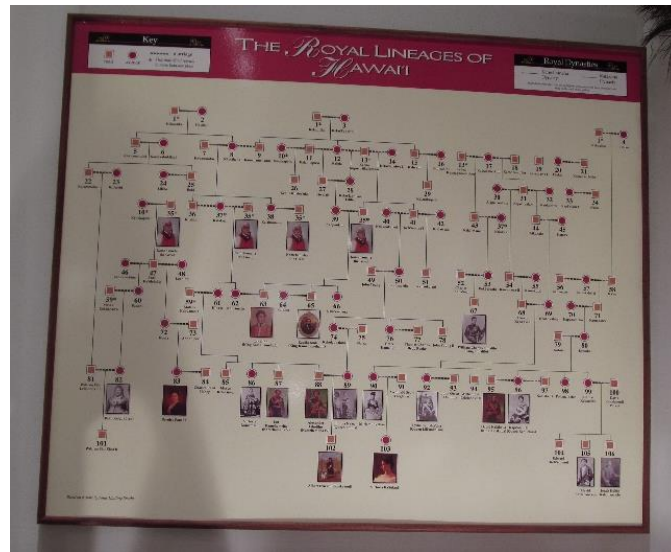


Figure 5.5. Wall panel in the Kāhili Room that illustrates *mo'okū'auhau ali'i*. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

The family tree is based off the work of Anne Spoehr (1989) and includes explanatory text that provides basic information on the importance of *mo'okū'auhau* as a means for establishing rank and status and resolving family conflicts. *Mo'okū'auhau* is also described as “a treasured gift”. The implications of referring to *mo'okū'auhau* as gift are further explored here.

Over the decades, anthropologists have theorized on the purpose of gifts and gift-giving. Roger Sansi's chapter on gifts and gift-giving in his book *Art, Anthropology, and the Gift* (2015) provides a useful summary of the literature. Sansi begins with a brief

description of Marcel Mauss' contributions to our understanding of gifts. In his book *The Gift*, Mauss outlines some of the fundamental premises behind gifts and gift-giving as a triple obligation of giving, receiving, and returning (Mauss in Sansi 2015:97). Exchange and reciprocity are implicated through the gift-giving process, and illustrate how “the gift and the social relations it entails are often...hierarchal and bound to strict social obligations” (Sansi 2015:97). Mauss uses the examples of the Potlatch in the Northwest coast of North America and the Kula in Melanesia to illustrate the complex obligations and social stratification of societies that are based on gift-giving.

Mauss also contributes to our understanding of gifts as persons. Key to the notion of person is the separation of the individual, as a “single mind-body entity”, and the social person, a composite “of corporate groups of people, like families and other elements like name, titles, dresses, objects...” (Sansi 2015:98–99). In this sense, gifts as things, “may be persons, or part of persons, not just objects of accumulation” (Sansi 2015:99). This is further implicated in the act of gift-giving, whereby “people give themselves to other people” (Sansi 2015:99). Marilyn Strathern in her book *The Gender of the Gift* further expands on Mauss by developing the concept of the partible person—the idea that things and people as entities are both crucial in the development of identity (in Sansi 2015:99). Later, Annette Weiner further explores the concept of inalienability in *Inalienable Possessions*. Inalienability in contrast to the alienable commodity of market economies, implies that gifts and certain other objects within a gift economy “are kept away from exchange as long as possible, precisely because they constitute the essential value of a group, lineage, or persons” (Sansi 2015:100). Thus, the paradox of keeping-

while-giving is that gift-giving, as an act of giving self to others, is essential for the reproduction and continuation of self.

How can the anthropological literature on the gift translate into the description of *mo 'okū 'auhau* as a “precious gift” in the Kāhili Room of the Bishop Museum? As a gift, I interpret the sharing of *mo 'okū 'auhau ali 'i* as an exchange between museum visitors, collections staff, and the *ali 'i* themselves. This reading implies that gifts are not restricted by temporal or generational boundaries; the *ali 'i* continually “gift” their genealogies (and *kāhili*) to museum visitors as presented in the Kāhili Room. In return, visitors to the museum learned about the lives of the *ali 'i*. For some, the Kāhili Room may reinforce previous knowledge of the *ali 'i* and may further recognize the need to honor *ali 'i* legacies. Through this interaction, we are able to further explore the interactions of museum visitors with museum objects and collections. The act of sharing *mo 'okū 'auhau* as a gift, demonstrates how the *ali 'i* give a part of themselves to the public and to Kānaka Maoli, an act that reproduces their social prestige and identity over generations. Gifting in this sense increases our understanding of why honoring the *ali 'i* through song and dance, as well as how *ali 'i* culture is curated within museums, are highly valued within Kanaka Maoli culture.

The Third Floor of Hawaiian Hall: Wao Lani

Due to time constraints and the breadth of this research, I chose to analyze the Kāhili Room along with the third floor of Hawaiian Hall aptly called Wao Lani. Wao Lani's cases are dedicated to exhibiting *ali 'i* culture and history. Construction of Hawaiian Hall began in 1898 with the dedication of the space taking place in 1903 (Rose

1980b; Kelly 1994). Brigham designed Hawaiian Hall after the ethnographic museums he visited around the world in 1896 (Rose 1990): “The built-in display cases of prized native *koa* wood (*Acacia koa*) were custom built and installed with special locks and air seals at a cost approaching that of the building itself” (Rose 1990:40). When Hawaiian Hall was completed, it represented Brigham’s desire for the museum “to excel not only in research but in the display of scientific knowledge” (Kelly 1994:39). The Third Floor of Hawaiian Hall originally served as the headquarters for the Bishop Museum Library, now known as the Bishop Museum Library and Archives.

Sadly, the glory of Hawaiian Hall dissipated over the decades as the space became dilapidated, neglected, and outdated. Plans were made in the 1980s to develop more “user-friendly” exhibits, but the museum lacked the proper funding to implement the renovations. Further, the museum was challenged to solve “how to present and educate visitors within the confines of the large Victorian building” (Tamura 2009). Momi Naughton, a previous staff member of the Bishop Museum, provides an account of Hawaiian Hall’s appearance in the late 1990s and early 2000s:

On the first floor of Hawaiian Hall is the remnants of an exhibit called "Hawai'i the Royal Isles" which had been curated by Dr. Roger Rose in 1978. The exhibit had traveled to several mainland institutions that year and when it returned to Hawai'i it was installed in Hawaiian Hall for what was supposed to be about a year. Although originally well-conceived to exhibit the unique material of the Hawaiian Kingdom, currently it contains only the remnants of the original exhibit. Much of the exhibit has been picked over to use objects in other exhibits or things have been removed from display for conservation reasons or because they were being considered for NAGPRA repatriation.

The second floor of the hall is a composite of Hawaiian materials with no story line and little interpretation. Part of that floor had exhibited the tapa (barkcloth) which had gone through conservation as part of a National Science Foundation Grant that Dr. Rose had procured for the museum.

The top floor consists of an immigrant exhibit installed in 1969 which is badly in need of curation and has been up for far too many years. Even its title, "Living in Harmony: People from Many Lands," reflects how out of date it is. The title smacks of an era when terms like "melting pot" were used to describe the multi-cultural elements of Hawai'i (Naughton 2001:178–179).

Naughton continues by stating how plans were made to provide Hawaiian Hall with a facelift during the mid-1980s. Then Director Donald Duckworth dismissed these plans because he "felt that no one would notice the difference if we changed the exhibit" (Naughton 2001:179).

In 2006, Hawaiian Hall was officially closed to the public and the \$16 million dollar renovation project commenced. Major renovations included the installation of various materials to improve object conservation in the Hall and the installation of new museum lighting. The *koa* cabinets and other furnishings in Hawaiian Hall were also revarnished and the faux-bronze pillars were restored. Lastly, a climate control system was installed along with an elevator (Suzanne 2009). Most importantly, the renovations allowed the Bishop Museum to extensively rework the Hall's interpretations and exhibitions to reflect a cohesive rather than a fragmented narrative of Hawaiian history and culture (Suzanne 2009; Bailey 2009). As noted by Betty Lou Kam, most of the content that was written for Wao Lani was done so by a former Bishop Museum staff member and a UH Mānoa professor (personal communication, August 5, 2014). Throughout Wao Lani however, the content written by these two individuals are complemented by primary quotes and materials from other Kanaka Maoli voices. This will be discussed in later.

On August 9, 2009 Hawaiian Hall officially reopened to the public. Reopening ceremonies were held in the Hall, which included a procession through the Hall by

museum staff and a range of Hawaiian organizations. These ceremonies were later followed by a variety of other events that celebrated the reopening (The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum 2009).

On the museum's website, the following information is given regarding the new Hawaiian Hall. Each of the floors of the Hawaiian Hall are divided into three *wao* (realms) that present different facets of Hawaiian culture and history:

The three floors of Hawaiian Hall take visitors on a journey through the different realms of Hawai'i.

The first floor is the realm of *Kai Ākea* which represents the Hawaiian gods, legends, beliefs, and the world of pre-contact Hawai'i.

The second floor, *Wao Kanaka*, represents the realm where people live and work; focusing on the importance of the land and nature in daily life.

The third floor, *Wao Lani*, is the realm inhabited by the gods; here, visitors will learn about the ali'i and key moments in Hawaiian history (The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum 2015).

Within each realm, older museum objects are interspersed with contemporary art pieces.

These newer pieces not only provide new interpretations to age-old Hawaiian beliefs and practices, but also rejects traditional ethnographic displays of displaying native peoples as static "dying races" (McCarthy 2007; Bouquet 2012). The mixing of contemporary art with older objects reflect a living and thriving Hawaiian culture. In Wao Lani however, most, if not all of the objects on display in the cases dedicated to the *ali'i* are of historical origins.

Wao Lani: Configuration of Space

As Betty Lou Kam notes, the aim of the renovations in Hawaiian Hall were "to restore the hall to what it once was" and to "keep the sense of the building as it was when

it was first built” (in Suzanne 2009). In preserving the Victorian grandeur of the space, exhibit developers designed the exhibits to fit within the antiquated museum cases. The result of this massive undertaking is a hybrid gallery that appropriates the Victorian “feel” of the space to operate as a vessel for presenting a multivocal history of the *ali‘i* and Kanaka Maoli history.³¹

Wao Lani is comprised of 18 large *koa* cabinets and numerous smaller railing cases that line the Third Floor railings of Hawaiian Hall. Red and yellow are the primary colors used in the interpretive panels that accompany each case and are a direct reference to the association of these two colors to the *ali‘i*. The objects in Wao Lani are accompanied by tombstone labels that provide basic information on the object’s name, material, and donor. Some of the labels also include a descriptive sentence or two that provides visitors with interesting information. The tombstone labels do not sit next to the objects on display but are placed on the floor of each case. A corresponding number links the object labels to each object. Such an approach illustrates an emphasis of object’s aesthetic rather than descriptive qualities in addition to practical choices that were made by the exhibit development team.

Generally speaking, the cases in Wao Lani are grouped into four broad themes. When visitors first enter Wao Lani through the elevator or the stairway in the northwest

³¹ I use the term “multivocal” to represent how Hawaiian Hall presents a narrative that have multiple Kanaka Maoli voices. This is a key distinction to note because King (2014) criticizes Hawaiian Hall for not presenting voices from multiple cultures. For example, although Wao Lani is aimed to present *ali‘i* history and important historical events in Hawaiian history, King argues that the exhibit fails to adequately tackle immigration and plantation history in the islands, a misrepresentation per se of the multicultural nation that was the Kingdom of Hawai‘i.

corner of the Hall, the first three cases they encounter highlight the lives of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, Ruth Ke‘elikōlani, and Emma Kaleleonālani Rooke—the three *ali‘iwahine* (chiefesses) whose personal collections are the *raison d’être* of the Bishop Museum’s existence. Next, the four cases that line the northern wall present an array of objects associated with particular categories *ali‘i* material culture. These cases are organized in the following order: featherwork (*kāhili*, *leihulu*, and *‘ahu‘ula*), *lei niho palaoa* (plaited human hair necklaces with an ivory pendant), *ki‘i akua lā‘au* (wooden idol images, including *kālaipāhoa*), and *nā mea kaua* (weapons of war). Lining the eastern section of Hawaiian Hall are cases dedicated to the Hawaiian monarchy. These cases expand on the abbreviated biographies that are given in the Kāhili Room. Each case presents further information on individual *ali‘i* and incorporates a range of personal effects and other objects associated with particular *ali‘i*. These cases begin with Kamehameha I and end with the last reigning monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Queen Lili‘uokalani.

Two cases in the southeast corner serve as segue between the Kingdom era and the Territorial era of Hawai‘i. These cases recount the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the anti-annexation movement that followed. Cases lining the southwest corner of Hawaiian Hall present information on 20th century Hawaiian history. One of the cases honors three prominent Hawaiian figures—Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole, Duke Kahanamoku, and Mary Kawena Pukui. The last case brings visitors up to speed with the various sovereignty and cultural/language revitalization movements that have taken place in the islands since the late 1960s. Note that the inclusion of these non-*ali‘i*

histories reflect a shift from an *ali 'i* history to one that reflects the history of the common people. As expressed in chapter two, the *mo 'okū 'auhau* and *mo 'olelo* of the *ali 'i* traditionally were regarded as expressions of Hawaiian history. As the *ali 'i* class declined, their stories were replaced with the successes of the *maka 'āinana*.

As a means for looking towards the future, a contemporary art piece titled *Ho 'oūlu Hou*, accompanied with a prophetic saying by famed Hawaiian prophet Kapihe, summarizes the overall narrative of Wao Lani and the rest of Hawaiian Hall—that Native Hawaiians are still here and are looking towards the future while maintaining a deep relationship to the past.³² Now, I further delve into some of the general themes that I encountered while analyzing the cases of Wao Lani. These themes reflect various ways that the process of cultural contextualization is actualized in the presentation and interpretation of *ali 'i* history and culture.

“Wao Lani”: Naming as Place-Making in Exhibits

Naming the Third Floor of Hawaiian Hall as “Wao Lani”, the Heavenly Realm, directly connects this exhibit to the *ali 'i* and their sacred *mo 'okū 'auhau ali 'i* (genealogy). Near the staircase that connects Wao Lani to the second floor, Wao Kanaka, a large wall panel provides the introductory text into the exhibitionary space. This brief introduction provides a short *mo 'olelo* (story) behind the name “Wao Lani”:

Welcome to Wao lani—a place where gods dwelled within the misted forest; where people rarely ventured, except for specific purposes: to capture forest birds for delicate feathers, fell towering koa trees for canoes, or cut stone from cold mountain quarries for precious adzes.

³² Due to the breadth of this research, I do not focus on or discuss the railing cases in Hawaiian Hall.

On O‘ahu, Wao Lani is a sacred historic place in the mountains above Bishop Museum, where the first man, Wākea, was born and the first Hawaiian heiau (temple) was built by the gods. There, at Wao Lani, chief Kualī‘i consecrated the heiau Kawālua, thus declaring his intention to unify the island.

Wao Lani is a figurative place for our ali‘i lani, our heavenly chiefs. They were descended from the gods and made manifest in human form. We honor and embrace our chiefs—leaders who were more than mere individuals, for they embodied the cumulative mana [(spiritual energy)] of their ancestors in genealogies that reach back to the very beginning of time. Their interrelationships formed the living tapestry of a Nation.

Note that this introductory text describes some of the concepts that I have previously discussed in my section on the Kāhili Room; discourse on *mo‘okū‘auhau ali‘i* (genealogy) and *mana* permeate throughout Wao Lani and are binding elements within the exhibits. The further mention of Wao Lani as a sacred place on O‘ahu further ties the Third Floor of Hawaiian Hall to a geographical place in the islands. In sharing the name Wao Lani with a known place, the Third Floor of Hawaiian Hall in itself becomes a place of sacred aesthetics and qualities.

Keith Basso’s description of the process of place-making is useful here to tease out the relevance of naming Wao Lani after a physical place. In his book *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscapes and Language Among the Western Apache*, he describes place-making as “a universal tool of the historical imagination” (Basso 1996:5). Remembering and imagining are implicated in place-making, as two means that facilitate the construction of reality and history.³³ Place names illustrate how places are embedded with ancestral knowledge about particular places:

Essentially, then, instances of place-making consist in an adventitious fleshing out of historical materials that culminates in a posited state of affairs, a particular

³³ For an example of place-making from a Hawaiian perspective see Oliveira (2011).

universe of objects and events—in short, a *place world*—wherein portions of the past are brought into being (Basso 1996:5-6).

In essence, the same process of place-making occurs within Wao Lani. Particular objects, narratives, and place names are selected in the exhibit and create a particular place-world. Through this place-world, the past—the history, legacies, and lives of the *ali 'i*—are brought into being through Wao Lani. Connecting Wao Lani at the Bishop Museum to the geographical place of Wao Lani situated in the mountains above the museum further ties into the history and sacredness of Wao Lani and the *ali 'i*.

A further reiteration of *mo 'okū 'auhau* and inheritance is useful at this point to further describe other meanings to “Wao Lani” and its relation to place-making. Because of their exalted status, *ali 'i* needed to trace back their lineage to the gods. As part of this genealogical tracing, certain *ali 'i* acquired *kapu* (taboo) that dictated how others could interact with them. These *kapu* are described in chapter two and maintained chiefly connections to the gods. The name “Wao Lani” recognizes the heavenly connection and shared domain of the *ali 'i* and *akua*. Thus, “Wao Lani” is useful for poetically describing a space that is dedicated to the *ali 'i*. The name also embodies the physical space—Wao Lani is the third floor of Hawaiian Hall and thus is the closest to the heavens (*lani*).

Mele and *'Ōlelo No 'eau*: Sharing Indigenous Knowledge

As I have briefly discussed in the introduction of this chapter, the incorporation of *mele* into the curation of *ali 'i* collections is evident at both the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum. At Wao Lani, *mele* and other poetical sayings are presented on the glass panes of every case. From short sayings that were once uttered by the *ali 'i*, to the lyrics of *mele* written in honor of individual *ali 'i*, the incorporation of these “fragments of

Hawaiian history” adds complexity to the overall interpretation of *ali‘i* culture and history in Wao Lani (‘Ī‘Ī 1959). However, as noted in my section on the Kāhili Room, such incorporations are only accessible to a knowledgeable few and the lack of explanatory text is a missed opportunity for generating greater understanding.

For example, Figure 5.6 is a photograph of the *mele* that is adhered to the glass pane of the Queen Lili‘uokalani case. The *mele* is titled *He Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian National Anthem) and was written by Queen Lili‘uokalani in 1866 at the request of King Kamehameha V. For twenty or so years, *He Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i* remained as the national anthem of the Hawaiian Kingdom.



Figure 5.6. Lyrics to *He Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian National Anthem) on the Queen Lili‘uokalani case. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

For the lay-visitor, the context surrounding *He Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i* may be unknown; the *mele* presented on the case does not have the title nor the composer of *He*

Mele Lāhui Hawai‘i. To some, the verses presented on the case may merely be a beautiful verse from an unknown song. For other visitors who have previous knowledge of this *mele*, there may be a greater appreciation for the reasons behind placing the *mele* on this particular case. As a *mele* composed by Queen Lili‘uokalani and as the former national anthem of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the *mele* takes on a greater significance and ties the objects displayed in the case to Lili‘uokalani’s legacy and to Hawaiian nationalism.

‘*Ōlelo no‘eau* (Hawaiian proverbs) are also placed on the glass panes in Wao Lani. These wise sayings are windows into a Hawaiian worldview. As Eleanor Lilihanaai Williamson states, ‘*ōlelo no‘eau* provide us with insight into the “emotional expressions” of Hawaiian ancestors as well as how they “traditionally view the problems of life” (in Pukui 1983:xix). Williamson goes on to state that “the proverbs show the love of the Hawaiians for Hawai‘i and for their traditions. To know the sayings is to know Hawai‘i” (Pukui 1983:xix). Incorporating ‘*ōlelo no‘eau* into exhibits are a way to express a different knowledge system that works well with the basic interpretive texts in the cases. ‘*Ōlelo no‘eau* also brings the experiences of Kanaka Maoli ancestors into the current display and interpretation of *ali‘i* heritage—signaling the connections and exchanges between the past and the present.

As an example of ‘*ōlelo no‘eau*, the King Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) case contains the ‘*ōlelo no‘eau, ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono*, the life of the land is preserved in righteousness. Kauikeaouli proclaimed this statement on an important date

within Hawaiian history—a date and event that is presented in a small interpretive panel below the *‘ōlelo no ‘eau*:

Ka Lā Ho‘iho‘i Ea
Sovereignty Restoration Day

Contrary to England’s policy of recognizing Hawai‘i’s independence in 1843, British commander George Paulet pressured Kamehameha III into surrendering his kingdom to the British crown. Kamehameha III alerted London of Paulet’s actions and five months later, sovereignty was restored. During this time, the king uttered a phrase that eventually became Hawai‘i’s motto: “Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono”—“The life/sovereignty of the land is perpetuated in righteousness.” November 28, known as Ka Lā Ho‘iho‘i Ea, Sovereignty Restoration Day, became an official national holiday of the kingdom, and continues to be celebrated to this day.

On another facet of the Kamehameha III case, another *‘ōlelo no ‘eau* professed by Kamehameha III is given: *he aupuni palapala ko ‘u, ‘o ke kanaka pono ‘oia ko ‘u kanaka*, mine is the kingdom of education, the righteous man is my man. These two famous sayings by Kamehameha III provide visitors with an understanding of Kamehameha III’s character as the former *mō‘ī* (King) of the Hawaiian Islands. He was the longest reigning monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom and took great strides to do what was *pono* (right, balanced) for the Kingdom and the people of Hawai‘i (Kame‘elehiwa 1992; Osorio 2002). The interpretive text states that Kamehameha III is remembered as an *ali‘i* who “successfully guided his nation through economic, social, religious, and political upheavals.”

Through *mele* and *‘ōlelo no ‘eau*, visitors to Wao Lani are provided with direct quotes and primary sources that were written by Kānaka Maoli for the *ali‘i*. The *‘ōlelo no ‘eau* add to the interpretive panels, which present narratives of the *ali‘i* and their material culture by incorporating Kānaka Maoli cultural expressions. Including these snippets of Hawaiian history and culture celebrates traditional knowledge in the context

of contemporary and inclusive museum display methods—another example of cultural contextualization in practice.

Presenting *Ali'i* Material Culture: Display Methods

In Wao Lani, an array of museum display methods are used to display *ali'i* collections. Generally speaking, the cases devoted to telling the story of individual *ali'i* and other prominent individuals include an array of Western and Hawaiian objects that provide tangible evidence of individual *ali'i* lifestyles. Jewelry, books, clothing, royal busts, swords, and many other objects can be found throughout the cases, and provide a multiplex view of the material lives of the *ali'i*. In addition to these cases, there are four other cases, located in the northern end of Wao Lani that present assemblages of various forms of *ali'i* material culture; Featherwork (*kāhili*, *leihulu*, and *'ahu'ula*), *lei niho palaoa* (plaited human hair necklaces with an ivory pendant), *ki'i akua lā'au* (wooden idol images), and *nā mea kaua* (weapons of war) are displayed using a variety of display methods that either showcases or provides contexts on how the objects may have been used.

The interpretive texts within these cases are minimal compared to the cases dedicated to *ali'i* biographies. Like the other cases, *'ōlelo no 'eau* are adhered to the glass panes of the cases and provide an indigenous perspective on these objects. At the base of the cabinet, object labels are accompanied by a short descriptive paragraph. One of the common themes that appear throughout the texts in these cases is the materialization of the *ali'i* connections to *nā akua* (Hawaiian deities and gods) through objects. For example, the case on featherwork described feathers as a material that symbolized the

“genealogical connection between our chiefs and our deities.” In the *lei niho palaoa* case, the act of adorning oneself with a *lei niho palaoa*, an object that is comprised of materials like human hair which symbolize genealogical connection, is described as a symbolic act of wearing one’s genealogy and godly connections. In the *Nā Mea Kaua* case, the texts describes how *ali‘i* called “upon the gods for protection and success” during wartime. The weapons that are showcased, are further described as symbols of “the sacrifices made by our *ali‘i* who were willing to both take life and to give life—even their own, if necessary.” Thus, *mo‘okū‘auhau* and connections to ancestors and *akua* are not only stressed in the Kāhili Room but also play a role in how *ali‘i* culture is displayed in Wao Lani.

Each case utilizes a range of methods that either showcase the material form of objects or provides a visual context on how an object was worn or used. The *lei niho palaoa* case is a perfect example of how the objects are showcased as elegant and beautifully crafted forms of *ali‘i* material culture (Figure 5.7). Within a single case, 21 *lei niho palaoa* are exhibited. Six poles are attached to the base of the case with the object mounts attached to each pole at varying heights. The various levels allow for visitors to see all of the *lei niho palaoa* within the case. In addition, some of the *lei niho palaoa* include labels that were adhered to the flat upper portion of the ivory pendant by the *ali‘i* themselves. The labels include the names of *ali‘i* who owned particular *lei niho palaoa* and in some cases, record the personal name of the *lei niho palaoa*. These historical labels are not hidden but in full view of visitors and add to the experience of seeing these marvels of Hawaiian culture. Clearly, the *lei niho palaoa* case is a celebration of *ali‘i*

material culture and provide a point of interest for the Bishop Museum as the holder of the one of the world's largest collection of *lei niho palaoa*. It further raises question of the purpose of a case that exhibits so many *lei niho palaoa*: Is it an extension of *ali'i* tradition in the sense that displaying objects like *lei niho palaoa* were visual cues of *ali'i* rank and status? Or is the *lei niho palaoa* case merely an opulent display of objects that the Bishop Museum happens to have (Kaepler 1992)?



Figure 5.7. *Lei Niho Palaoa* case in Wao Lani. The objects are mounted at various heights and allow visitors to see all of the *lei niho palaoa* in the case. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

The *Nā Mea Kaua* case provides an interest point of departure regarding the display of basalt slingstones (‘*alā o ka ma‘a*). Typically these objects are shown on a flat surface and accompanied by interpretive text that explains how they were flung through the air with a sling (*ma‘a*). At the Bishop Museum, the display of slingstones are taken to the

next level; 13 slingstones are mounted to the ceiling case at various angles and heights. The interpretive text further enhances the mounting of the slingstones by suggesting that “a battle might begin with a showering of slingstones...” For seemingly mundane objects, mounting the slingstones in an animated way alludes to their use-context. For visitors a visual context is provided, allowing them to imagine what a warrior might have witnessed on the battlefields of Hawai‘i (Figure 5.8).



Figure 5.8. Nā Mea Kaua display case. Note the peculiar way in which the slingstones are mounted in the upper right left corner of the case. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

Resilience, Hope, and Determination: The Confluence of the Hawaiian Past and Present

*E iho ana o luna
E pi‘i ana o lalo
E hui ana nā moku
E kū ana ka paia.*

That which is above will come down
That which is below will rise up
The islands shall unite
The walls shall stand firm

As visitors walk through Wao Lani in a clockwise manner, the *oli* (chant) written above is the last thing that is witnessed. The *oli* is accompanied by some interpretive text, and serves as an introduction into the contemporary collaborative art piece titled *Ho ‘oūlu Hou* that hangs on the wall above the staircase. Much like the rest of the texts in Wao Lani, the interpretive material for *Ho ‘oūlu Hou* was written by Kanaka Maoli scholars who were a part of the exhibit development team.

The interpretive text panel titled “Ho‘ohuli: An Overturning, A Change” provides the following information regarding the *oli* and its significance in Hawaiian history:

The prophet Kapihe, who lived during the time of Kamehameha the Great, predicted an overturning, a change to the Hawaiian world order.

This chant is as relevant today as when it was first uttered, for it represents a change in the social and political order. It gives us a perspective for not only the overthrow of the kapu system in 1819, or that of Queen Lili‘uokalani in 1893, but also the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement, up through today.

This chant acknowledges difficulty and sorrow, heartache and turmoil, warfare and destruction. It acknowledges that despite these profound changes, we are still here. We are a stronger and more united community, not in spite of our past, but because of it. And this message of transformation transcends any one people – for all have been hurt, all have experienced loss, but we have survived and we are stronger for it – whether as an individual, a community, or a nation. This is our gift, a mural made by those in whose hands rests the future. It is a message of resilience, hope, and determination.

A video accompanies the text and explains how the *oli* is performed, its significance, and the making of *Ho ‘oūlu Hou*.

Overall, this *oli* and its subsequent description provides an indigenous theme that summarizes the content displayed in Wao Lani—a history of loss that is coupled with the ongoing survivance of the Hawaiian people. Tuhiwai Smith (2012:146) writes that “survival accentuates the degree to which indigenous peoples and communities have

retained cultural and spiritual values and authenticity in resisting colonialism.” The term *survivance* was utilized by Native American cultural theorist Gerald Vizenor, and is used by Tuhiwai Smith as a contraction of the words “survival” and “resistance.” Survivance is an important concept that is heavily used within indigenous rights literature for its emphasis on the continuation and celebration of indigenous culture (Blaser et al. 2010). Thus, within the context of Wao Lani, survivance is an appropriate term to describe how Wao Lani honors the *ali‘i* and celebrates the resilience of the Hawaiian culture, and Native Hawaiians.

As part of the story of survivance, loss in all of its manifestations—death, disease, and displacement—is discussed throughout Wao Lani. Remembering and learning from this painful history is crucial for further reconciliations amongst native and settler populations. Take for instance, the first case in Wao Lani that presents the life of Bernice Pauahi Bishop:

At the age of 52, Ke Ali‘i Pauahi (Princess Pauahi) was diagnosed with cancer. Following surgery in San Francisco, she returned home to ‘do more for her people,’ but her health continued to fail and she passed away on October 16, 1884.

Other examples of death that are discussed is the passing of King Kamehameha II and Queen Kamāmalu from measles in England, the premature death of Prince Albert Edward Kauikeaouli Leiopapa o Kamehameha, son of King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma Rooke, and the death of King William Charles Lunalilo’s due to tuberculosis. In the Queen Emma case, the *mele* that is adhered to one of the glass panes is a *kanikau* (dirge) that she composed to lament the loss of her husband and child.

The deaths of *ali'i* are coupled with statistics placed strategically on the glass panes of the cases that reminds visitors of Native Hawaiian depopulation that occurred in the late 18th and 19th centuries. In the King Kamehameha I case for instance, one of the glass panes contains estimates on the massive depopulation that occurred after Western contact. When Captain James Cook arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, the population was estimated to range between 300,000 to 1,000,000 Native Hawaiians. Each successive *ali'i* case continues to list the decimation of the Native Hawaiian population, and provides some context of life in the islands in various monarchical periods. In considering the massive depopulation in Hawai'i, the stories of death and despair in the cases are not surprising.

Regardless of the loss of life that occurred, the *ali'i* served their people and strived to do what was best for the nation. Hawaiian historians such as Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio (2002) and Lilikalā Kame'elehiwa (1992) have described *ali'i* commitments to ensuring the well-being of the Native Hawaiian population under the concept of *pono* (right, balanced) which is described in chapter two. *Pono* is also discussed in a video of Osorio speaking on the subject that can be seen in the gallery. *Ali'i* that are beloved and continue to be revered by generations of Native Hawaiians were *pono* rulers who cared for the people of Hawai'i and did what they could to improve the lives of Hawaiians.

Even in death, the *ali'i* left legacies that continue to support Native Hawaiians today. Their legacies continue to be felt through the various organizations that have benefited from the individual estates of certain *ali'i*. These organizations include Kamehameha Schools (Bernice Pauahi Bishop), the Lunalilo Home (William Charles

Lunalilo), Kapi‘olani Medical Center for Women and Children Hospital (Kapi‘olani), Queen’s Hospital (Emma Rooke), and Liliuokalani Children’s Center (Lili‘uokalani).

Another series of events that are discussed in Wao Lani is the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the eventual annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States which occurred between the years 1893-1898—another story that describes despair and loss in Hawai‘i. Within those five years, Queen Lili‘uokalani was imprisoned in her home, two ad hoc governments were established (the Provisional Government and the Republic of Hawai‘i), and the Hawaiian Islands were annexed to the United States under the presidency of William McKinley. The previous Head of State, President Grover Cleveland, was against annexation, and concluded after an intense investigation by Special Commissioner James H. Blount that the acts committed by the Provisional Government against Queen Lili‘uokalani and the Hawaiian Kingdom was an act of war (Sai 2011). Unfortunately, Cleveland failed to reinstate Queen Lili‘uokalani. As indicated in one of the interpretive panels in one of the cases, “when Cleveland lost the election to McKinley, so too did Hawai‘i lose its best chance for restored independence.”

In light of annexation, Wao Lani presents a history of resilience and determination by sharing a 556-page petition that is typically referred to as the Kū‘ē Petitions. The Kū‘ē Petitions contains the signatures of over 38,000 individuals, primarily Native Hawaiians, who opposed the first attempt to annex Hawai‘i in 1897. The Kū‘ē Petitions were successful in halting annexation for a time. Although this document was groundbreaking at the time, it was slowly forgotten over the years. Only recently was this document rediscovered and reintroduced as evidence of historical Native Hawaiian

resistance (Silva 1998; Silva 2004). The petition further dismisses claims of a passive Native Hawaiian population that did nothing to combat annexation. In its place, a history of great social distress and protest is revealed, reflecting a continued resistance by Native Hawaiians today who fight to restore the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Having the Kū‘ē Petitions available in Wao Lani brings forth this crucial history and reintroduces a narrative of Native Hawaiian resistance that was lost for decades. It also illustrates a critical approach towards interpreting Hawaiian history and culture in museums that recognizes cultural change and resistance to colonialism. For Native Hawaiians, access to the pages of the Kū‘ē petition through a digital format allows them to find the names of their ancestors in the pages of the petition—a further process of connecting people from the past to the people of the present through *mo‘okū‘auhau*.

The narratives of resilience and determination that is told through the cases on the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the opposition of Native Hawaiians to annexation are further continued in the last two cases of Wao Lani. Beginning with the story of three prominent Native Hawaiians of early-20th century Hawai‘i—Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole, Duke Kahanamoku, and Mary Kawena Pukui—the last case goes on to present a summary of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement that began in the 1970s (Kanahele 1986). These two cases recognize Native Hawaiian survivance after the illegal annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. Although Hawaiian language and culture were suppressed for many decades after annexation, keepers of Hawaiian traditions like Mary Kawena Pukui continued to preserve ancestral knowledge for future generations. In later years, various Native Hawaiian organizations sought to preserve and perpetuate aspects

of Native Hawaiian language and culture that were vastly disappearing. In the Hawaiian Renaissance case, four interpretive panels provide brief descriptions on four major movements that came out of the Hawaiian Renaissance—the creation of the Polynesian Voyaging Society, the revitalization of Hula and the Hawaiian language, and the fostering of a new generation of contemporary *Maoli* (Hawaiian) artists. Such examples are important for illustrating how Native Hawaiians continue to thrive and learn from their ancestral past.

Conclusion

In summary, Wao Lani presents a complex narrative of *ali'i* culture and history. Cultural contextualization clearly occurs in the exhibit through the naming of the third floor of Hawaiian Hall as “Wao Lani”, the use of *mele* and *‘ōlelo no ‘eau* throughout the display cases, and the various display methods that were used to exhibit *ali'i* objects. The amount of content within the exhibit, as presented through the numerous objects and interpretations that are presented, can be overwhelming at times. In addition, the cultural nuances embedded in certain *mele* and *‘ōlelo no ‘eau* can be lost to visitors who are unaware of the significance behind these poetical fragments that are printed on the glass panes. Yet, even with some of the interpretive challenges in Hawaiian Hall, a clear narrative is presented that attempts to present a visual Hawaiian history that continues to expand. Ending the exhibit with a contemporary piece and a message of hope and resilience indicates that Kānaka Maoli are not peoples of the past. Instead, we are a culture that is continually transforming and adapting. In returning to the interpretive text that accompanies the prophecy at the beginning of this section, I find it interesting that

the mural *Ho 'oūlu Hou* is described as a gift “made by those in whose hands rests the future”. As gift, the mural further accentuates a cross-generational and cross-temporal dialogue; a constant connection between the past and the present that continues within a reciprocal network of honoring and exchanging *mana* with the *ali'i*.

CHAPTER SIX: CURATING *ALI'I* COLLECTIONS AT THE LYMAN HOUSE

MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Introduction

Ake mai nō e komo
E komo e inu a kēnā
'Ano 'ai ke aloha e ko _____

Desiring greatly to enter in
Desiring greatly to quench a thirst
Greetings of Aloha to _____

E komo mai i ka hale o Laimana
E komo, e ho 'opiha i ka 'umeke a kā'eo,
Aloha nō, Aloha nō ē

Welcome to the Lyman Museum
Enter and then fill up your bowl, until
it is a well-filled bowl

As noted at the beginning of chapter five, I encountered the use of *mele kāhea* at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and the Lyman House Memorial Museum (Lyman Museum). A quick analysis of both chants reveal varying structural, poetical, and musical elements that can be employed in *mele kāhea*. Simply titled “Mele Komo”, the *mele kāhea* that introduces this chapter was composed by Lynn Elia, the Registrar and Collections Manager of the Lyman Museum. Elia was my main informant at the Lyman Museum and is one of the few individuals who interacts with the museum’s *ali'i* collections on a weekly basis.

“Mele Komo” follows a chanting style known as *kepahepa*, which Silva (1997:97) describes as “a rapid, rhythmic, spoken form [of chant] in which phrases of descending contour and decreasing loudness are punctuated with quick and deliberate pauses for breath.” Chants performed in the *kepahepa* style require little vocal training, and is a form of chanting that was incorporated into the tradition of Hawaiian-Christian

pule (spontaneous prayer; Silva 1997). Performing a chant in the *kepakepa* style is appropriate for the Lyman Museum for numerous reasons. Firstly, the continuation of the *kepakepa* style in *pule* appropriately connotes the Lyman Museum's link to the missionaries and the Christianization of the Hawaiian Islands. Secondly, *kepakepa* chants are easier to teach to those who have no formal vocal training. For Elia, this allows her to teach "Mele Komo" to her fellow staff members so that they may respond properly to groups who enter the museum by chanting an *oli komo*, a chant used to request permission to enter a place. Elia composed "Mele Komo" because of the need to develop culturally-specific protocols to engage with school groups and other community groups who visit the museum. "Mele Komo" reveals a growing awareness within the Lyman Museum to incorporate cultural protocols into their everyday practice as a means to grow as an institution and to remain relevant to Kanaka Maoli communities.

The six short lines of "Mele Komo" are manifold in meaning and intent. Not only does it express the staff's excitement and desire for visitors to enter the museum, but it also explicitly names the group or individual visiting the museum, as indicated by the underline at the end of the third line in the first verse (*'Ano 'ai ke aloha e ko _____ /* Greetings of aloha to _____). In addition, the metaphor of a *'umeke* (bowl, calabash) is applied to refer to the minds of the museum's visitors. Similar to how *'umeke* are filled with food or used to store precious things, visitors are conceived as empty *'umeke* that will be filled with new information on Hawai'i's past. Elia's use of the *'umeke* metaphor reflects the Lyman Museum's emphasis on education, and is further expressed in the

museum’s mission statement—“to tell the story of Hawai‘i, its islands, and its people” (Lyman Museum and Mission House 2014a).

Chapter Overview



Figure 6.1. The Lyman House Memorial Museum. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

The Lyman Museum is a unique institution whose history, educational approach, and institutional development is vastly different from the Bishop Museum. For comparative purposes, this chapter shares a similar organizational structure that I utilized in chapter five. The first section following this chapter overview traces the institutional history of the Lyman Museum (Figure 6.1). The focal point of the Lyman Museum is the Lyman Mission House, the oldest wooden-framed structure on Hawai‘i Island which was constructed in 1838 and was the home of David and Sarah Lyman. The Lymans were a pious Calvinist missionary couple who came to the Hawaiian Islands in 1832 and settled in the district of Hilo. They remained there till their deaths in the late 1880s. Five decades after Sarah and David’s passing, their descendants converted the Lyman’s abode into the Lyman House Memorial Museum.

The second section narrates an interview that I conducted with Lynn Elia regarding her role as Registrar and Collections Manager of the Lyman Museum. I highlight her approach and philosophy behind caring for *ali'i* collections at the Lyman Museum. Much like the collections managers at the Bishop Museum, Elia's approach towards caring for *ali'i* collections is idiosyncratic and informed by the breadth of her career at the museum as well as the various mentors that she has worked with over the years.

Following the interview section, I analyze how *ali'i* objects are displayed and interpreted in the Hawaiian section of the Island Heritage Gallery. The contents and interpretations within the Island Heritage Gallery have remained relatively untouched for over four decades and presents an opportunity to analyze how *ali'i* collections were interpreted and exhibited in the Hawaiian Islands in the past. Although the display and interpretation methods are outdated and problematic, analyzing these exhibits are a means by which we can analyze an antiquated approach towards curating *ali'i* objects at home in Hawai'i-based museums.

Institutional History

Unlike the Bishop Museum, which boasts a variety of publications and unpublished dissertations that describes the museum's establishment and growth over time, the written history of the Lyman Museum is limited to a few sources that are not easily accessible. Of the few references that I consulted, two in particular were substantial and deserve mention here. In *The Lymans of Hawai'i Island: A Pioneering Family* (Simpson 1993), Leon Bruno—former Director of the Lyman Museum—

contributed a chapter that traces the institutional history of the Lyman Museum. Bruno's account begins with the establishment of the Lyman Museum in the early 1930s and ends with the outreach programs that the museum established in the late 1980s. This succinct chapter is complemented by an essay that was written by Roger Rose, the scholar who published *A Museum to Instruct and Delight: William T. Brigham and the Founding of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum* (1980b), which I cited heavily in the institutional history section of the Bishop Museum chapter. Rose's essay was written for internal use by the staff of the Lyman Museum and synthesizes correspondence letters between various individuals who were instrumental in the establishment of the Lyman Museum (Rose n.d.). These two sources were crucial for understanding the history of the Lyman Museum. But the story of the Lyman Museum begins decades earlier with the arrival of Sarah Joiner and David Lyman to the Hawaiian Islands.

The Lymans were a Calvinist missionary couple from the American East Coast and were members of the Fifth Company of the American Board of Commissions for foreign Missions (ABCFM) that made their way to the Hawaiian Islands. The ABCFM was a religious organization that eventually sent out hundreds of missionaries throughout the Pacific to Christianize Pacific peoples. Some of the ABCFM's earliest activities took place in the Hawaiian Islands, and the arrival of the first group of missionaries to the islands aboard the *Thaddeus* paved the way for ensuring the "salvation" of Kānaka Maoli.

On November 26, 1831, the Lymans boarded the whaling-ship *Averick* with other missionary couples destined for their new island home. After an eight-month voyage from Boston, the Lymans arrived in the Hawaiian Islands on May 17, 1832 and dropped

anchor in Honolulu Harbor (Simpson 1993:33). Their first two months were spent in Honolulu, where they learned of the traditions, languages, beliefs, and practices of Kānaka Maoli from other missionaries (Simpson 1993:33). Eventually the Lymans set sail on the *Waverly* to reach their final destination—the quaint village of Hilo located on the eastern coast of Hawai‘i Island on the slope of Mauna Kea.

Upon their arrival, the Lymans lived in a thatch dwelling that they shared with another missionary couple, the Greens. Culture shock was eminent as Sarah and David adjusted to their new life in the tropical and wet climate of Hilo. The Hilo Mission was founded a few years before Sarah and David’s arrival in 1824 and was considered to be the most isolated mission station in all of the islands (Simpson 1993:45). In her journal, Sarah often wrote about the cold nights and storms that swept through Hilo (Lyman 2009). This remoteness, as well as the cold and wet conditions of the windward side of Hawai‘i Island, drove away the Greens and other missionary couples who craved for the dryer and warmer climates of the leeward coasts of the islands, such as found in places like Lahaina on the island of Māui.

The Lymans never relocated and were later joined by Titus and Fidelia Coan, another missionary couple who arrived in Hilo in 1835. Both couples were influential in the Christianization of the eastern districts of Hawai‘i Island (Hilo, Hāmākua, Puna, and Ka‘ū) and built up a community of educated Kanaka Maoli Christians. Titus Coan traveled extensively across the eastern districts and preached to various communities. He ultimately became the head pastor of Hāili Congregational Church, the oldest continually operating church in East Hawai‘i. David Lyman on the other hand established the Hilo

Boarding School in 1836, “where select students would be under missionary supervision twenty-four hours a day, preparing to go forth as Christian pastors, teachers and leaders of the Kingdom” (Simpson 1993:46). For 38 years between 1836 and 1874, David Lyman served as the principal of Hilo Boarding School. Sarah Lyman was a teacher at the boarding school and taught an array of subjects. Gradually, the Hilo Boarding School became a vocational school that equipped young Kānaka Maoli men, and later men of various other ethnic backgrounds, with trade skills such as woodworking in order to compete successfully in Hawai‘i’s job market. The Hilo Boarding School operated for 96 years before permanently closing its doors in 1940.

Sarah and David lived in various houses before the construction of their permanent home which can be seen today at the Lyman Museum. Starting off in a simple thatched home in 1832, the couple eventually came to share a small stone house with the Coans in 1835. In that same year, the Lymans moved into a frame house that had plain furnishings, a reflection of their Calvinist lifestyle. It was not until 1839 that the wooden-framed house that we know today as the Lyman Mission House (Lyman House) was constructed.

Initially, the Lyman House was a one-story home built in the Cape Cod style, similar in style to homes found throughout New England. Their home was built on a stone foundation and had a high-steeped thatched roof to ensure that the constant Hilo rain flowed slickly down their roof and not into their home (Simpson 1993:57). Carpenters and students of the Hilo Boarding School worked on the house and even collected coral from Hilo Bay which was prepared into lime mortar for the house’s

foundation and walls. As the Lyman family grew, various improvements commenced including the addition of a second-story, the replacement of the thatch roof with a zinc roof, and the construction of an annex for David to conduct his business affairs (Simpson 1993:58). The plaster walls were replaced with wallpaper that was adhered to cheesecloth in 1868, after the house suffered extensive damages from a large earthquake (Napoka 1977). Within their home, the Lymans raised seven of their eight children. They also hosted numerous guests, including all of Hawai‘i’s monarchs from Kamehameha III to Lili‘uokalani, and writers like Isabella Bird and Mark Twain (Lyman Museum and Mission House 2014b).³⁴

David and Sarah Lyman died respectively in 1884 and 1885 and were buried near their home in Homelani cemetery. After their deaths, their home was used as a boarding house and came under the ownership of the American-Japanese Investment Company based in Hilo, who purchased the home from the Hāla‘i Hill Land Company (Rose n.d.). The Hāla‘i Hill Land Company was established after David Lyman’s death to administer his estate which included the lands that were gifted to him by Kamehameha III to operate the Hilo Boarding School and the Lyman House (Bruno 1993; Rose n.d.).

In 1929, the Lyman House was threatened by demolition as plans were made to develop a subdivision in the area uphill of the old home known as “Hāla‘i Hill.” Removing the home would make way for a new road that would connect the subdivision to the already existing Haili Street which ended brusquely a few meters downhill from the old home. Emma (Lyman) Wilcox, the only surviving child of Sarah and David

³⁴ For a detailed history of the Lyman house, see Napoka (1977).

Lyman, along with her daughters Lucy, Elsie and Mabel, were distressed at this news and immediately made plans to save the home. Emma and her daughters formed the Samuel Wilcox Trust after the death of Emma's husband and helped Levi and Nettie Lyman to purchase the Lyman House. They all agreed that the home would become a museum that "would be a fitting testimony to the family's contribution to the spiritual and educational life of Hawai'i" (Bruno 1993:97).³⁵

Bruno's account regarding the establishment of the Lyman Museum is complemented by historical newspaper articles in *Ka Hoku o Hawai'i*, a Hilo-based newspaper and one of the few Hawaiian-language newspapers that were still in print at the time. One article for instance depicted the valorous efforts of Sarah and David's descendants to preserve the Lyman home from demolition (Ka Hoku o Hawaii 1930).

Another crucial part in the opening of a new museum in Hilo was to conduct research on museums that were already in existence throughout the islands. This endeavor was undertaken by Nettie Lyman, who presented her findings to a "women's club" in Kohala on April 14, 1931 (Rose n.d.:4). During her presentation, she described the following institutions: 1) Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Kaiwi'ula, O'ahu), 2) Honolulu Academy of Arts (Honolulu, O'ahu), 3) Hulihe'e Palace (Kailua-Kona, Hawai'i), 4) Queen Emma's Summer Palace (Nu'uanu, O'ahu), 5) Mission Houses Museum (Honolulu, Hawai'i), 6) Wai'oli Mission (Hanalei, Kaua'i), 7) Bailey House

³⁵ Levi and Nettie Lyman were the children of Frederick Swartz Lyman, the third oldest child of Sarah and David Lyman. Levi, Nettie, and their sister Ellen were instrumental figures in the Hilo community, serving as leaders at Hilo Board School and forging relationships with other business in Hilo.

Museum (Wailuku, Māui), and 8) Dwight D. Baldwin House Museum (Lahaina, Māui; Rose n.d.). These museums were established during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and reflect concerns over the historical preservation of significant structures throughout the islands that was pervasive during this era. Clearly, efforts to preserve missionary households (Mission Houses Museum, Wai‘oli Mission, Bailey House Museum, Dwight D. Baldwin House Museum, and the Lyman Museum) as well as the royal residences of *ali‘i* (Queen Emma’s Summer Palace and Hulihe‘e Palace) were at the forefront of Hawai‘i’s museumification. Further studies on the purpose of preserving these historical structures as well as their stories would be a significant contribution to Hawai‘i museological history. In addition, the restoration of Wai‘oli mission was spearheaded by Elsie and Mabel Wilcox, daughters of Emma Lyman Wilcox. Like the Lyman House, the Wai‘oli Mission was also home to their missionary ancestors, Abner and Lucy Wilcox, and illustrates the Wilcox’ priority for preserving their family’s legacy in the islands (Rose n.d.).

At the Lyman Museum’s onset, it was clear that it would be more than just a mere memorial to David and Sarah Lyman. This new museum would also become an institution that collected and showcased *nā mea kahiko*— materials from Hawai‘i’s past and other objects created by the young men of Hilo Boarding School (Ka Hoku o Hawaii 1931).³⁶ Nettie Lyman and trustees of the S.W. Wilcox Trust placed education and

³⁶ Literally, *nā mea kahiko* translates to ancient things. In chapter five, I noted that Burlingame’s (2000) description of the *Kāhili* in the Kāhili Room as ancient objects fails to acknowledge that most of these *kāhili* were of 19th century manufacture. *Nā mea kahiko* in essence, follows this framework of regarding these objects of the recent past as relics of an ancient lifeway.

dissemination of knowledge as guiding principles for the budding institution (Rose n.d.). When the home was finally opened to the public, it was named the Lyman House Memorial Museum, otherwise known by its Hawaiian name as *Ka Hale Hō'ike'ike Ho'omana'o 'o Laimana* (The Lyman House Memorial Museum). The museum officially opened to the public on June 20, 1931.

Immediately after its inception, the Lyman Museum started to receive donations from across Hawai'i Island and became a local attraction (Ka Hoku o Hawaii 1932a). A year later in 1932, a commemorative event was held to celebrate the centennial anniversary of David and Sarah Lyman's arrival to the Hawaiian Islands. A day-long memorial was held in the home and a commemorative bronze plaque was embedded in a large lava rock that was later erected in front of the home (Ka Hoku o Hawaii 1932b; Bruno 1993:99; Rose n.d.).

The first Curator and Director of the newly-formed Lyman Museum was Anne Scruton who worked with Nettie Lyman to catalog, repair, and prepare objects for display in the Lyman House.³⁷ The objects that were acquired included priceless missionary memorabilia from missionary families, "early feather leis, Princess Nāhi'ena'ena's tapa, and the 'love flag quilt' sewn by Queen Lili'uokalani's loyal friends, who had voluntarily shared her imprisonment in 'Iolani Palace" (Bruno 1993:99). When the museum first opened to the public on June 20, 1931, a little more than 175 visitors graced the rooms and displays of the Lyman house.

³⁷ Initially Scruton's position titled was that of a "Custodian." The title of her position was quickly changed months after the museum opened to "Curator" (Rose n.d.).

Following in the footsteps of his mother, Netti Lyman, Orlando Hammond Lyman became an essential figure in the expansion of the Lyman Museum. Orlando sat on the Board of Directors of the museum and during the late 1960s headed the construction of a new museum building that would sit adjacent to the Lyman House. Bruno (1993:100) states that the new facility would be a “modern, three-story building...to display, among other things, his [Orlando’s] collection of minerals from around the world.” Orlando also served as the Director of the Lyman Museum between 1972 and 1983 (Bruno 1993:100). Like his mother, Orlando learned from other institutions, and traveled to the United States and Canada to visit over 70 museums and gain inspiration for the new exhibits that would grace the new building (Bruno 1993:100). The fact that Orlando traveled abroad to gain a better understanding of museum practices throughout North America parallels William Brigham’s global endeavor to travel abroad to collect information on then-modern exhibitionary practices to utilize at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Brigham 1898).

The Lyman Museum’s new building opened in 1972 and allowed the museum to expand its exhibits program and storage space. Bruno provides a succinct description of the general layout of the new building when it opened:

The museum’s ground floor houses a Special Exhibits Gallery where traveling, internally-generated and community-originated exhibits are shown in a rotating basis. This area is also used for workshops, lectures and classes. The first floor holds a book and gift shop and the Island Heritage Gallery, with exhibits of seven of the major immigrant groups—Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, Caucasian, Filipino, Portuguese, and Korean. The second floor’s Earth Heritage Gallery displays Orlando’s mineral collections, rated as one of the best in the U.S., as well as a world-class seashell collection. An outstanding Hawai‘i Volcano exhibit and a new display on Astronomy—the only one of its kind in the State—fill out the Gallery. The second floor also has a small gallery of Chinese Art and another

featuring Hawaiian Artists—all part of the Museum’s permanent collections...(Bruno 1993:100–101).

In the wake of the expansion and the development of various outreach programs to local Hawai‘i-Island schools, the Lyman Museum gained the reputation as a valuable resource for the Hawai‘i-Island community. Outside of its island locale, the museum was also recognized within the professional museological community. In the same year that the new museum building was opened, the Lyman Museum became an accredited member of the American Association of Museums (now known as the American Alliance of Museums) in 1972—making it the first museum in Hawai‘i to receive such a status. The accreditation process is rigorous and institutions that are accredited are recognized for adhering to the highest professional museum standards. Since 1972, the Lyman Museum has renewed and maintain its accredited-status.

The Lyman Museum does not have the institutional capacity of the Bishop Museum nor does it have its own press. Regardless, this has not stopped the museum from publishing works that showcases the museum’s collections. In 1983 for example, the museum hosted an exhibit titled *Hilo 1825-1925: A Century of Paintings and Drawings* which brought together paintings of the Hilo landscape over the span of a century. The exhibit was accompanied by an exhibit catalog (Forbes and Kunichika 1983). In addition, the museum also published Sarah Lyman’s journal, which has proven to be a great resources on early missionary life in the islands. Sarah also took meticulous notes on the seismic activity of Hawai‘i Island, a historical resource that has proven valuable for seismologist (Lyman 2009). Currently, the museum is working towards publishing the journal of David Lyman.

Over the years the Lyman Museum has had a range of directors that have guided the institution (see appendix C). Further research is needed to describe the legacy that each director has left behind. Currently, Barbara Moir serves as the Director and President of the Lyman House Memorial Museum. Before then, Moir served as the Curator of Education and Operations and was later appointed to the position of Deputy Director (Bishop 2013). She replaced Dolly Strazar, who was Director of the Lyman Museum for 12 years (2001-2013).

On August 21, 2014, I had the opportunity to meet with Moir who discussed her vision for the Lyman Museum. Although Moir described funding as a constant struggle at the museum—a commonality amongst museums nationwide—she recognizes the role of the Lyman Museum for the Hawai‘i Island community. The museum itself is a valuable educational resource and since its inception, has provided local residence with the opportunity to learn more about Hawai‘i’s unique natural and cultural history at home. In addition, Moir is confident that renovations to the Island Heritage Gallery will commence in the coming years and recognizes that community consultation and collaboration are necessary to transform the gallery into an effective and valuable community resource. Under Moir’s leadership, the museum’s mission, “to tell the story of Hawai‘i, its island, and its people” continues to unfold.

An Interview with Lynn Elia: Caring For and Storing Ali‘i Collections

On August 20, 2014, I interviewed Lynn Elia who is the Registrar and Collections Manager of the Lyman Museum. Elia is Native Hawaiian and has worked for the Lyman Museum since the mid-1980s. She was born and raised in Kaueleau in the district of Puna

on the island of Hawai‘i and later moved to O‘ahu in her teen years to attend Kamehameha Schools. A few years passed before Elia started working at the Lyman Museum as an interpreter and educator in the education department. She was one of the staff members who worked on the museum’s cultural outreach programs which visited schools across Hawai‘i Island in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1987, Elia was hired on as Museum Registrar. Under this new title, Elia was (and still is) responsible for corresponding with potential donors and maintaining the museum’s records regarding object loans, acquisitions, and deaccessioning objects. Later, the title of Collections Manager was added to Elia’s position and made her responsible for the day-to-day care of the museum’s collections of approximately 16,000 objects. She is also the contact person for researchers who are interested in studying objects in the museum’s collections.

Preparing to Work with *Ali‘i* Collections

Elia stated that she does not prepare mentally or physically prior to working with *ali‘i* collections. She does not feel the need to do such preparations due to the breadth of time that she has worked at the Lyman Museum. She recognizes that caring for the collections and ensuring their longevity is a part of her responsibilities: “it’s my job to work with these things and when I need to do it...it’s every day...There’s no preparation in that part because I try to look at them all as something that’s here and...under my care” (Lynn Elia, personal interview, August 20, 2014). In addition, Elia also does not implement any cultural protocols when working with *ali‘i* collections. She leaves protocols up to museum visitors and researchers who feel the need to engage with objects in this manner. Part of the reason that she does not implement protocols is that there is

not enough information to determine who particular *ali 'i* objects in the collection belonged to. Many of the *ali 'i* objects at the Lyman Museum were accessioned early on in the museum's history with little to no provenance information. In addition to the lack of information, Elia herself is not knowledgeable in protocols to interact with the collections through chant or song. Engaging objects through protocols without the proper information and training in Elia's opinion would be inappropriate, and reflects the concept of protecting oneself from the *mana* imbued within *ali 'i* objects. If one does not know the proper protocols to utilize when working with *ali 'i* collections, then operating with a clear mindset and knowing one's responsibility as a collections manager is a way to respect *ali 'i* objects without instigating a more formal relationship that is required through protocols and spiritual exchange.

Elia's sentiments are shared by staff members at the Bishop Museum, where physical and mental preparation to work with *ali 'i* on a daily basis does not consist of any formal rituals or protocols. Elia believes that protocols, whether it is used as a tool to facilitate cultural interactions with objects or with visitors, should be implemented and preserved at the Lyman Museum:

I think...[protocols]... needs to be here in the museum. If one of the places that it gets, you know, those kind of protocols and things are being used, and that...can be saved, throughout time, is here in a museum. I think it's important that we do that, here at the Lyman Museum. I believe that's all part of the documentation and preserving that information or that story about the object or how...what it represented. If that's the least that we do then I think it's important that we do it

and put it in place. And I think for me here at the Lyman Museum, we need help in that. But I think it's something that we should do and learn about and implement here at an institutional level here at the Lyman Museum. Be it policy, be it regular training for people, or part of a training for staff (Lynn Elia, personal interview, August 20, 2014).

Although Elia herself does not perform cultural protocols to interact with *ali'i* objects, she noted that she provides researchers with an intimate space to perform cultural protocols and engage with objects. As part of bringing the objects out of storage and preparing them for researcher's to view, Elia ensures that the objects and researchers are situated in a quiet room where no other staff members can disrupt them. In this settings, protocols are conducted organically by researchers.

Handling *Ali'i* Objects

Elia's description of how she handles *ali'i* collections is akin to the opinions that were expressed by staff members of the Bishop Museum. She recognizes the value and status of *ali'i* objects and accordingly treats them with greater care than other objects in the collections. This approach towards caring for *ali'i* objects is rooted in Elia's deep reverence for *ali'i* objects and recognition that most *ali'i* objects are fragile:

I'm a little cautious because some of them are fragile. So condition plays a role when I handle them...The other is because of their significance. Just because I know what they are and just because they're the *ali'i*, you know my ancestors of the past. And just knowing that they belonged to a certain group of people of that stature of that status and in Hawai'i prior to, me ever being here. I do have some

reverence for them and that's the caution I take I think when I bring them out, handling them, and setting them in certain places. Or maybe ensure that they're all together like the *lei niho* together and they're not you know with the fish hooks or with the stones or something. They have their own special place on a table... One is consideration for the researcher but also it's the consideration for the object first and foremost (Lynn Elia, personal interview, August 20, 2014).

A great wealth of information regarding Elia's approach towards caring for *ali'i* objects can be extrapolated from the excerpt above. Firstly, she stated that the condition of an object as well as their association to the *ali'i* influences how she handles and prepares the objects for researchers. As a means to honor the *ali'i*, she tries to place *ali'i* objects and objects of similar shape, form, and function next to each other during researcher visits. Similarly in storage, Elia tries to store *ali'i* collections together rather than storing them with other Hawaiian objects. For instance, the *lei niho palaoa* in the collection are not stored next to the fish hooks. Storing these two classes of objects together would fail to recognize the significance and status of *lei niho palaoa* as insignia of royalty and as expressions of ancestral connections. The above examples demonstrates that cultural and professional concerns regarding the care of *ali'i* collections can and do converge. Separating *ali'i* collections from other Hawaiian collections and storing *ali'i* objects together not only honors their exalted status, it is also a method for keeping the collections organized in an intellectual manner.

Secondly, Elia refers to the *ali'i* as "my ancestors of the past." It is not clear whether or not this statement refers to a direct lineal connections that Elia has to a

specific *ali'i* lineage. In this instance, I suggest that the term *my ancestors* is used to express an affinity to the past and to the *ali'i*—something that we see in the practices and traditions that continue to honor the *ali'i* today. Elia describes one of the benefits of working with *ali'i* collections as a means to see and touch objects that her “ancestors who lived way back then” saw in their use-context (Lynn Elia, personal interview, August 20, 2014). Being able to touch, see, and care for these objects is a privilege and responsibility that Elia acknowledges. Although the term *ancestors* is used ambiguously, regarding the *ali'i* as ancestors reflects a profound connection and relationship that Elia asserts as a caretaker of *ali'i* collections.

Mentors: Learning from the Community and Other Museums

Throughout her career at the Lyman Museum, Elia has crossed paths with various individuals who have served as her mentors in caring for *ali'i* collections. When describing mentors, Elia listed a range of individuals, including those who have institutional memory of the Lyman Museum and its collections as well as other museum professionals throughout the Hawaiian Islands. These mentors for Elia were and are crucial in how she manages the collections at the Lyman Museum.

In addition to these institutional mentors, Elia notes other Native Hawaiian mentors that specifically aided her in dealing with *ali'i* collections and the overall Hawaiian collections. Dennis Keawe, a former trustee of the Lyman Museum and a master craftsman, is someone that Elia relies on to identify Hawaiian objects. Pualani Kanahele, a *hula*-practitioner and *kumu hula loea* (master hula teacher) of the world-renowned hula troupe known as Hālau o Kekuhi, is another mentor that Elia described.

Elia is connected to Kanahele because she was a former dancer of Hālau o Kekuhi. Although Elia did not discuss this influence in her life during our interview, she shares the characteristic of being a *hula* practitioner with staff members at the Bishop Museum. When describing who their mentors were, two Bishop Museum staff members mentioned their *kumu hula* John Keola Lake as a source of knowledge regarding protocols, chants, and songs that they use to interact with *ali'i* objects. Clearly, there is a connection between *hula* and museums that is influencing the ways in which collections staff curate *ali'i* collections in Hawai'i-based museums. Protocols and chants that are learned through *hula* and taught by *kumu hula loea* are integrated into collections care and represent an Indigenous form of curation.

Concerns for the Future Care of *Ali'i* Collections

In conclusion, Elia ends her interview by posing a set of questions regarding the future of *ali'i* collections at the Lyman Museum:

...who's gonna be here? I think the museum will survive and be able to sustain itself. But who's gonna be here after me? Who's gonna be the one I guess because I'm Hawaiian and this is Hawai'i and this is you know, some of these *ali'i* artifacts. Who's gonna care for some of this collection? What is going to happen to them (Lynn Elia, personal interview, August 20, 2014)?

Concerns for the long-term preservation of *ali'i* collections are real and something that Elia and staff members of the Bishop Museum contemplate. Both institutions express their commitment and *kuleana* towards welcoming in and training the next generation of Native Hawaiian museum professionals to care for *ali'i* collections. In addition, staff

members from both institutions acknowledge the need to integrate cultural protocols into the care of *ali'i* collections.

The Island Heritage Gallery: Exhibiting Ali'i Collections

In 1972, the Island Heritage Gallery (IHG) was created when the Lyman House Memorial Museum finished construction of a new museum facility adjacent to the Lyman Mission House. As noted earlier, this new building included three floors of new exhibit space. When the new building opened, the IHG was located on the first floor (Bruno 1993). Over time, the IHG was relocated to the second floor after major renovations to the Earth Heritage Gallery (EHG) took place in 2001, which reinvented the gallery through the installation of a new permanent exhibit titled *Hawaii Before Humans*. This exhibit presents life in the Hawaiian Islands before the arrival of humans and includes a set of remains that belonged to a now extinct flightless goose that stood at 2 ½ feet (Thompson 2001). The new EHG also exhibits Orlando H. Lyman's collection of minerals as well as the museum's extensive marine and land shell collection. As part of these renovations, the EHG was moved to the first floor.

Although the Earth Heritage Gallery has been renovated, the Island Heritage Gallery has remained relatively unchanged since the 1970s, other than being reinstalled on the second floor, the removal of exhibit cases over time due to damage, and the addition of another permanent exhibit that boasts a full-scale replica of a rural Korean home in the 1930s. The Korean installation is the remnants of an exhibit titled *Grandfather's House: An Exhibition on Korea* which was developed in 1995 by the Newark Museum in Newark, New Jersey and traveled to the Seattle Asian Art Museum

(Seattle, Washington) and the Honolulu Museum of Art (Honolulu, Hawai‘i) before it arrived at its final destination at the Lyman Museum (Lyman Museum and Mission House 2014c). The exhibit itself present vignettes of life in Korea in the 1930s, and does not have any immediate connections to Hawai‘i other than the fact that there were Koreans who immigrated to Hawai‘i during the plantation era. *Grandfather’s House* shares the same space as the IHG, yet both galleries are separated and visitors cannot enter the replica home through the IHG.

The current configuration of the IHG is based on a rough chronology, starting with Hawaiian culture and ending with ethnic groups that settled in Hawai‘i during the plantation era. At least half of the cases in the IHG are dedicated to Hawaiian culture and includes cases on *kapa* (barkcloth), *‘umeke* (wooden calabashes) and *pā lā‘au* (wooden plates), *lawai‘a* (fishing), woodworking, *pa‘ahana pōhaku* (stone tools), *mea kaua* (war weapons), *ho‘omana* (worship), *pā‘ani* (sports and games), *nā kāhiko* (personal adornments), and the Hawaiian monarchy. A large wooden framed dwelling is also located in the Hawaiian section of the gallery, and is raised on platforms so that visitors can walk through the house. The platforms are covered with *‘ili‘ili* (pebbles) that were gathered locally from the shoreline. This wooden *hale* (house) simulates a traditional thatched *hale* and at one time was covered with thatching material. Elia explained that the thatched dwelling was constructed by men of Hāili Congregational Church. Over time, the thatching was removed due to deterioration and problems with pests. This anecdotal piece of information regarding the community’s participation in constructing the thatched dwelling is a hidden gem in the story of the IHG that illustrates the community’s long-

term relationship and commitment to the Lyman Museum. Unfortunately, this information was not included in the overall interpretation of the thatched house. The dwelling is merely used as a prop to illustrate how “early Hawaiians” lived.

Currently, the following description of the IHG is provided to museum visitors on the Lyman Museum’s website (Lyman Museum and Mission House 2014d):

The Island Heritage Gallery explores the ethnically diverse world of Hawai‘i.

Begin with a look at how early Hawaiian people lived, including the tools and implements made from materials they had at hand (no metal!).

The museum has many examples of the fish nets and hooks they used, as well as slingstones, wood bowls, poi pounders, games, and a wood and cord framework for the typical grass-covered hale they live in.

See samples of the kapa cloth made from pounded tree bark from which they fashioned their clothing, as well as adornments made from bone, feathers, and other natural materials.

Learn about the Hawaiian *ali‘i* (chiefs) and those who became famous kings and queens.

Further on through the gallery, discover the five major immigrant groups that came to Hawai‘i in late 19th century to work in the newly formed sugar industry, a system of plantations and mills that shared the character and the land of modern Hawai‘i.

The Island Heritage Gallery tells the story of the native Hawaiians and the immigrants who have created the unique story of Hawai‘i today.

This gallery description clearly describes the historical-focus of the IHG. In terms of how Hawaiian culture is displayed and interpreted, this introduction exposes an approach towards museum display that emphasizes a romanticized past rather than a display that interweaves the past with the lives of contemporary Native Hawaiians. Referring to the objects as things that were manufactured by “early Hawaiian people” suggests their roots in antiquity when in actuality, many of the objects on display were produced by Kanaka

Maoli living in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Writing on Hawai‘i-based museums in the early 1990s, Kaepler (1992:468) adds that exhibits on Hawaiian culture oftentimes emphasized “the romantic notion of an uncontaminated ‘other’—a Hawai‘i that does not exist today and probably never did.” This is clearly seen in the approach undertaken in the IHG and can be understood in terms of the process of decontextualization.

Decontextualization occurs in museums when deliberate choices are made to exhibit objects and images in a manner that deemphasizes the cultural meaning, history, and significance of individual objects. Such an approach was discussed in chapter three with regards to the aestheticization of non-Western objects as primitive art in Western art museums (Boas 2006; Errington 1998; Price 1989). At the Lyman Museum, decontextualization occurs through deliberate curatorial choices to exhibit objects in a manner that reflects a master narrative, i.e. to showcase how “early Hawaiian people lived.” Such an interpretation of the objects fail to recognize their origins in the 19th and early 20th centuries and neglects to recognize that some of the objects *do* contain foreign materials. For example, the *kapa* in the Kapa case visibly contains red turkey cloth, a Western-introduced material that was beaten into *kapa* for its vivid red-color (Bisulca, Schattenburg-Raymong, and du Preez 2015). Such an approach of emphasizing “ancient” qualities decontextualizes the objects to narrate a romanticized story of pre-contact Hawai‘i.

The approach in the IHG is further reinforced through a single-authoritative voice—that of the museum. This varies from the multiple voices presented in Wao Lani at the Bishop Museum, but is analogous to the approach taken in the Kāhili Room. In

addition to the single curatorial voice of the gallery, many of the concepts that are introduced in the IHG are not fully explored and reflect a time before the proliferation of scholarship by Kānaka Maoli for Kānaka Maoli. Examples of this lack of context will be discussed in later sections.

For organizational purposes, each sub-section critiques the cases that exhibit objects that are associated with the *ali'i*. Since a decontextualized approach is clearly utilized, I aim to provide further clarity regarding the objects on display and the concepts that are introduced.

The Story of Hawai'iloa: Introducing the Island Heritage Gallery

Visitors access the IHG via a concrete stairway that leads to the second floor.³⁸ At the entrance of the gallery, visitors are greeted by a large image of a canoe foredeck that is adhered to the floor. The introductory text to this image indicates that it is the foredeck of Hawai'iloa which is identified in the text as a "*wa'a kaulua* or a traditional Hawaiian voyaging canoe." No further information is provided to visitors regarding the significance of Hawai'iloa within the larger scope of Hawaiian history and culture. Hawai'iloa was named after a famed navigator in Hawaiian antiquity and was built during the time of the Hawaiian Renaissance. What makes Hawai'iloa unique from its sister *wa'a kaulua*, the infamous Hōkūle'a, is that Hawai'iloa is made entirely of natural materials (Kelly 1995a). In utilizing the image of Hawai'iloa in the IHG without providing adequate information on the vessel or the meaning behind its name, Hawai'iloa is decontextualized

³⁸ There are no public elevators in the Lyman Museum. A freight elevator behind closed doors is used for visitors unable to walk up the stairs.

and presented as a *wa‘a kaulua* of the past that was crafted and utilized by “early Hawaiians.” The story of the Hawaiian Renaissance and the rediscovery of ancestral knowledge through the construction of Hawai‘iloa is entirely lacking which reinforces the notion of “ancient” Hawaiians found throughout the exhibit.

The image of Hawai‘iloa is accompanied by a small replica of a painting by Native Hawaiian artist Herb Kāne that is placed deliberately next to the introductory text on the wall. The minute size of the image makes it underwhelming at first glance. Closer examination however allows one to appreciate the artistry and details of the print. Kāne was known for painting dramatic scenes of Hawai‘i’s past and was one of the founding members of the Polynesian Voyaging Society—the organization which led efforts to construct and sail Hawai‘iloa and Hōkūle‘a from Hawai‘i to Tahiti in 1976. Kāne also designed the Hōkūle‘a and served as its first captain (Polynesian Voyaging Society n.d.). The title of the painting is “The Discovery of Hawaii”, and is printed in small text underneath the image. It is an imaginative scene that depicts the arrival of Polynesian ancestors to the Hawaiian Islands on a *wa‘a kaulua* much like the Hawai‘iloa. Kāne imagines what these ancestors would have seen as they arrived off the southern coast of Hawai‘i Island: Bursting fountains of molten lava are depicted in the foreground along the slopes of Mauna Loa on Hawai‘i Island, accompanied by billows of smoke that signals the destruction that occurs beneath it. Concurrently, Mauna Kea, the tallest mountain in the Hawaiian Islands, looms to great heights in the distance. Mauna Kea’s bare mountaintop shimmers slightly under the moonlight and offers a serene and calm sight compared to the destructive forces of Mauna Loa (Figure 6.2).

In a similar fashion to the treatment of Hawai‘iloa, there is no contexts provided to interpret Herb Kāne’s painting in the IHG. The painting is strategically placed to encourage visitors, like the Polynesians depicted in Kāne’s painting, to “discover” Hawai‘i and its cultures: “Welcome to the **Island Heritage Gallery**. Discover artifacts and information relating to the Hawaiian culture and the cultures of many immigrant groups of the 19th and 20th centuries.” We can deduce then that the image of Hawai‘iloa and Kāne’s painting is a form of role-play, whereby the visitors are like the first Polynesians who came to Hawai‘i. In this instance, rather than discovering an entire island chain, visitors are entering a new world of objects and cultures as interpreted in the IHG. From the beginning however, the world that visitors enter represents a decontextualized narrative of Hawai‘i.



Figure 6.2. Introductory text to the Island Heritage Gallery. The texts are accompanied by a painting by artist Herb Kāne that depicts the arrival of the first Polynesians to the Hawaiian Islands. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

The ‘*Umeke* (Calabash) Case

Like the introductory images and texts, decontextualization occurs throughout the IHG. A prime example of this would be the ‘*umeke* case. Located near the wooden-framed *hale* (house), the ‘*umeke* case contains 12 ‘*umeke* and wooden cups of varying shapes and sizes, all of which are displayed on glass shelves against a black back drop

(Figure 6.3). Kaepler (1980:62) describes *'umeke* as symbols of “extended family relationships—one refers to those with whom one can share humble food, all dipping fingers in the same *poi* bowl, as ‘calabash cousins’.” Traditionally these containers contained water and an array of food that was consumed at Hawaiian feasts known as *'aha 'aina*, which in modern times is reflected in festive occasions known as *lū 'au* (Kaepler 1980:62).



Figure 6.3. Case containing *'umeke* (calabashes) of various shapes and sizes in the Island Heritage Gallery. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

There are only five labels in the case that provide the object ID, the name of the object, and the type of wood the *'umeke* are made of. Note that some of the labels contain information for one or more *'umeke* and provides a brief snippet of information on the objects provenance:

Koa Wood Calabash
Made from the same wood that was
used to make the casket of Prince
Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole (1871-1922)
78.87.3

A similar label accompanies a *'umeke* that is exhibited in the Hawaiian monarchy case and is labeled as a *'umeke* “made of the wood used for the casket of Queen Lili‘uokalani.” This strange practice of crafting *'umeke* out of the wood used to create the caskets of *ali‘i* is not described in the exhibit. Furthermore the text is not clear on whether or not the *'umeke* are made from the same piece of wood or if they are simply *'umeke* that are made from the same type of wood that was used in creating the caskets.

The choice of highlighting the objects association with death rituals is also seen elsewhere in the exhibit. For instance, in the Ho‘omana—Worship case, a small *ki‘i lā‘au* (wooden image) is exhibited. The interpretive text that accompanies this object describes the belief that carved images were physical representations of the gods (*nā akua*) or familial ancestors (*'aumākua*). A brief note is provided at the end of the text which notes that the *ki‘i lā‘au* on exhibit was found in a burial cave in Kona. When the IHG opened in the early 70s, displaying Hawaiian objects that were removed from burial caves was not considered to be a major concern for museums. However, after the passage of NAGPRA and the greater awareness of the need for cultural sensitivity within museums, the practice of displaying objects from burial caves has slowly dissipated.

However, within Hawai‘i, there still remains contention on whether or not certain funerary objects should be reburied or displayed in museums. These differing perspectives within the Hawaiian community were clearly expressed regarding the repatriation and reburial of a cache of Hawaiian objects, including two rare female *ki‘i lā‘au* that were removed from Forbes Cave in Kawaihae (Naughton 2001; Hoover 2007). The topic of NAGPRA will be addressed further in chapter seven. Without proper

information on why the *ki'i lā'au* at the IHG is still on display or the reasons behind the crafting of *'umeke* part of *ali'i* death rituals, these objects remain mysterious and can be discomfoting to some visitors.

The Mea Kaua—Weapons Case

The Mea Kaua case showcases stone weapons that were used during warfare. A large duplicate of an engraving by John Weber, an artist who traveled with Captain Cook on his third voyage to the Pacific, depicts the death of Captain Cook by the hands of Native Hawaiians. The image contains depictions of Kānaka Maoli using a plethora of war weapons and is used to reference the objects on display. Three types of *mea kaua* are displayed in the case and include *'alā* (slingstones), *pīkoi* (tripping weapons), and *pōhaku ku'i wa'a* (canoe breakers). The *pīkoi* weapons are raised above the other objects in the case by way of a small black pedestal. The *'alā* and *pōhaku ku'i wa'a* are shown at the base of the case and are laid on top of a bed of *'ili'ili* (waterworn pebbles).

As I discussed in chapter five, the Bishop Museum also has a case that exhibits weapons in Wao Lani. At the Bishop Museum, the objects are interpreted within the context of *ali'i* warfare and conquest. War was a means by which *ali'i* acquired or lost *mana*, depending on the outcome of each battle. At the Lyman Museum the weapons are interpreted differently and emphasis is placed on object function rather than their association with the *ali'i* (Figure 6.4).



Figure 6.4. The Mea Kaua—Weapons case in the Island Heritage Gallery. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

In particular, both cases exhibit a collection of *‘alā* (slingstones). The *‘alā* at the Bishop Museum are mounted in a manner that provides visitors with a visual context on how these stones were used as weapons; an example of a *ma ‘a* (sling) is also displayed that shows how *‘alā* were thrown into the air. In contrast, *‘alā* at the Lyman Museum are shown out of context. They are simply arranged on *‘ili ‘ili* (pebbles). The interpretive text at the Lyman Museum also focuses on the *ma ‘a* rather than the *‘alā* themselves. Once again, we see a lack of information on these objects and the presentation style is mundane and inanimate.

The Ho‘omana—Worship Case

The Ho‘omana—Worship case displays an assortment of objects that introduces visitors to a range of practices and objects associated with Hawaiian religion and worship (Figure 6.5). The objects on display include *ki ‘i lā ‘au* (wooden carved image), *pōhaku kuai kua* (stone bath rubbers), and *kapuahi kuni ‘anā ‘anā* (death prayer cups). The topics

that are presented range in content from major and lesser gods, religious structures used in Hawaiian religion, and the various types of *kāhuna* (experts in any profession) that practiced the medicinal arts or ‘*anā‘anā* (sorcery). Within this case, Hawaiian terms are utilized without any proper definition of the terms that are used. In particular, the terms *mana* and *kapu* are two prime examples used in the Ho‘omana—Worship Case that need further description. *Mana* and *kapu* are used freely in the case with no clear definition of what these terms entail.



Figure 6.5. The Ho‘omana—Worship case in the Island Heritage Gallery. This text heavy case explores various facets of Hawaiian religion. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

Mana and *kapu* are briefly discussed in this case under a paragraph titled “Mana & The Kapu System.” Below I provide the full text as it is written in the case. Note that the formatting is also taken from the case text as well and is difficult to read:

MANA & THE KAPU SYSTEM

Kapus were often based upon the belief in Mana, the powerful supernatural life force.

The Alii, and all that he possessed, were Kapu.

The Kapu System was useful in maintaining law and order over every phase

of Hawaiian society. The risk of breaking the Kapu was controlled by the threat of punishment. This often meant death.

The white man showed that Kapu could be broken without retribution. The system fell apart soon after the death of Kamehameha I.

The description of *mana* and the *kapu* system provided here is problematic and reduces a complex religious and political system into seven sentences. Gender bias is also present in the text through the use of the pronoun “he” and connotes an androcentric representation of the *ali ‘i*—as if all individuals of chiefly descent were men. This notion is false, and in chapter two, I discuss how the *ali ‘i* were a class of men and women who could trace their chiefly lineages back through the generations. Linnekin also discusses the androcentrism in the literature and describes how women outranked their male counterparts at times (1990).

The text on *mana* and the *kapu* system fails to recognize Liholiho (Kamehameha II), Keōpūolani, and Ka‘ahumanu as the three *ali ‘i* who instigated the abandonment of the *kapu* system. This instrumental event in Hawaiian history is merely credited to “the white man” who demonstrated that *kapu* “could be broken without retribution.” At the Bishop Museum, the Kamehameha II case recognizes Liholiho, Keōpūolani, and Ka‘ahumanu as the three *ali ‘i* who led the abolition of the *kapu* system. A small anecdote is also provided on the failed effort of Kekuāokalani to restore the *kapu* system—an example of usurpation which I discussed in chapter two.

Although *kapu* is used to describe a belief based on *mana*, there is no formal definition of *kapu* provided anywhere in the case. This lack of information can confuse visitors as to the multifarious characteristics of *kapu*. Questions that can arise from the lack of context include: 1) is *kapu* a regulatory system or is it a term that connotes

sacredness? And 2) how can objects and individuals have *kapu* and what does it mean that *kapu* can be broken? In addition, *mana* is simplified as a “powerful supernatural life force” and the relationship between *mana* and *kapu* is not explicitly outlined. Emphasis is placed on the political role of the *kapu* system in “maintaining law and order” and transgressions punishable by death is pointed out.

The description of the *kapu* system provided in the Ho‘omana—Worship case fails to recognize the relationship of *mana* and *kapu* and the importance of *‘ai*, the act of consuming food within this religious and political system. As noted in chapter two, men and women were forbade from eating together under the *kapu* system. This act of consuming meals separately (*‘aikapu*) is oftentimes described by scholars as the basis of the *kapu* system (Linnekin 1990; Kame‘elehiwa 1992; Naughton 2001; Malo 1903; Kirch 2010). Kame‘elehiwa (1992) explores the culturally-constructed meanings and functionality of highly regulated-eating in Hawai‘i. For example, women were not allowed to eat certain foods such a pork and certain varieties of banana. Kame‘elehiwa credits this to the fact that many of these foods were regarded as a *kinolau* (physical forms) of one of the four major male *akua* (gods). In the Ho‘omana—Worship case these four deities are identified as Kāne, Kū, Lono, and Kanaloa. Kame‘elehiwa theorizes that these regulations protected traditionally male domains from the *mana* of women:

Given the word *‘ai* means ‘to eat, to devour’ and also ‘to rule and to control,’ if women ate the *kinolau* of these *Akua*, they would gain the *mana* to rule the domains represented by these *Akua*; women could then rule male sexual prowess, including war, agriculture, ocean travel, and deep-sea fishing. What would be left for the men to do (Kame‘elehiwa 1992:34)?

Here, Kame‘elehiwa suggests that *‘aikapu* and the system surrounding it was a means for regulating the acquisition and loss of *mana* and presents a clear connection between

mana and the *kapu* system. Such information is needed in the Ho‘omana—Worship case to enrich visitor’s understanding of these aspects of Hawaiian culture.

The Ho‘okāhiko—Personal Adornments Case

The Ho‘okāhiko—Personal Adornments case exhibits objects that are used to adorn the neck and wrists. The objects on display include various types of *lei* (garlands) made of shells and nuts, examples of *niho palaoa* (ivory-hook pendants), and a *Kūpe‘e Ho‘okalakala* (Boar tusk bracelet). The objects are also accompanied by historical images that illustrate male *hula* dancers and women wearing various types of ornaments (Figure 6.6).

Some of the objects in the case were removed for conservation purposes. However, their mounts and interpretive text remain on display. The objects that were removed were two examples of *lei niho palaoa*, a unique spindle that held strands of plaited human hair used in *lei niho palaoa*, and wrist ornaments made of human bone.



Figure 6.6. The Ho‘okāhiko—Personal Adornment case in the Island Heritage Gallery. This case introduces visitors to objects that were used as adornments for the body. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

Like the Ho‘omana—Worship case, the term *mana* is used in the Ho‘okāhiko—Personal Adornment case. However, *mana* is used to describe how objects can be vessels of *mana*. Objects are layered with *mana* over time and it begins with the *mana* that an object is given through the artist that produced it (Naughton 2001). When objects are inlaid with human bone, teeth, or hair, the *mana* contained within those remains are infused into the object. The description that accompanied the human bone ornaments (*mea kāhiko iwi kanaka*), states that “often when a person died some of his bones would be crafted into ornaments so that by wearing the deceased’s bones the wearer may receive some of the *mana* that person had possessed.” Like the Ho‘omana—Worship case, gender-bias is clearly discernable and the overall description of human bone ornaments as objects of *mana* is not clearly defined nor explained. However, this brief sentence does hint at the Hawaiian belief that a person’s *mana* is stored within their bones. In addition, it begins to introduce visitors to the concept that *mana* is transferrable between persons and objects.

Mana is also used in this case in relation to the *lei niho palaoa* that were once on display. *Lei niho palaoa* are described as objects that were worn by the *ali‘i* “on the battlefield or state occasions” as a symbol of their exalted status. The coils of human hair used in the *lei niho palaoa* are interpreted as a means by which the objects are imbued with the *mana* from “successive generations.” Additional hair is added over time, making *lei niho palaoa* a “potent symbol” of royalty. This description acknowledges the transferal of *mana* from an individual to an object through the incorporation of human bone, hair, or teeth.

The interpretative text goes on to describe the proliferation of *lei niho palaoa* production after European contact. As sperm whale and walrus ivory entered the islands through the various whaling vessels that visited the islands, *lei niho palaoa* were made in greater numbers. Their formal qualities—the hair coils and the hook-shaped pendants—were also enlarged. In the exhibit, the text only states that the “necklaces became more numerous” due to the influx of ivory that came to the islands. The text does not, however, discuss the formal development of *lei niho palaoa* as described by Kaeppler (1979). *Lei niho palaoa* collected during Captain Cook’s third voyage for example have noticeably smaller hook-shaped pendants that were made of bone, wood, and in some cases of ivory. Likewise, the human hair strands used as cordage for these pendants were twisted rather than plaited (Kaeppler 1979). In comparison, the Lei Niho Palaoa case at the Bishop Museum describes the formal development of *lei niho palaoa*. Yet both museums do not address the possibility that *lei niho palaoa* became trade items themselves. Rather, emphasis is placed on the sacred qualities and symbolism of *lei niho palaoa*. The fact that these objects contain ancestral hair and represent *ali‘i* genealogies remains unquestioned. However, further research on *lei niho palaoa* is needed to explicate the reasons behind the formal developments of these enigmatic objects.

The use of *mana* in the Ho‘okāhiko—Personal Adornment case, like the use of *mana* and *kapu* in the Ho‘omana—Worship case is brief at best. Although key concepts are addressed in both cases, there is no extensive treatment of *mana* or *kapu* anywhere in the exhibit, nor are they fully explained or defined when they are used in the exhibit. The treatment of these concepts in the exhibit reflects the curatorial voice within the IHG—a

mono-vocal representation that reduces Hawaiian culture to mere facts, trinkets, and curiosities.

The Monarchy Case

The last case that I would like to discuss is the Monarchy Case. This case is dedicated to the *ali'i* who were the ruling monarchs of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The case contains objects associated with the *ali'i* and includes a collection of stamps from the Kingdom-era depicting various *ali'i*, a *'umeke* made of the same wood used to make the casket of Queen Lili'uokalani, a belt and buckle made with Kingdom-era silver coins, and a bust of King Kalākaua. In addition to these objects, there are two other objects in the case that were gifted to the museum by descendants of Sarah and David Lyman. These objects are a medal that was given to Rufus Anderson Lyman as a Knight Companion of the Royal Order of Kamehameha I and Sarah Lyman's autograph album that contains the signatures of *ali'i* who attended the Royal School on O'ahu Island (Figure 6.7).



Figure 6.7. The Monarchy Case in the Island Heritage Gallery. (Photograph by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds).

The objects are accompanied by a brief timeline that displays a single black and white image of each ruling monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The timeline that begins with Kamehameha I and ends with Lili‘uokalani is condensed and inconsistent in its treatment of individual *ali‘i*. For example, only the parents of Liholiho (Kamehameha II), Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III), Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), and Lot Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V) are given. The father and mother of King Kamehameha I, William Charles Lunalilo, David Kalākaua, and Lydia Lili‘uokalani are not provided. Perhaps this choice has to do with the fact that the four *ali‘i* who succeeded Kamehameha I were his direct descendants and of his lineage. The latter three monarchs had ties to other *ali‘i* lineages.

In addition to these inconsistencies, the information provided in the timeline is minimal. Take for example, the texts that accompanies the image of Kamehameha IV:

KAMEHAMEHA IV (Alexander Liholiho)
b. February 9, 1834 in Honolulu, O‘ahu
d. November 30, 1863 in Honolulu, O‘ahu
Son of Kīna‘u and Kekūanaō‘a
Adopted son of Kamehameha III
Ruled from 1854 to 1863

From these brief labels, we are given the names of the monarchs, their dates of birth and dates of death, who their mothers and fathers was, and the length of their rules. Such superficial information does not provide visitors with the opportunity to learn more about individual *ali‘i*, their behaviors and characteristics, and the challenges and successes they faced during each of their rules. For example, Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma Kaleleonālanī Rooke established the Queen’s Hospital in 1859 “to provide in perpetuity quality health services to improve the well-being of Native Hawaiians and all of the

people of Hawai‘i” (The Queen’s Medical Center 2015). Funds totaling \$13,550 were raised personally by King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma Kaleleonālani Rooke by going door to door to solicit funds from “business houses, professional offices, diplomatic representatives, and private citizens” (Greer 1969:112). Today, the Queen’s Hospital is known as The Queen’s Medical Center and is the largest private hospital in Hawai‘i.

The brief story presented above is one of many others that could have been told within the monarchy case. Yet such accounts are absent from the case and further add to the overall decontextualized approach found throughout the Hawaiian section of the IHG.

Looking Towards the Future: Future Renovations of the Island Heritage Gallery

On August 13, 2014 I met with Lynn Elia and Jill Maruyama, Curator of Collections, Exhibits, and Facilities, to provide my comments and feedback regarding the museum’s plans to renovate the Island Heritage Gallery. I worked off a scaled mock-up of the new exhibit which was created using SketchUp software. In the new IHG, the *Grandfather’s House* exhibit is removed, which enlarges the space for the new IHG. Visitor’s will still enter the exhibit through the main entrance located near the stairways and will travel through the exhibit in a counter-clockwise fashion. With regards to the general organization of the exhibits, the cases will continue to follow a chronology that traces the history of the Hawaiian Islands. The gallery will circumnavigate through various historical periods that begins with the aboriginal people of Hawai‘i, and later traces the arrival of Western peoples in the islands. The new IHG will also include displays on the arrival of missionaries in the islands and the plantation industry. The

gallery will also include sections on contemporary Kanaka Maoli history that describe key events to emerge from the Hawaiian renaissance of the late 1960s. In the center of the gallery, an interactive educational space will be incorporated. Tentatively, it is referred to as a *kīpuka*. A *kīpuka* is a forested area that is surrounded by lava beds. Thus like a *kīpuka*, the interactive space will provide visitors with a different surrounding from the rest of the exhibit. In chapter seven, I provide my recommendations to ensure that the new IHG presents a comprehensive interpretation of Hawaiian culture and history.

Conclusion

*Hū mai nō ka wai
Ka wai o ia 'umeke kā'eo.
A hui hou kākou.
Aloha nō, Aloha nō ē.*

Water overflows indeed, from your
bowls
Care for your well-filled bowl.
We will meet again.
Farewell indeed, farewell indeed.

Lynn Elia wrote the chant above as a way to formally thank visitors for visiting the Lyman Museum. Like “Mele Komo” at the beginning of this chapter, the chant above, known as “Mele Aloha” (Farewell song), is chanted in the *kepakepa* style. The metaphor of the mind as a *'umeke* is evoked once more and now, visitors have a *'umeke* that is filled to the brim (*kā'eo*) with new insights into Hawai'i's past.

Indeed, my *'umeke* has been generously filled by the Lyman Museum. A great wealth of information can be gained from studying the Island Heritage Gallery as well as interviewing key staff members who interact with *ali'i* collections. Although the concern for integrating cultural protocols is present in the museum, it has yet to be implemented at the institutional level. Renovations to the Island Heritage Gallery are dire as well. My analysis of the gallery revealed that *ali'i* collections are decontextualized in the displays. The information that accompanies the objects are minimal, unusual, and outdated, and

presents the objects as something of the past with no dialogue with the present, a concern that Kaeppler (1992) describes.

In utilizing the *'umeke* metaphor once more, there is great potential for the Lyman House Memorial Museum to develop innovative exhibits that showcase Hawaiian history and culture, in essence, filling up their own institution's *'umeke*. As they continue to evolve, the museum's *'umeke* is continuously filled with new knowledge, staff, and objects. Updating the IHG is crucial for the survival of the institution, and the development of new exhibits presents a unique opportunity to reinterpret and engage with contemporary museum practice.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

In this thesis, I examined how *ali'i* collections are curated in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and the Lyman House Memorial Museum. Much like our Indigenous cousins across the Pacific, Canada, and the continental United States, Kānaka Maoli are infiltrating institutions and transforming them to fit the needs of Kanaka Maoli communities (McCarthy 2011; Rosoff 1998). These transformations are encapsulated in the process of *cultural contextualization*, which I described in Chapter Three as a hybrid approach towards object curation that draws from both Western and Indigenous care practices (Kreps 2008b; Rosoff 1998). Cultural contextualization recognizes that museological behavior is cross-cultural and is comprised of an array of mindsets and practices towards the care of precious objects (Kreps 2006; Kreps 2008a). Within museums and like institutions, these cross-cultural practices can come together in hybrid approaches towards the care of culturally sensitive materials, effectively sensitizing Western curatorship to Indigenous concerns.

In Chapters Five and Six, I describe forms of cultural contextualization that are manifested in the physical storage, handling, interpretation, exhibition, and valuing of *ali'i* collections. In both museums, the convergence of Kanaka Maoli and Local practices and beliefs in the care of *ali'i* collections are evident. Cleansing, storing *ali'i* objects according to spatial contexts or historical relationships, and covering objects to allow them to “sleep” are forms of cultural contextualization that I discussed. Such examples

reflect the notion that museums can serve as “extensions of tradition” that aid in the process of cultural renewal and perpetuation (Kreps 2007:223).

Much like the cultural contextualization that occurs within museums, I too attempt to “culturally contextualize” the theories, methodologies, and methods that I used for this research. As a Kanaka Maoli museum anthropologist, my theoretical and methodological approach to research is reflected in my positionality as an outsider and an insider. Negotiating these imaginary binaries is something that many Indigenous anthropologists face when conducting research in their own communities (Abu-Lughod 1991; Jacobs-huey 2002). One advantage of my positionality is that it allowed me to draw from both an etic and emic perspective to develop a mixed methodological approach that draws from Indigenous knowledge, anthropological theory and method, and multiple museologies, (Ka‘ili 2012; Tengan 2005; Meyer 2008; White and Tengan 2001; Tuhiwai Smith 2012).

Cultural contextualization is not a static process, but represents the fluid nature of tradition and culture. NAGPRA, as it relates to Native Hawaiians, is an excellent example to describe how traditions, such as the care of *ali‘i* collections, are not wholly “invented” (e.g. Hobsbawm 1983) but are “Indigenous articulations” (e.g. Clifford 2013:60) that represent the transformation, adaptation, and contestation of Indigenous traditions by Indigenous peoples over time and in varying contexts. Theorizing traditions in this manner “offers a non-reductive way to think about cultural transformation and the apparent coming and going of ‘traditional’ forms” within museum settings (Clifford 2013:60).

Lessons from NAGPRA: Contested and Changing Traditions

At first glance, NAGPRA is a complicated process for Kānaka Maoli because there are no federally recognized tribes in the Hawaiian Islands. The broad definition of “Native Hawaiian organization” under NAGPRA allows for a range of Hawaiian organizations and individuals to make claims to the same NAGPRA-eligible materials. This can oftentimes lead to confrontations over Hawaiian identity, authenticity, and sovereignty within a public forum setting. On one end, there is Hui Malama i na Kupuna o Hawai’i nei, an organization that is named in the NAGPRA legislation and regards the act of preserving *moepū* (funerary objects) as disrespectful. For Hui Malama, their responsibility is to the ancestors whose *iwi* (human remains) and *moepū* should be allowed to disintegrate back into the earth without question (Daehnke 2009).

In other instances, Hui Malama employed religious discourse in their NAGPRA claims, claiming that certain objects can be reintegrated into religious ceremonies that venerate the *‘aumākua* (ancestors) and *nā akua* (the gods) and serve as valid symbols of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. This was the case in 1996 and 1997 when Hui Malama claimed that a *ki’i lā‘au*, in the possession of the Providence Museum in Rhode Island, was a *ki’i ‘aumakua*, an anthropomorphic wooden image used as a vessel for *‘aumākua*. In addition, Hui Malama also claimed that the image was carved in the Kū style (see Johnson 2003; Neller 2002). Johnson (2003) suggests that Hui Malama’s assertion that the *ki’i lā‘au* had qualities tied to both *‘aumākua* and *akua* worship reflected the obscuring of religious categories after the abandonment of the *kapu* system in 1819. Although temple worship of Kū and the other three major gods ceased at this

time, *‘aumākua* worship continued within the household and “was used increasingly to describe the deities of the past [, i.e. the *akua*,] and their natural manifestations even when they did not traditionally belong to the ‘aumakua class” (Valerie in Johnson 2003:342). Johnson also argues that the domestication of Kū through the blurring of these religious categories resulted in his reconceptualization as a symbol of bravery, Hawaiian resistance, and ultimately, Hawaiian sovereignty (2003:342).

Over the years, Hui Malama has faced heavy criticism from other Native Hawaiian organizations regarding their implementation of NAGPRA. Daehnke (2009: 208-209) lists these criticisms, one of which was Hui Malama’s perception that they know what’s best for the objects and remains, even though they demonstrated “ineptitude in properly handling repatriation responsibilities.” Such was the case when the Bishop Museum repatriated collections from Kanupa Cave on Hawai‘i Island to Hui Malama. The objects were reburied but were later stolen with the intent of being sold on the black market. Hui Malama’s relationship with the Bishop Museum has also been scrutinized as one that demonstrates a conflict of interest (Naughton 2001). This became apparent in 2000 when the museum “loaned” objects to Hui Malama who later reburied the objects in the Kawaihae Cave Complex, also on Hawai‘i Island. The Hawaiian Academy of Traditional Arts and Na Lei Ali‘i Kawananakoa, two Native Hawaiian organizations, filed suit in an attempt to force Hui Malama to remove the objects and return them to the museum. Later, the case comprised of 14 groups who wanted a say in the disposition of the objects. For many of these organizations, the objects represented *hana no ‘eau* that have the potential to aid in cultural revitalization efforts (Daehnke 2009); “Revival of

culture requires the survival and accessibility to artifacts” (Daehnke 2009: 211). Thus, reburying the objects represented an irreversible loss of Hawaiian knowledge. Ultimately, the objects were removed and returned to the Bishop Museum.

The diverging opinions among Native Hawaiian organizations, as witnessed regarding NAGPRA, represents contemporary intra-contestations over Kanaka Maoli identity and cultural authenticity amongst Kanaka Maoli communities. Daehnke (2009) suggests that these oppositions are in essence the reinterpretation of *kuleana* (responsibility) by varying Native Hawaiian organizations:

The complexities and struggles surrounding the repatriation, ownership, and ultimate fate of Hawaiian cultural objects reflect parties wrestling with how best to fulfill their responsibilities to the past, present, and futures...Healing the wounds left by the legacy of colonialism and renewing Hawaiian culture is the goal of all the parties involved... (Daehnke 2009:212).

Daehnke’s observation is noteworthy because it moves away from counterclaims of other Kanaka Maoli as “agents of the colonizer” towards greater discussions on cultural continuity, Indigenous heterogeneity and homogeneity, and political mythmaking within Kanaka Maoli culture (Ayau and Tengan 2002; Clifford 2013; Keesing 1989).

The process of political mythmaking is worth further mention here because it provides a mean towards interpreting why Native Hawaiians have such divergent views and experiences. Roger Keesing’s essay titled “Creating the Past: Custom and Identity in the Contemporary Pacific” (1989) critically discusses political mythmaking in the Pacific as something that is used contemporaneously in Indigenous struggles that predates European contact. For Keesing, political mythmaking refers to the process of deliberately creating an idealized past that is fragmented and romanticized. These “political ideologies” have real-world application, and are used as “instruments of liberation or of

oppression” (Keesing 1989:19). Keesing also notes that political mythmaking in Hawai‘i occurs through the reconstitution, reclamation, revitalization, and reinvention of cultural traditions that were “largely destroyed many decades ago” (1989:22). Thus, from this process, multiple interpretations of the authentic Hawaiian have developed, reflecting a selective process of using Western discourse in the aid of Indigenous cultural revitalization. In highlighting the political process of mythmaking and the influence of Western hegemony in writings of Pacific cultures, Keesing advocates for critical and self-reflexive scholarship that deconstructs mythmaking. In particular, this deconstructive approach is useful for understanding the processual nature of tradition and how Indigenous care methods are integrated and reconfigured to care for *ali‘i* collections at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum. This thesis shows how Hawaiian traditions are reshaped and contextualized to operate within Hawai‘i-based museums.

Tradition as Process

The notion of tradition is typically regarded as a timeless and static construct aimed to “preserve” a particular practice or belief. “Preservation” in this sense conceptualizes traditions as static beliefs and practices that are unchanging, and inherently linked to the past (Handler and Linnekin 1984). This notion of discontinuity, a constant state of decay, salvage, and loss of traditions, is reflected in the critique of intangible heritage discourse which neglects to acknowledge the continuity of culture through change and adaptation (Alivizatou 2012).

Rather, tradition should be regarded as a process of cultural continuity, transformation, and transmission. By reconfiguring traditions as processes, traditions are

recognized as fluid constructs that transform and adapt to operate in various contexts. The notion of “invented traditions” (e.g. Hobsbawm 1983) is thus reconfigured as an articulation, which aims to “specify traditional sources of novelty along with the novel sources of tradition” (Johnson 2003: 330): “Articulation as I understand it evokes a deeper sense of the ‘political’—productive processes of consensus, exclusion, alliance, and antagonism that are inherent in the transformative life of all societies” (Clifford 2013: 55). Such approaches represent “the practical deconstructive, and reconstructive, activities of indigenous traditionalisms better than the demystifying discourse of ‘invention’” (in Johnson 2008:246).

Recognizing tradition as a fluid concept acknowledges cultural continuity *as* change, and reflects Sahlins’s theorization of individual historical agency in transforming cultural structures, and draws from Linnekin’s argument of the interpretation of tradition (Johnson 2008; Sahlins 1981; Handler and Linnekin 1984; Linnekin 1983). Johnson (2008) suggests that traditions for Kānaka Maoli within a NAGPRA-context is constituted and reconstituted in the face of group struggles to claim NAGPRA materials; “The cultural ‘truth’ of these moments is found in the struggles themselves, the commitments they demand, the learning and speaking they inspire, and the shared resources they contest and draw upon” (Johnson 2008:255). Johnson’s comments regarding the rearticulation of traditions in NAGPRA are also true for collections staff that integrate Indigenous care methods into the care of *ali ‘i* collections. The cultural “truth” in the care of *ali ‘i* collections is found in the ways that *ali ‘i* collections are curated through the implementation of fluid traditions in secular and inherently Western

institutions. Here, I would like to discuss how these articulations are evident (or absent) at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum.

Curating *Ali'i* Collections: Comparative Brief

Handling and Physical Storage of *Ali'i* Collections

Although both institutions differ in terms of their institutional histories, the approach towards curating *ali'i* collections alongside professional standards is present at each institution and reflects the melding of local curatorship, and the transformation of Kanaka Maoli cultural traditions to operate within a modern museum environment (Kreps 2014; Kreps 2003b; Johnson 2008). In each institution, the collections staff contextualizes how *ali'i* objects are stored by storing *ali'i* collections separately from *maka'āinana* collections, according to their placement on the human body, and the relationship of *ali'i* to one another. All of these storage methods culturally contextualize the storage of these objects and sensitize professional practice to reflect a culturally constructed curatorial framework.

In addition, staff in each institution employs protective or cleansing practices to ensure proper exchanges with objects. At the Bishop Museum, some of the staff discussed the act of submerging oneself in ocean water as a means of purification after working with collections that are spiritually heavy. At the Lyman Museum, Collection Manager Lynn Elia noted that she does not employ protocols with objects, which I consider to be an act that does not instigate a more formal relationship and thus protects her from the *mana* of the objects. Such various acts of storing objects and caring for

one's well-being recognizes the spiritual and physical concerns regarding the care of *ali'i* objects that are rooted in older traditions of cleansing.

At the Bishop Museum, there are other methods that are utilized in the physical care of *ali'i* collections. Two in particular are the methods of storing *kāhili pa'a lima* and *ki'i lā'au*. Although the *kāhili pa'a lima* are stored with their feathered plumes facing down, they are stored at higher elevations. The cylinder, which surrounds the feather plumes, also include an opening which allows the objects to breath. *Ki'i lā'au* on the other hand are covered with a plain white sheet to indicate that they are “asleep” or in a neutral state. This practice ensures that these objects are approached with purpose and intent and are not disturbed by the wandering eyes of visitor who visit the collections storage areas. The adaptation of traditions reflects the notion of museums as process—as institutions that are continuously transforming through the acceptance and integration of multiple knowledge systems into the care of museum collections (Silverman 2015).

Exhibiting and Interpreting *Ali'i* Collections

At the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum, the exhibition and interpretation practices that are employed in the presentation of *ali'i* culture reflect two different styles of curatorial practice. At the Bishop Museum, there is clearly a blending of both Victorian and modern aesthetic qualities in the display of *ali'i* objects. This approach reflects the museum's mission to remain true to its Victorian appeal while creating exhibits that are modern in style both in terms of the way that *ali'i* objects are interpreted and exhibited. Whereas 19th century museums displayed ethnographic collections in massive assemblages, each case at the Bishop Museum tells a specific story that is

connected to the grander narrative of *ali'i* history. *Mo'okū'auhau*, *mo'olelo*, rank, and status are continually discussed in the Kāhili Room and Wao Lani and iterate the importance of these concepts within *ali'i*, and more broadly, Hawaiian culture.

As Kame'elehiwa states: "Even though the great genealogies are of the *Ali'i Nui* and not of the commoners, these *Ali'i Nui* are the collective ancestors, and their *mo'olelo* (histories) are stories of all Hawaiians, too" (Kame'elehiwa 1992:19). Thus, the stories and genealogies of the *ali'i* become a medium for preserving Hawaiian history in general. In addition, *ali'i* history is also used as a means to discuss the colonial encounter in Hawai'i. Depopulation, Kanaka Maoli displacement, and the loss of *'āina* (land) are revealed in the cases as part of *ali'i* history. Such difficult histories are countered by narratives of native resilience, resistance, and revitalization that reflect a critical approach towards interpreting *ali'i* history and culture. The approach of exhibiting *ali'i* culture in the Bishop Museum is a move towards museum decolonization, which is evident in the museum's choice to address cultural transformation and change within Hawai'i, engage with Hawai'i's difficult colonial history, and integrate Indigenous Hawaiian knowledge and ways of remembering history into the interpretation and display of *ali'i* culture (Lonetree 2012; Kaeppler 1992).

The Lyman Museum utilizes exhibitionary techniques that were standard four decades ago and clearly reflects the critique of the romanticization of Hawaiian culture and the continual influence of salvage anthropological theory and method in some Hawai'i-based museums (Kaeppler 1992). In many of the cases that exhibit *ali'i* objects, I found numerous failed opportunities to further develop key concepts and to

contextualize the objects on display. For instance, in the Ho‘omana—Worship case, Hawaiian religion is reduced to a few sentences that describe the superstitious and supernatural aspects of the traditional religious system. Concepts such as *mana* and *kapu* are introduced through the interpretive text but are not fully explored in the case. When describing the abolishment of the *kapu* system, *ali‘i* agency is removed and credit is given to Westerners who came to the islands.

In addition, when contemporary components are added to the exhibit, such as the image of Hawai‘iloa and Herb Kāne’s painting, they are shown to reinforce the narrative of an imaginary ancient Hawaiian past. Discussions on cultural change and transformation after the arrival of Westerners in the late 18th century are lacking throughout the cases and reflect a decontextualized approach towards exhibiting *ali‘i* culture. Thus, the plans for renovations to the Island Heritage Gallery are met with great excitement, and provide the opportunity for the Lyman Museum to develop a critical approach towards exhibiting *ali‘i* and Kanaka Maoli history.

Valuing *Ali‘i* Collections

As tangible expressions of *ali‘i* culture and as physical legacies of the *ali‘i*, *ali‘i* collections are revered and respected by collections staff at both the Lyman Museum and the Bishop Museum. This is clearly evident at the Bishop Museum, which was founded under the premise that the museum would serve as a treasure house to preserve objects associated with the Kamehameha dynasty. Although the Bishop Museum has transformed immensely over the past century, its ties to the *ali‘i* past are continually acknowledged and presented within the exhibits. Many of the *ali‘i* objects in the collections are unique

pieces that speak to the character of individual *ali'i*. In the Kāhili Room, the ribbon streamers of many of the Kāhili kū are newer additions that create a juxtapositioning of old and new. Exhibiting *kāhili* and displaying their new streamers are an effective means of demonstrating the continued reverence that Kānaka Maoli have for the *ali'i*. This is further reflected in the museum's choice to also collect and display contemporary *kāhili* in Hawaiian Hall, many of which were made to honor particular *ali'i*. The act of replacing components on *kāhili* in museums and the acquisition of new *kāhili* represents a continual cycle of gift giving between the *ali'i*, the Bishop Museum, Kānaka Maoli, and museum visitors in addition to the continuation and transformation of this traditional art form.

The Lyman Museum on the other hand, was not founded on the collections of the *ali'i*. Instead, descendants of missionaries founded the museum in the early 20th century when the preservation of historic homes was pervasive. The Lyman House Memorial Museum serves a dual-role as a memorial to the Lyman missionary family and as an educational institution for the residents of Hawai'i Island. Thus, *ali'i* culture does not permeate the institution in the ways that it does at the Bishop Museum. This is also reflected in the fact that many of the *ali'i* objects in their collection are not associated to particular *ali'i*. Yet even though the Lyman Museum does not emphasize *ali'i* culture, Elia, the Collections Manager and Registrar of the Lyman Museum, holds high regards for *ali'i* objects and treats them with great respect.

Recommendations for the Bishop Museum

In a few years, the Bishop Museum will have to renovate Wao Lani and the Kāhili Room once more if they are to remain relevant to Kānaka Maoli and the rest of Hawai‘i’s general populace. Below are some recommendations for future exhibits on *ali‘i* culture:

1. *Collaborate with Kanaka Maoli communities:* The Bishop Museum has the potential to become a model for collaborative museology in Hawai‘i if they choose to collaborate more with Kanaka Maoli communities in the process of exhibit making. As noted in Chapter Three, collaboration differs from consultation because of its emphasis on breaking down museum power structures in favor for equitable museum practices that share power between institutions and source communities (Peers and Brown 2003b; Golding and Modest 2013). Such a collaborative endeavor could provide insights into museum collaborations with Kanaka Maoli communities and could serve as an opportunity for the Bishop Museum to demystify the museum for various communities.
2. *Incorporate bilingual labels:* Although the Hawaiian galleries of the Bishop Museum do an excellent job of incorporating *‘ōlelo no‘eau* and *mele* into the display of *ali‘i* culture, there is a lack of bilingual labels. Incorporating labels in the Hawaiian language is an important step for the Bishop Museum to implement and further supports the Hawaiian language revitalization movement in Hawai‘i.

3. *Continue having performances in Hawaiian Hall:* Performances in museums enliven spaces and add to the overall multi-sensory experience for museum visitors. Especially within Hawaiian Hall, performances are essential for recognizing museums as places that care for living cultures.
4. *Explore the option of visible/open storage in Hawaiian Hall:* Currently, the drawers in all of the museum cases in Hawaiian hall are empty and serve no purpose. In the future, these drawers could be transformed into open storage, such as found at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology. Open storage increases public accessibility to a museum's collections and allows for a greater number of objects to be displayed to museum visitors (Phillips 2005b; Schultz 2011). The drawers could be used to store stable objects, which would also open up space within other storage areas.

Recommendations for the Lyman Museum

As the Lyman Museum prepares for the renovation of the Island Heritage Gallery, the following recommendations provides some suggestions on ways that the museum can develop and curate an effective, critical, and multivocal exhibit.

1. *Tell the story of Hawai'i Island:* Currently, the Island Heritage Gallery attempts to provide a general overview of Hawaiian history. Within the current Hawaiian section of the gallery, such an approach has resulted in generic exhibits that provide little room to explore key Hawaiian concepts and traditions. By focusing on the history of Hawai'i Island, the Lyman

Museum exhibits would highlight key events and places that define Hawai‘i Island history and culture. An example of a significant place on the island to mention would be the leeward Kohala field system, “a traditional rain-fed agricultural complex that covered 60 km² on the leeward slopes of the Kohala Mountain on Hawai‘i Island” (Dye 2014:1). By focusing on Hawai‘i Island history, the Lyman Museum would distinguish itself, especially from the Bishop Museum, as a valuable educational resource not only for the Hawai‘i Island community but for island visitors.

2. *Carefully consider the use of mannequins:* In addition to the newly renovated exhibits, plans for the new Island Heritage Gallery include monochromatic mannequins that would be placed strategically throughout the four gallery sections. The mannequins would serve as props that wore historically accurate outfits. They would also have action-poses depicting actions like beating *kapa* or working in the cane fields. In the context of fashion exhibits, mannequins continue to be used. However, when depicting native peoples, the perceptions surrounding the use of mannequins are mixed and frankly outdated (Jacknis 1985). For some, mannequins can be perceived as lifeless individuals that depict a dead rather than a living culture (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991). Rather than installing mannequins, I suggest that there should be areas throughout the exhibit to highlight specific objects from the collection. Like all museums,

most of the Lyman Museum's collections remain behind closed doors.

Thus, incorporating rotational-display spaces would allow the museum to constantly display objects which otherwise would remain in storage.

Furthermore, recently donated objects to the collections could be highlighted in these spaces.

3. *Quality versus quantity:* The current IGH lacks the clarity needed to discuss Hawaiian cultural constructs and traditions like *mana* and *kapu*. To avoid this, the interpretative materials should be carefully written and objects carefully chosen in the new IGH. Incorporating multiple voices, especially Kanaka Maoli voices, are also crucial to ensure that the exhibit does not perpetuate a single curatorial authority to interpret Hawaiian culture. Rather, a multivocal approach would allow concepts to be explored from multiple perspectives.
4. *Consult, collaborate, and learn from the communities of Hawai'i Island:* When the IHG was first created in the late 1970s, the community was involved in the production of the gallery. Unfortunately, their contributions are not publicly recognized in the current IGH gallery. In preparation for the new IHG, the Lyman Museum must consult and collaborate with the communities of Hawai'i Island to ensure that the exhibits are timely and in sync with the needs of various communities. Collaboration and consultation also results in a richer exhibit-development process by establishing connections to the community (Golding 2013;

Lonetree 2012). Curating an exhibit that reflects the community's *needs* rather than the museum's *desires* will strengthen the educational role of the new IGH.

5. *Incorporate new voices and contemporary artwork:* As mentioned in my third recommendation, multiple voices need to be incorporated into the new Island Heritage Gallery. This not only occurs through consultation and collaboration, but can also occur through the acquisition and display of contemporary art by Hawai'i Island artists. Currently, the Hawaiian section of the IGH does not present Hawaiian culture as a living and thriving entity. Incorporating contemporary pieces by local artists *and* contextualizing the pieces are ways to break this stereotype. Providing space for contemporary works dissolves temporal distinctions and highlights the dynamic relationships between the present and the past.

Future Research

Although I have expounded on the ways that Indigenous forms of curation have infiltrated Hawai'i-based museums, there is room for greater scholarship regarding this subject. Since my fieldwork only took place over the course of a few weeks, longer periods of fieldwork are needed to further describe interactions between museum and Native Hawaiians. For example, an ethnography on the production of a Hawaiian-themed exhibit at the Bishop Museum that traces its production, installation, and exhibition life-span would provide great insight into ways that Hawaiian knowledge intersects the

exhibit-making process at various stages—something that I did not explore adequately within this thesis.

Additionally, the institutional histories of the Lyman Museum and the Bishop Museum reveal that women played integral roles in museums across Hawai‘i in the late 19th and early 20th century. Whether as museum patrons, curators, or benefactors, women of *ali‘i* or missionary ancestry were deeply entrenched in the preservation of Hawai‘i’s past. Future research in this area could expand our understanding of women in Hawai‘i as keepers of Hawaiian history and culture and perhaps can serve as a departure point for considering the rearticulation of traditional gender roles in relation to preservation and curation.

Another area of future research is the relationship between museums and *hula*, Hawaiian dance. In general, the art of *hula* has served as a living repository of Kānaka Maoli culture and history and serves a similar role to museums as institutions of cultural knowledge. Interviews with collections staff at both museums indicated that their participation in *hula* influenced how they curated *ali‘i* collections. As a living cultural tradition, in what ways does *hula* impact the curation of Kanaka Maoli collections in museums? What relationships do *hula hālau*, schools of hula, have with museums? Such questions are worth exploring, and can lead towards a greater understanding of cultural renewal and museum indigenization from a Hawaiian perspective. Such research endeavors reflects Kreps (2007:224) articulation of Pacific Museum as places that are at the cusp “new museological paradigms,” which reflect the theoretical and practical potentialities that exist in studying Hawai‘i-based museums.

EPILOGUE

He Mele Ho‘omana‘o o ka Huaka‘i Loa (A Song to Remember my Travels)

<i>E hā‘upu au lā e hali‘a Nā hali‘a aloha o ka huaka‘i loa</i>	I remember fondly My fond memories of my long travels
<i>Aloha aku au iā Kaiwi‘ula ‘Ula‘ula i ka nu‘a o nā hulumanu</i>	Beloved is Kaiwi‘ula [It is] red from the abundance of bird feathers
<i>Aloha aku au iā Pīhōpa Home ho‘okipa a nā Kamehameha</i>	Beloved is [the] Bishop [Museum] The warm home of the Kamehamehas
<i>Mehana ke aloha o ke hoa Hoapili i ke anu o Nu‘uanu</i>	Warm is the love of my wonderful friend Companion [who lives] in cool Nu‘uanu
<i>‘O Ana nō ke aloha ho‘okahi Kahi makani nui hele uluulu</i>	Ana is my one true love That oh so wonderful tropical storm
<i>Ulu a‘e ke aloha no Keaukaha ‘O Keaukaha nō ka‘u li‘a</i>	My love for Keaukaha grows Keaukaha is my one and only
<i>‘O Laimana ka hale kahiko Kāhiko ‘ia i nā mea makamae</i>	The Lyman [Museum] is an ancient house Adorned with many precious things
<i>Mae ‘ole ke aloha no Hāla‘i Hāla‘i i ka ho‘okipa malihini</i>	My love for Hāla‘i never fades Peaceful and welcoming to all
<i>Malihini ‘ole iā Hailikulamanu Ka manu miki‘ala ‘o Kalanipua</i>	I am no stranger to Hailikulamanu My energetic bird named Kalanipua
<i>Hō‘ike‘ike maila ku‘u aloha Ka Hale ali‘i o Hulihe‘e</i>	My love is displayed The royal palace of Hulihe‘e
<i>Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ana ka puana Nā Hali‘a aloha o ka huaka‘i hele loa ē</i>	Tell the refrain Of the fond memories of my travels

Revealing the story

The *mele* (song) written above is an original composition that documents my experiences while conducting fieldwork at the Lyman House Memorial Museum on the

island of Hawai‘i and the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum on the island of O‘ahu. Composing a *mele* allowed me to incorporate autoethnography into my research, and gave me the opportunity to poetically preserve my subjective experience in examining the curation of *ali‘i* collections in two Hawai‘i-based museums. The *mele* above is a “place and space embedded” narrative, a poetic rendition of anthropological research that utilizes *meiwi*, traditional Hawaiian poetical devices, to recount my subjective experience (Maenette 2007:529). The couplets, each recounting specific places and people, incorporate a larger shared body of Indigenous knowledge that are a part of Hawaiian *mo‘olelo*, stories (Basso 1996).

The first few verses recall my fieldwork at the Bishop Museum. Later verses specifically describe my experiences at the Lyman Museum and other places that I visited on Hawai‘i Island, such as the Hulihe‘e Palace in Kailua-Kona. The organization of my *mele* reflects what Bruner (1991) describes as narrative diachronicity, a key feature in the construction of reality through narrative. In order to discuss each of the verses, I dissect them into four sections, each of which will be briefly described.

Section One: The Bishop Museum

<i>E hā‘upu au lā e hali‘a</i>	I remember fondly
<i>Nā hali‘a aloha o ka huaka‘i loa</i>	My fond memories of my long travels
<i>Aloha aku au iā Kaiwi‘ula</i>	Loved is Kaiwi‘ula
<i>‘Ula‘ula i ka nu‘a o nā hulumanu</i>	[It is] red from the abundance of bird feathers
<i>Aloha aku au iā Pīhōpa</i>	Loved is [the] Bishop [Museum]
<i>Home ho‘okipa a nā Kamehameha</i>	The inviting home of the Kamehamehas

Section one of the *mele* narrates my field experiences at the Bishop Museum. The first verse of the *mele* serves as an introduction to the listeners (or readers); it explains that the *mele* recounts *nā hali‘a aloha*—my fond memories of the Bishop Museum. Since

there is no Hawaiian equivalent to the word *fieldwork*, I settled on the descriptive phrase *ka huaka 'i loa* (the long travels) in reference to the prolonged nature of fieldwork.

Verse two of this section begins by mentioning the name Kaiwi'ula which literally translates to "red bones." Kaiwi'ula is the traditional place name of the land that the Bishop Museum is situated. Note here that I begin to use the *meiwi* of linked assonance to connect each line of the *mele*. As a play on the word 'ula (red-colored), the next line in the couplet begins with 'ula'ula, an intensification of 'ula that further accentuates the color red. I then use 'ula'ula to describe the multitude of featherwork objects (*nu'a o nā hulumanu*) that is in the museum's possession. This piece of information is significant for my thesis research because featherwork objects are considered to be tangible manifestations of *ali'i* (chiefly) prestige and genealogy.

The third verse further expresses my appreciation and love for the Bishop Museum and its staff members. When I arrived at the Bishop Museum, nervousness and uncertainty slowly ate away at the courage that I built up for this once in a lifetime experience. Would the staff be receptive to my ideas and research? What if I ran out of research to collect during my three week stay? Fortunately, these questions quickly dissipated as I began collecting data and introducing myself to staff members. I am especially indebted to the staff of the Cultural Collections Division, who hosted me during my stay. Between the staff interviews, photography sessions, collections tours, and preparations for the annual Bishop Museum fundraising *lū'au*, and event which raises over \$350,000 for the museum, there was no time for me to sit idly underneath one of the many coconut trees on the campus grounds. The work was enjoyable, and the staff members truly made the Bishop Museum a *home ho'okipa*, a welcoming home.

Lastly, the line “*home ho ‘okipa a nā Kamehameha* (welcoming home of the Kamehamehas)” is a direct reference to the Bishop museum’s nickname. When the museum opened in the late 19th century, it was frequently called “*Ka Hale Hō ‘ike ‘ike a nā Kamehameha*,” the Treasure House of the Kamehamehas, in reference to the previous owners of its three founding collections—Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, Princess Ruth Ke‘elikōlani, and Queen Emma Rooke. These women are all descendants (and in Emma’s case a widow of a descendant) of King Kamehameha the Great. All three powerful *ali ‘iwāhine* (chiefesses) bequeathed their personal collections of Hawaiian *ethnographica* onto the Bishop Museum upon their passing.

Section Two: Friendship and Transition

<i>Mehana ke aloha o ke hoa</i> <i>Hoapili i ke anu o Nu‘uanu</i>	Warm is the love of my great friend Companion [who lives] in cool Nu‘uanu
<i>‘O Ana nō ke aloha ho ‘okahi</i> <i>Kahi makani nui hele uluulu</i>	Ana is my one true love That oh so wonderful tropical storm
<i>Ulu a ‘e ke aloha no Keaukaha</i> <i>‘O Keaukaha nō ka ‘u li ‘a</i>	My love for Keaukaha grows Keaukaha is my one and only

Section two of the *mele* describes my transition from the Bishop Museum to the Lyman Museum. The first couplet in this section describes my relationship with my dear friend Kau‘ilani Rivera. Kau‘i and I have known each other for the past five year. We both graduated at the same time from the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo. While I was in O‘ahu, she graciously allowed me to stay with her while I did research at the Bishop Museum. This arrangement worked well for me because the Bishop Museum was only a short 15 minutes bus ride (or 45 minute walk) from Kau‘i’s home in Nu‘uanu Valley. Thus the first line “*mehana ke aloha o ke hoa*,” warm is the love of my great friend, acknowledges Kau‘i’s hospitality and our close friendship. In playing on the word *hoa*

(friend) I begin the next line with *hoapili* (companion). The line goes on to state that Kau‘i is my friend who lives in cool Nu‘uanu (*hoapili i ke anu o Nu‘uanu*).

Verse two in this section describes an event, which disrupted my research at the Bishop Museum and caused me a great deal of consternation. It begins with the phrase “‘O Ana nō ke aloha ho‘okahi (Ana is my one true love)” and sarcastically refers to Ana, a hurricane (*makani nui hele uluulu*), as my one true love. While I was on O‘ahu Island, Ana approached the Hawaiian Islands. A frantic phone call from my sister convinced me that an immediate return to the Big Island was necessary so that I could care for my grandmother during the storm. Needless to say, a day and a half worth of research at the Bishop Museum was squeezed into a mere hour. There wasn’t even enough time to properly thank the staff with a *makana* (gift). Withal I packed my bags, bid farewell to Kau‘i and my colleagues at the Bishop Museum, and made my way to the airport, uncertain if I would be able to make it on a flight home.

Fortunately, my cousin and friend Lehua Waipā Ahnee, who was also on her way home to Hilo, came to the rescue, and helped me to secure a seat on a Hawaiian Airlines flight. The last verse of this section is very personal and describes the feelings that I felt upon returning home after an eight-month hiatus. *Ulu a‘e ke aloha no Keaukaha*, my love for Keaukaha grows, refers to Keaukaha, the Hawaiian community that I was born and raised in. The term *ulu* (to grow) is metaphorically used here to describe the overwhelming emotions that I felt while flying; reminiscing about days spent in Keaukaha with friends and family along its rocky shores filled my heart with anticipation and joy as the plane began its final descent. Even Ana, my “true love,” couldn’t deter my happiness. The plane landed and I found myself back in my grandmother’s house,

satisfied after remedying my craving for Hilo-style Chinese food, which, if I might add, is unique in taste and quality. The second line, *‘o Keaukaha nō ka ‘u li ‘a*, Keaukaha is my one and only, is equated to the Western phrase “there’s no place like home” and expresses my love for Keaukaha.

Section 3: The Lyman Museum

<i>‘O Laimana ka hale kahiko Kāhiko ‘ia i nā mea makamae</i>	The Lyman [Museum] is an ancient house Adorned with many precious things
<i>Mae ‘ole ke aloha no Hāla ‘i Hāla ‘i i ka ho ‘okipa malihini</i>	My love for Hāla ‘i never fades Peaceful and welcoming to all
<i>Malihini ‘ole iā Hailikulamanu Ka manu miki ‘ala ‘o Kalanipua</i>	I am no stranger to Hailikulamanu My energetic bird named Kalanipua

Section three of the *mele* includes verses that record my experiences in conducting fieldwork at the Lyman Museum. Once Ana was no longer a threat, I made my way to the Lyman Museum. Unlike the anxiety I felt at the Bishop Museum when I started fieldwork, confidence and excitement was the sensations I felt at the Lyman Museum. As a former volunteer I knew many of the staff members beforehand, all of whom sent me off to graduate school with encouragement and support.

The first verse in this section describes the museum and its possessions. The first line refers to the museum’s pride and joy, the Lyman Missionary House. Built in the early-to-mid 19th century, the Lyman House is the oldest wooden-framed structure on the Big Island. This indeed makes it an ancient house (*hale kahiko*). As in many other places throughout the *mele*, linked assonance is used here as well. As a play on the word “*kahiko*”, the next line begins with *kāhiko*, which means to be heavily adorned. I use *kāhiko* to refer to the collections (*nā mea makamae*) in the museum’s possession as

adornments, thus, *kāhiko 'ia i nā mea makamae*, the museum is adorned with its many objects.

Verse two in this section further goes on to situate the Lyman Museum geographically. Hāla'i Hill is a prominent landmark in the Hilo area and is located due north of the museum. When one stands on the second-floor *lānai* (covered patio) of the Lyman House, Hāla'i can clearly be seen in the distance facing Hilo Bay. Further playing on the word *hāla'i*, which means either calm or peaceful, the second line describes the hospitality that I experience each time I return to the Lyman Museum. The staff were and still are always welcoming. Whenever I go back, they are always excited to hear about my most recent adventures as a small town “Local boy” graduate student studying in the big city of Denver.

Similar to the second verse, the last verse relies on place names to situate the Lyman Museum. Hailikulamanu is the name of the land area that the Lyman Museum and Hāla'i Hill are located. The name itself refers to the abundance of birds that this area was once known for. In using a bird as a metaphor, the verse goes on to describe an energetic bird (*manu miki'ala*) named Kalanipua. Kalanipua is the Hawaiian name of my friend, Lynn Elia, who was one of my research participants at the Lyman Museum. I honor her here because Kalanipua was one of my earliest museum mentors who encouraged me to pursue my interest in museum anthropology. Furthermore, she was a valuable resource for my research and planned interviews for me and allowed me access to their collections database. I describe her as energetic (*miki'ala*) because 1) she is constantly busy and 2) the word *miki'ala* allowed me to acknowledge another friend who worked at the Lyman Museum. Miki Bulos was the museum's archivist and like

Kalanipua was very supportive of my research at the Lyman Museum. My stay at the Lyman Museum coincided with her last few days of work at the museum as she prepared to move home for a job opportunity. Thus, I thought it to be fitting to playfully incorporate her into the *mele*.

Section 4: The Ending

*Hō‘ike‘ike maila ku‘u aloha
Ka Hale ali‘i o Hulihe‘e*

My love is displayed
The royal palace of Hulihe‘e

*Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ana ka puana
Nā Hali‘a aloha o ka huaka‘i
hele loa ē*

Tell the refrain
Of the fond memories of my travels

The last section of the *mele* is comprised of two verses and brings an end to my fieldwork experience. Verse one of this section recounts my visit to the Hulihe‘e Palace. The Hulihe‘e Palace was once the home of Hawaiian royalty and is located in Kailua-Kona, Hawai‘i. The first line is a play on the word *hō‘ike‘ike* which means to display. In the Hawaiian language, museums are referred to as *hale hō‘ike‘ike*, houses/buildings where things are displayed. Thus the phrase “*hō‘ike‘ike maila ku‘u aloha* (my love is on display)” refers to the objects that are displayed at Hulihe‘e. These objects are precious to not only myself but to the Hawaiian people and are loved dearly. Displaying such items allows for generations of Native Hawaiians to appreciate the collections of the *ali‘i*. The second line in the verse goes on to describe Hulihe‘e as a *hale ali‘i*—a chiefly palace.

Lastly, *Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ana ka puana* (tell the refrain), is a *meiwi* that traditionally indicates the end of a *mele*. To end a *mele*, the composer can either choose to 1) repeat a line from an earlier verse, 2) indicate who the *mele* was written for, or 3) create a new phrase that captures the essence of the *mele*. In this instance, I chose to repeat the line *nā hali‘a aloha o ka huaka‘i loa*, my fond memories of my long travels.

Reflection

“Silence is not harmless. It brings disengagement. As sure as the evil tongue, silence threatens the destruction of the self and the community” (Glassie 1982:35).

The *mele* above reflects my fieldwork experiences in the summer of 2014 at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum. As a form of cultural narrative, this *mele* is a chronology, with each verse temporally recounting the events that took place. In following a traditional narrative structure, linked assonance, place names, and ending with a refrain were three traditional poetical techniques (*meiwi*) that I utilized to enhance the storytelling process of the *mele*.

I quote Glassie (1982) at the beginning of this section to emphasize the importance of continuing the *mele* tradition. Kānaka Maoli share the experience of other colonized peoples in that the near extinction of the Hawaiian language as a spoken language effectively silenced an entire generation of Kānaka Maoli from learning their mother tongue and passing down stories orally through *mele*. As a result, it is common to encounter Kanaka Maoli musicians who are able to perform Hawaiian *mele* but cannot access the cultural nuances that come with language fluency. Building on the concept of *narrative resistance*, engaging with the *mele* tradition is a form of resistance through the revitalization of an art form that almost disappeared (Ochs and Capps 1996). The *mele* that I composed also reflects my articulation of the *mele* tradition. Furthermore, this creative project has allowed to me explore the pertinence of *mele* as a form of research poetry. As a storyteller, I use *mele* as my medium to “connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story” (Tuhiwai Smith 2012:145-146).

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Halena Kapuni-Reynolds

Interview Protocol

Semi-Structured Interview Questions for Collections Managers at the Bishop Museum and the Lyman Museum. These interviews will take place in private locations within each museum.

Introduction:

- Go through informed consent form.

Focus 1: 1) Experiential data of individual collections manager's on becoming collections managers. 2) Building rapport during the interview process.

1. Please tell me a little bit about yourself; where are you from? Where did you go to school? What is your current position here in the institution?
2. How did you become a staff member here at the Bishop Museum/Lyman Museum?

Focus 2: Professional responsibilities to care for museum collections as understood by individual collections managers.

1. What are your professional responsibilities here at the Bishop/Lyman museum?
2. As a (job title) what are some of the challenges that you currently or have experienced in regards to curating Hawaiian museum collections?
3. As a (job title) what are some of the benefits of curating Hawaiian museum collections?

Focus 3: Individual practice in preparing for and curating Hawaiian *ali'i* objects. *Prior to asking the following questions, I will clarify to the participant that these questions are in regards to their daily preparation for working with these types of objects.*

Script: The next set of questions that will be ask relates to how you as a collections managers, curate Hawaiian ali'i or any other artifacts on a daily basis.

1. How do you prepare to work with *ali'i* objects?
2. How do you handle *ali'i* objects?
3. How do you re-house *ali'i* objects?
4. How you conserve *ali'i* objects?
5. What do you do after working with these objects?
6. Are there any other protocols or practices that you implement in the care of these collections?
7. Do you or have you worked with other Hawaiians regarding the preservation of Hawai'i's past? Any advisors, or mentors who have guided you?

Focus: Individual collections manager's opinions regarding the implementation of Native Hawaiian cultural beliefs and practices in the care of Hawaiian *ali'i* ethnographic collections.

1. What are your thoughts on utilizing Native Hawaiian cultural protocols/ethics in the care of Hawaiian *ali'i* ethnographic collections?
2. What are some of the benefits of working with *ali'i* collections?
3. What are some of the challenges of working with *ali'i* collections?
4. Do you have any closing thoughts or statements?

APPENDIX B: CODE LIST

Alii Association
Appreciation of Collections
Closing Statement
Connections
Connections to Community
Connections to Family
Family Background
Future Generations
Getting to Current Position
Hawaiian knowledge
Individual Background
Institutional Challenges
Institutional Change
Institutional Memory
Interns and Volunteers
Kupuna and Mentors
Personal Background
Physical Care of Collections
Protocol as awkward
Protocols
Responsibilities
Spiritual or Mental preparations
What are Alii artifacts?
xxxx-other

APPENDIX C: DIRECTORS OF THE LYMAN HOUSE MEMORIAL MUSEUM

1. Anne Scruton, March 1931-1943
2. Cora C. Varney, 1944
3. Hazel I. Gosney, 1946-July 1951
4. Pearl Hageman Welsh, August 1951-October 1963
5. Kathryn E. Lyle, December 1963-March 11, 1968
6. Howard Pierce, March 11, 1968-1972
7. Orlando H. Lyman, 1972 or 1973-1983
8. Leon H. Bruno, May 1, 1983-June 30, 1996
9. Paul A. Dahlquist, 1996-2001
10. Marie D. (Dolly) Strazar, 2001-2013
11. Barbara Moir, 2013-Present