CAPTAIN COOK AT HAWAII

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This paper is in response to the article "Mythopraxis and History: on the Interpretation of the Makahiki", published in the *JPS* by the Copenhagen group of Bergendorff, Hasager and Henriques (1988). The authors there allege that the interpretations I have offered of Captain Cook's sojourn in Hawaii during 1778-9 and its relation to the well-known Makahiki or New Year ceremony are erroneous (Sahlins 1978, 1981, 1985a). They argue that Cook was not taken by Hawaiians as a manifestation of their year-god Lono and that there could be no correspondence between the events of Cook's voyage and the Makahiki rites for the reason that the latter did not exist as such in Cook's time. Rather, they say, these are aspects of a "standard theory" of Cook invented well after the fact, codified (if not created) by David Malo and other Hawaiian students of the American mission high school at Lahainaluna in the late 1830s under the heavy-handed tutelage of the Rev. Sheldon Dibble. As such, the standard theory is not history but ideology: a rationalisation developed in the interests of a *parvenu* Hawaiian ruling class that had come to depend on the world-imperialist expansion of European commerce, which dependence they mystified as a connection to the divine Cook. Finally, Bergendorff and colleages say that the primary historical documents bear out their argument that Cook was no ancient god and the Makahiki no big festival.

I shall take up these issues in roughly the reverse order, beginning with some comments on historiography and the Danish scholars' use of the primary sources. From there I shall marshal the evidence on Cook's divinity, the antiquity of the Makahiki and the ceremonial dimensions of Cook's visitation of 1778-9. I apologise in advance for the length of this historical essay, which is perhaps out of proportion to the interest or substance of the Danish authors' argument. But I admit that I have welcomed the opportunity because the large work on the early modern history of Hawaii which I promised in 1981 is on something like an indefinite hold (Sahlins 1981: vii-viii). At the same time, that such a history could actually be written is not one of the main revelations of the Copenhagen group's research.[1]

HISTORIOGRAPHY[2]

The plausibility of Bergendorff *et al.'s* assertions that Cook's divinity and the great Makahiki were inventions of later times depends on critical affirma-

tions they make about "the historical evidence". Aside from Beaglehole's (1967) edition of certain Cook journals, the evidence to which they refer consists of "the earliest firsthand published descriptions" such as voyagers' accounts and printed log books (p.397).[3] These chronicles, they claim, contradict the descriptions of the Makahiki produced by Malo and his Hawaiian colleagues — descriptions I am supposed to have uncritically accepted. As for Captain Cook, the Danish scholars write, "Our comparison of the Hawaiian historiographers [sic] and the European sources makes it clear that there is a considerable difference in how the Hawaiians perceived Captain Cook at the time of his arrival and how the later Hawaiians — Malo and other indigenous historiographers — perceived and rationalised the historical events" (p.404). The texts of the Hawaiian historians amount to "a later myth made to suit the conquering aristocracy and their Europeanised interests" (p.405).[4]

There are two striking features of this argument, which are manifestly interrelated: the first is that it is totally implausible historically; and the second is that the Danish scholars have consulted practically nothing of the primary historical record from Cook's time to Malo's.

The argument is historically implausible because neither the "Europeanised" Hawaiian aristocracy nor their American missionary allies, who collaboratively came to power in the early 1820s, would have any interest in glorifying a defunct Hawaiian religion, inserting new gods and elaborate ceremonies into a system the chiefs had long since subverted and the clergymen bitterly detested. Nor could it serve the purposes of either to anglicise the charter of Hawaiian sovereignty, as by making Cook into the sacrificed Lono, as this could only play into the hands of their traditional enemies. From the beginning in April 1820 the American missionaries had been opposed by certain resident Englishmen (cf. Bradley 1968:126; *Missionaries* 1821; Tyerman and Bennet 1823:103-4). On the double grounds of national rivalry and the general opposition of clergymen to commercial men, the hostility continued well into the 1830s, especially as joined by the irascible British consul Richard Charlton (cf. Chamberlain MS; Reynolds MS; Bradley 1968:181-2). The American missionaries were only too ready to deny that Kamehameha's so-called cession of Hawai'i to Vancouver in 1794 entailed any real infringement of Hawaiian sovereignty (Bingham 1969:44-5; Dibble 1909:36). Why should they now promulgate a phony interpretation of Hawaiian history so obviously conducive to a continuing British influence? As for the *arriviste* Hawaiian aristocracy, they had even less reason to link Hawaiian sovereignty with British divinity, since this could only enhance the status of the king — whose lands and powers these chiefs were in the process

of taking for themselves.

Let us recall the political structure of the Makahiki festival, the scenario of the successive rituals as recorded by Malo, John Papa I'i, Kepelino, Kelou Kamakau and others. The Makahiki is a celebration of the kingship, of the indispensability of the sovereign to the society. The pivotal figure and final victor in a great cosmic drama, the king appears at the winter solstice to effect the passage from the season of long nights to the season of long days: thus, from the *pō* to the *ao,* darkness to light, the time of gods to the time of man. He recapitulates cosmogonic myth, the critical transition described in the great Kumulipo chant: the advent of man in a world of divine powers. The king appropriates these reproductive powers, i.e., Lono, for the benefit of humanity (cf. Sahlins 1985b; Valeri 1985; Beckwith 1972). In these rites, lesser chiefs make offerings to the king and their gods incline before his. One must assume that Bergendorff and colleagues are referring to such *ali'i* of lower degree, notably the famous 'Ka'ahumanu folks' (Ka'ahumanu *ma*), when they speak of a postconquest aristocracy dependent on commercial trade, in whose interest Malo and the others are supposed to have created a mythical history and an ideal Makahiki.[5]

The Copenhagen scholars discreetly mention no names. But as the Ka'ahumanu people were in control of the kingdom when Malo was writing and had been for 20 years, and as they were certainly obsessed with European goods, the traffic in which they had been managing for even longer, they must be the ones (cf. Sahlins, in press). This ruling group consisted principally of the brothers and sisters, own and collateral, of Kamehameha's widow, Ka'ahumanu: Kalaimoku, Boki, Pi'ia, Kuakini, Cox and others. Having appropriated substantial power and wealth even before Kamehameha's death in 1819, they seized the *de facto* rule of the islands at that time, in the course and cause of which they also overthrew the traditional Hawaiian gods and ceremonies. (The year 1819, then, was the end of the Makahiki.)[6] Thereafter, Ka'ahumanu and her people progressively usurped the traditional privileges of Kamehameha's royal heirs, Liholiho or Kamehameha II (reign 1819-24) and Kamehameha III (1824-54) — even as they substituted a Christianity they could control for the superseded Hawaiian tabus, hence Liholiho's famous voyage to England (and to his death) in 1823: it was in order to enlist the help of "King George" (IV) against the grasping Ka'ahumanu *ma.* Liholiho's father, Kamehameha, had always addressed "King George" (III) as his "brother" and he had the Union Jack flying from his house and canoe even before he gave Hawai'i to Vancouver. From early on, also, Kamehameha enshrined Cook's bones in a prominent temple, while at the same time developing a peaceful and honourable trade with all European comers — in

contrast with the often unscrupulous and inhospitable practices of rival chiefs (especially Kahekili and Kalanikapule of Maui and O'ahu) who could make no such claims of venerating the sacrificed Cook. These were only some of the legacies of Cook to Hawaiian sovereignty, as I have argued (Sahlins 1981:27-8; in press; Kirch and Sahlins. vol. 1).

However, Bergendorff *et al.* are convinced that Kamehameha, being a skilled and practical trader, "was even less influenced by British *mana*" than was his son Liholiho (p.403).[7]

We thus arrive at the historical paradox that includes all the others. A practical commercial man, Kamehameha had a rational ideology, but his successors, although even more bourgeoisified, mystified their dependence on commerce by a fantastic connection to the divine Cook. Indeed, these later pragmatists were able to conceive and perpetrate irrational ideas about Cook of which the traditional Hawaiians were incapable. By this *bricoleur's* version of historical materialism, the superstructure either reflects the infrastructure directly or else inverts it, whatever is most convenient. This is a theory that can lead anywhere . . . but get us nowhere, as do the ideas encompassed by it, to the effect that the Hawaiian ruling chiefs, who had previously destroyed the old religion, would 20 years later sponsor an ideological revival of it, more elaborate in memory than it was in reality, thus benefiting the king whose rights and powers they had expropriated.

Incidentally, though the Copenhagen group allege that David Malo belonged to the ruling aristocracy — let that one pass — this did not prevent the ungrateful chiefs from depriving him of his lands in 1846, about six years after he had written *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Malo to Land Commissioners: July 20, 1846). Probably it was because of the popular protests against the chiefs' policies which Malo had organised the previous year, at Kailua, Kona (Legislative Journals MS: July 14, 1845).

The assertions of Bergendorff *ma* about the invention of the Makahiki and of Cook's divinity for the benefit of a new ruling class are unencumbered by any particular knowledge of Hawaiian politics in the earlier 19th century. However, this is an aspect only of a larger problem of their historiography. The problem is their almost complete neglect of the large corpus of primary documents, published and unpublished, that bear explicitly on the issues they raise.

In a section of their piece called "Makahiki — The Travellers' Accounts", the authors say:

> In reading the earliest firsthand published descriptions, travel accounts and edited and printed log books, we have located only a few references to religious

> ceremonies and none at all to that described by Malo, which, given its size, could not possibly have gone unnoticed (p.397).

In apposition, the Danish researchers refer to four historical accounts: two from the same voyage, Portlock and Dixon; Lisiansky; and Vancouver. That is all. Nothing here or elsewhere in their article from the small library of relevant texts covering the period from 1786 — date of the first European visitors after Cook — to the appearance of the first Lahainaluna *History* in 1838 (for a sample, see Judd and Lind 1974; cf. Valeri 1985: *xvii*ff.). This would include an important number of firsthand reports preceding the abolition of the traditional religion in 1819, accounts that discuss the Makihiki, Hawaiian ideas about Captain Cook, Hawaiian relations to "British *mana*", and related matters. Without claim to be exhaustive, I append a list of pertinent pre-1820 chroniclers, together with the dates of their visits and references to their accounts:

Portlock: 1786, 1786–7, 1787 (Portlock 1789)
Dixon: 1786, 1786–7, 1787 (Dixon 1789)
Meares: 1787, 1788 (Meares 1790)
Douglas: 1788–9, 1789 (Meares 1790)
Colnett: 1788, 1791 (Colnett MS 1940)
Mortimer: 1789 (Mortimer 1791)
Dimsdell: 1792–1800 (Dimsdell, Account)
Bell: 1792, 1793, 1794 (Bell 1929–30)
Manby: 1792, 1793, 1794 (Manby 1929)
Menzies: 1792, 1793, 1794 (Menzies MS 1920)
Puget: 1792, 1793, 1794 (Puget, MSSa-d)
Vancouver: 1792, 1793, 1794 (Vancouver 1801)
Marin: 1793 or 1794-1827 (Gast and Conrad 1973)
Peron: 1796–7 (Peron 1824)
Townsend: 1798 (Townsend 1888)
Cleveland: 1799 (Cleveland n.d.)
Shaler: 1803; 1805 (Shaler 1808)
Lisiansky: 1804 (Lisiansky 1814)
Mariner: 1806 (Martin 1981)
Little: 1809 (Little 1843)
Campbell: 1809–10 (Campbell 1967)
Ross: 1811 (Ross 1849)
Franchère: 1811 (Franchère 1854)
Cox: 1812 (Cox 1831)

Anonymous of *Atahualpa*: 1812, 1814, 1815 (MS)
Whitman: 1813–15 (Whitman 1979)
Corney: 1815, 1817 (Corney 1896)
Kotzebue: 1816, 1817, 1824, 1825 (Kotzebue 1821, 1832)
Chamisso: 1816, 1817 (Chamisso 1981)
Choris: 1816 (Choris 1822)
Hunnewell: 1817–18 (Hunnewell MS 1909)
Golovnin: 1818 (Golovnin 1979)
Freycinet: 1819 (Freycinet 1978)
Arago: 1819 (Arago 1823)

To complete this *aperçu* of the relevant European texts to 1838 would be tedious, since the number of visitors generally increases annually. But mention should be made of certain reports from the earlier 1820s, the immediate post-Makahiki years, which again speak specifically of Cook and the ancient ceremonies: Ellis (1833:vol. IV), Mathison (1825), Tyerman and Bennet (1831) and the documents of Byron's voyage of 1825 — especially Byron (1826), A. Bloxam (1925), and R. Bloxam (MS).

Nor should one let pass the way Bergendorff *ma* have characterised the Hawaiian texts on the Makahiki, pretending that it all comes down essentially to Malo and the Lahainaluna scholars. The authors mention that Kamakau of Ka'awaloa adds a few details to Malo's description, which they proceed not to use (K. Kamakau 1919–20). They do not mention that this text, which closely corresponds to Malo's yet is more precise in important respects, was written by a man 20 years Malo's senior, who was not a Lahainaluna scholar but, as a mature adult, was witness to the ceremonies he described.[8] Nor do the Danish authors consider the reminiscences of John Papa I'i, including his boyhood experiences of the Makahiki procession (1959:70–6), or certain complementary notices of Kepelino (Kirtley and Mookini 1979; Kepelino MS) and of the anonymous chronicler from Kohala (Anonymous [of Kohala] 1919–20) — none of whom were Lahainaluna-trained.

There is nothing to this pretext of historical research on the part of Bergendorff and colleagues: it is empty, a void. I say this not to make some obvious dig about scholarship. I want to call attention to a way of thinking about and doing Hawaiian history which may be more widespread — surely it is characteristic of a certain Copenhagen milieu (cf. Friedman 1985) — and which depends precisely on the reputed absence of historical sources. For, having ignored the documents, it is easy to conclude that, apart from the Cook journals (i.e., those selected by Beaglehole), scholarly knowledge of Hawaiian culture and history begins with the writings of the American missionaries

and the Hawaiian texts produced under their aegis. It not only begins there but it ends there, because the missionaries were obviously biased; so, in effect, there is no information and one is free to say whatever seems theoretically plausible. What then passes for history is in reality general theory. The empirical void is filled by grand historical forces such as Imperialism or the World-System and by *a priori* propositions of a functional sort such as the rationalisation of ruling class interests in the ruling ideology. But these theories cannot justify our ignorance. All they prove is that in the absence of empiricism, historical materialism becomes idealism.

Enough of this — what do the actual documents actually say about Cook as an Hawaiian god?

THE DIVINE CAREER OF THE DECEASED COOK

Captain Cook, say Bergendorff and colleagues, was not considered as the god Lono by Hawaiians in 1778-9. Citing Lt King's account of the Cook voyage, they write: "Only one element in King's report supports the 'standard theory' (that Cook was mistaken for Lono), namely, the constant reiteration of the name Erono for Cook" (pp.400-1). Well, just for starters — there will be occasion later to examine the entire record of the voyage — what about the famous "singular question" posed to Lt King by the two priests who had defied the chiefs by smuggling out to the *Resolution* a piece of the dead Cook's hind parts? One of the priests "shed abundance of tears at the loss of the Erono"; but afterwards this "singular question was asked by them, & that was when the Erono would return, this was demanded afterwards by others, & what he would do to them when he return'd?" (in Beaglehole 1967:560, 561). In the published official account, King adds, "The same inquiry was frequently made afterwards by others; and this idea agrees with the general tenour of their conduct toward him, which shewed, that they considered him as a being of a superior nature" (Cook and King 1784:3:69). Mr Bligh, who hated King, denied the report, alleging it was another of the young lieutenant's absurdities, but both Trevenan and Samwell confirm it. "The Indians [Hawaiians]", Samwell wrote, "have a notion that Captn Cook as being Orono will come amongst them again in a short time" (in Beaglehole 1967:1217; cf. Trevenan, MSa). It is from this point that I shall pick up the documentary evidence of Cook's divine career. And right off, from the testimony of some of the first European visitors after Cook, the documents will show: that the belief in Cook's imminent return was still in place; that the reverence (and also fear) expressed by the Lono priests was, in fact, general and popular, not simply a dogma of the Hawaiian powers-that-be; and that the divinity Cook instantiated had the characteristics of the year-god of the Makahiki, Lono-

makua, 'Lono-the-parent' (or 'Lono-the-elder'), the one whose image was carried round the island during the festival.

It was not until 1786, some seven years after Cook's death at Kealakekua, that European vessels, mostly fur traders, again touched at the Islands. The demonstration of affection for Cook described by one of the early traders, John Meares, at the time of his departure from Hawai'i, about the beginning of September, 1787, will set the scene of our discussion:

> The numbers of them which surrounded the ship with a view to obtain permission to go to Britanee, to the friends of their beloved Cook, are incredible. . . . Presents were poured in on us from the chiefs, who were prevented by the multitude from approaching the vessel, and the clamorous cry of *Britanee, Britanee,* was for a long time heard from every part, without ceasing (Meares 1790:9).

One is reminded of the pandemonium of joy that greeted Cook when he first came into Kealakekua (see below); or, again, of Kuykendall's observation that, from the time of Vancouver's last visit in 1794 to about 1825, "Great Britain held the highest place in the thought of Hawaiians about foreign countries; they considered themselves under the protection of that nation and frequently referred to themselves as *kanaka no Beritane* (men of Britain)" (1968:206). And if Meares' account suggests that the sentiment antedated Vancouver, the journals of the latter expedition can confirm that it was widespread in the Hawaiian population and mediated by the dead Cook — the memory of whom, Lt Puget wrote, "appears on all occasions to be treated with the Greatest Veneration by all Ranks of People" (Puget MSd: February 26, 1793). Or even more, Cook had assumed a place in the general Hawaiian consciousness as a source of time, a frame of history, a position that Midshipman Bell connected with his status as Lono:

> The Natives seem to consider that melancholy transaction [Cook's death] as one of the most remarkable events in their History, almost every child able to prattle can give you an account of it, and in reckoning back to distant periods, which they do by memorable occurrences, and knowing the distances of time from one to another, this transaction seems to assist their calculations in a very great degree; — at that time they look'd up to him as a supernatural being, indeed called him the 'Orono' or great God, nor has he to this day lost any of his character or consequence with the Natives they still in speaking of him style him the Orono and if they are to be believ'd, most sincerely regret his fate (Bell 1929:1(6):80).

By Vancouver's time we have definite evidence of a ritual cult of Captain

Cook. However, a text written even a few years earlier by the fur trader James Colnett (formerly with Cook) throws a particular light on that cult. It not only attests to the persistence of the "singular question" — when will Lono return? — but also shows that Hawaiians attributed powers to the dead Cook that are specific characteristics of the Makahiki god, Lonomakua. Colnett had been trading in the Islands in 1788 and now in 1791 he was again at Kailua, Hawai'i. Embroiled in a dispute with the Spanish naval commander, Quimper, Colnett used the occasion to advance British interests at the Spaniard's expense. For this purpose he found the gunpowder he had offered to the Hawai'i chiefs,

> came very apropos, they being at war with the other Isles. Indeed they have constantly been at war since Captain Cook was kill'd, and also have had a deal of Sickness which never before this time afflicted them which they allege to having kill'd him. They made strict enquiry of me, if ever he would come back again, and when I saw him last, I told them: having constantly been in their part of the world, I could not tell, but this I knew, the Spaniards were coming to take their Country from them and make them Slaves. They enquired if Captain Cook had sent them, and how long he would be angry with them, and what they should do to get Captain Cook to entreat his area [*ali'i*, 'chiefs'] to send and assist them against the Spanish. Since I was here in the Prince of Wales [1788], two Volcanoes have open'd on the Lee Side [of] the Isle, which burn'd night and day with great fury and Tremendous Explosion which they say Captain Cook has caus'd (Colnett 1968:220).

Colnett's notice is capital because of the connection that can be drawn from it between the returning Cook and the Makahiki deity, Lonomakua. Revenge and volcanic destruction are not inconsistent with this apotheosis; on the contrary, they are Hawaiian signs of it. Behind this is a complex logic of the relationship between celestial fires (of Lono, associated with thunder and lightning) and terrestrial fires (of the volcano goddess Pele), but we can make the case more directly by way of a text by S. Kamakau included in Thrum's manuscript on Hawaiian mythology — which will also motivate the feature of revenge in Colnett's report. According to this tradition, when a royal corpse was divided among district chiefs — as Cook's had been — the parts turned into dangerous fire gods, to whom were devoted certain prophets of Pele:

> The fault was that in dividing the body of an alii into several such gods, lava would come forth and destroy the land, and the fire prophets did not sanction such practice. Those prophets who did so were called destroyers and became a source of tribulation to the realm. That was the reason that the chiefs murdered Pele's prophets in older time. . . . .If a great flow occurred and destroyed the

> land, the people imagined that a great chief had been taken into the volcano (Thrum, MS; for another translation, see Kamakau 1964:17).

One only need add that Lonomakua, the Lono form of the Makahiki, is a member of Pele *ma,* 'Pele-folks;' more than that, he is the keeper of the fire sticks of the volcano goddess, the *akua* who ignites Pele's eruptions (Beckwith 1970:40-1, 170, 206). An ethnographic notice from Mrs Pukui completes the logical connection between this terrestrial Lono and the celestial one:

> The most important male *'ohana* [family member] in the Pele clan was her uncle Lono-makua . . . . The name means Lono-the-elder. Lono (resounding) probably refers to thunder. It was he who kept the sacred fire of the underworld under his armpit. Vulcanism in Ka-'u is associated with heavy rain, thunder and lightning. Rain clouds were referred to in chants as 'bodies' *(kino)* of Lono (Handy and Pukui 1972:31).

Thus, by way of the Hawaiian cosmic scheme, a seemingly bizarre report such as Colnett's can be understood as a coherent synthesis of history (Cook's death), seismology (two volcanic eruptions) and theology (the return of Lono). Now that is what I mean by "mythopraxis".

(On the other hand, what seems truly exotic is the Danish scholars' repeated designation of the Makahiki god as "Lonomakau" — rather than Lonomakua — an error then compounded by their completely off-the-wall translation, 'Father of Waters' [p.392].)

Two years after Colnett, Peter Puget (of Vancouver's squadron) was to report that the Hawaiians had ritually enshrined Captain Cook's remains at Kealakekua (home of the Lono priests of Cook's time). Of course, the British had been satisfied in 1779 that they had recovered the quasi-totality of Cook's bones and confined them to the waters of Kealakekua Bay (Beaglehole 1967:566-67). All the same, in 1793 Kamehameha's brother and others told Puget that "Capt Cooks Remains were in the Morai [*heiau* 'temple'] with those of Terriobo [Kalaniopu'u] which faces the Place [Ka'awaaloa] where the . . . skirmish [leading to Cook's death] happened" (MSd: February 27, 1793). In effect, the Hawaiians were indicating that Kamehameha, who had slain Kalaniopu'u's heir in order to seize the rule, thereby acquired the victories and powers (bones) of his predecessors. Or, as Mauss and Hubert put the principle: "when one god vanquishes another, he perpetuates the memory of his victory by the inauguration of a cult" (1964:89). Cook had been integrated into a royal cult. The repeated references to this cult in historical texts of the following decades reveal that the cult was the Makahiki.

A certain Joshua Lee Dimsdell, who lived on Hawai'i Island from 1792 to 1801, confirms that the Cook cult is that of Lono. He says he even saw the bones:

> It appears from further particulars as related by Dimsdell that Capt Cook is now considered as their Third God, which the term Oroner intimates, there are a variety of Morais [temples] built to his Memory in Several parts of the Island & the Natives sacrifice to him in Common with their other Deities. It is their firm Hope and Belief that he will come again & forgive them, he is never mentioned but with the utmost reverence of Respect. After the affray was over they took the Body back about a mile amongst the Rocks where they dissected it on a large flat stone. This Stone is still preserved with Great Care. The Flesh was taken by the Priests & the Bones were divided amongst the Chiefs; those that fell to the Share of Teriaboo [Kalaniopu'u] and now in Possession of Tomamah [Kamehameha] his successor Dimsdell has Seen; they are preserved as Relics & were shown him as a great favour. There are perhaps 2/3 of the human frame or not quite so much (Dimsdell MS).

In 1809, George Little, an American seaman, visited "the burying place" of Captain Cook: set in a coconut grove, as he described, in Kealakekua. Approaching the spot with "profound reverence", Little's Hawaiian companions told him that, "Once in a year all the natives assemble here to perform a religious rite in memory of his lamentable death" (Little 1845:131–2). This vague suggestion of the Makahiki can be sharpened by the information collected three years earlier, in 1806, by William Mariner, of Tonga fame. Mariner learned that Cook's bones were carried around by Hawaiians in an annual procession. Moreover, in the Hawaiian view, Cook's spirit had a certain relevant efficacy: it brought culture and well-being from beyond (Kahiki). Mariner had his information from John Harbottle, himself in the Islands since 1793 and for a long time in Kamehameha's service. Mariner interviewed Harbottle when the ill-fated *Port au Prince* was at O'ahu. Later he was able to confirm what Harbottle said about Cook from a certain number of Hawaiians living on Tonga:

> They corroborated everything that Harebottle [sic] had said and stated, moreover, that the natives had no idea that Cook could possibly be killed, as they considered him a supernatural being and were astonished when they saw him fall (Martin 1981:281).

Here is the critical part of Mariner's report:

> The people of the Tonga Islands behaved towards Cook with every external

> demonstration of friendship, whilst they secretly meant to kill him; and the people of the Sandwich islands, although they actually did kill him, have paid, and still continue to pay him, higher honours than any other nation of the earth. They esteem him as having been sent by the gods to civilize them, and one to whom they owe the greatest blessings they enjoy. His bones (the greater part of which they have still in their possession!) they devoutly hold sacred. They are deposited in a house consecrated to a god, and are annually carried in procession to many other consecrated houses, before each of which they are laid on the ground, and the priest returns thanks to the gods for having sent them so great a man (Martin 1981:280).

We shall see in the sections following that all these years, back to Vancouver and before, the classical Makahiki was going on. Shortly before the abolition of the traditional religion in 1819, Freycinet again referred to the festival, and in well-known terms: the 23-day procession of the god, the *kāli'i* ritual, the royal feeding of the god (*hānaipū*), etc. (Freycinet 1978:73). What Freycinet adds to the discussion is the precise story of the returning Lono, here told of one of Cook's predecessors in that capacity, Lono-i-ka-makahiki (Lono-of-the-Makahiki), an ancient king of Hawai'i who departed the Islands promising to return (cf. Sahlins 1985b). So, when Cook appeared, he was taken as this Lono, who is the god of the Makahiki (Freycinet 1978:73n). Incidentally, Freycinet's major European informants go back a long way in the Islands: John Young to 1790 and Don Francisco de Paula Marin to 1793 or 1794.

So did the memories of the old-timers living around Kealakekua go back a fair way, some as far back as Cook's visit; hence, what they told the first missionaries about it seems worthy of notice. Indeed, certain of them were personages of importance, such as Kekupuohi: she was no *parvenu* chief but a wife of Kalaniopu'u, the Hawai'i ruler of Cook's day. She claimed to have been at Cook's death scene. Fifty years later, Laura Fish Judd met her at Kealakekua and heard her story:

> Here [at Kealakekua] I have made the acquaintance of the old queen, Kekupuohi, wife of Kalaniopuu. She was close to Captain Cook when he fell, following her royal husband, whom the English were enticing on board the ship, to be detained as a hostage until a stolen boat should be restored. She says the natives had supposed that Captain Cook was their old god Lono, returned to visit them. They paid him divine honors, which he must well have understood (Judd 1966:64–5).

In their first visits to the towns of the Kealakekua area, American mission-

aries in the early 1820s came away with more local traditions of the same kind. "They say he [Cook] was a god, and for a long time worshipped him as such" (Whitney MS:April 13, 1820). "All the natives agree that Cook was considered a god", reported Elisha Loomis. And he added,

> The natives had a tradition that one of their gods named Rono or Lono had gone to a foreign country. When Capt. Cook arrived, it was supposed he was the identical Rono. This was the name they gave to him and the name by which he has ever since been known among them (MS: June 12, 1824).

Visitors to Kealakekua in this period could also collect stories from the local people to the effect that the man who first stabbed Cook declared he did not believe Cook was a god and he would test him to see if he would bleed. Kekupuohi included the incident in her account (Judd 1966:65). It was rather widely known (Ellis 1833:4:105; S. Kamakau 1961:103); and in various versions, such as that the slayer was newly arrived from the country and did not know who Cook was (Dimsdell MS). Perhaps it happened. But then its plausibility depends on its remarkability: it presupposes that, before the event, the people generally believed Cook to be Lono. Moreover, if everyone gets his 15 minutes of immortality, as Andy Warhol says, Cook had rather 15 minutes of mortality. For, as soon as he was dead and offered to the gods by the king, Cook rejoined the Olympians (as we have seen). Kalaniopu'u and, later, Kamehameha were thus able to do historically what the ruler at every Makahiki also did ritually: incorporate Lono.

Lord Byron in 1825 collected a full version of this myth of the returning Lono — apparently supplied by Hiram Bingham — into which Cook had been assimilated. "Long after Captain Cook's death", he observed, "they were persuaded he would reappear, and perhaps punish them for their breach of hospitality" (Byron 1826:28, cf. 21, 196, 199; Bingham MS:1:648f). Byron had heard it often, and when Kalaimoku said it all once more while recounting how the Hawaiians had killed Cook — that was their failure of hospitality — His Lordship was already persuaded:

> Of the respect, according to their notions, paid to his remains, and of their belief, that though once dead, he might, as their deity Orono, come again among them, Karaimoku's testimony is now hardly necessary (Bryon 1826:123).

Likewise, it is hardly necessary that we hear more of such testimony that Cook was Lono, although further witnesses might easily be called (R. Bloxam MS: July 14, 1825; Tyerman and Bennet 1831:1:376; Barrère and Sahlins 1979:32). The purport of "the singular question" addressed to Lt King in 1779

and repeated to Colnett in 1791 — that Cook was Lono, that he would return to us — now echoes and re-echoes in the reminiscences of people who said they had been there. I would only risk trying the reader's patience by one further notice, that of the Rev. William Ellis, because it adds new information about the ritual destiny of Cook's (purported) bones. Indeed, Ellis believed that certain bones of Cook formerly held by priests of Lono were still extant in 1823, although no white man knew where (Ellis 1833:4:105). Again, from Hawaiians living in Tahiti, Ellis' missionary colleagues there had "been long acquainted with the circumstance of Cook's bones being preserved in one of their temples and receiving religious worship" (p.105). However, Ellis could contribute significant details from his own sojourn in Hawaii — Makahiki details:

> Some of his [Captain Cook's] bones, his ribs and breastbone, were considered sacred, as part of Rono, and deposited in a heiau (temple) dedicated to Rono on the opposite end of the island [?]. There religious homage was paid to them, and from thence they were annually carried in procession to several other heiaus, or borne by the priests round the island, to collect the offerings of the people for the support of the worship of the god Rono. The bones were preserved in a small basket of wickerwork, completely covered over with red feathers; which in those days were considered to be the most valuable article the natives possessed . . . . The best conclusion we can form is, that part of Captain Cook's bones were preserved by the priests, and were considered sacred by the people, probably until the abolition of idolatry in 1819: that, at that period, they were committed to the sacred care of some chief, or deposited by the priests who had charge of them, in a cave, unknown to all besides themselves (pp.105–6).[9]

The feather-covered wickerwork basket described by Ellis is a classic *kā'ai*, a sinnet coffin housing the deified bones of a sacred chief (Buck 1957:575–6). One such *kā'ai* in the collections of the Bishop Museum is Lono-i-ka-makahiki, the ancient Hawaiian *ali'i* who was a predecessor of Cook in the capacity of Lono. Indeed, in Freycinet's version, Cook was this Lono. Before 1830, the *kā'ai* in question is thought to have rested in the Hale o Keawe (House of Keawe) at Honaunau, not far from Kealakekua, along with other sacred chiefly remains (Buck 1957:574). I go into all this because S. Kamakau says that the image of Lono-i-ka-makahiki was one of the gods introduced into the Makahiki procession by Kamahameha. Given the talk in the historical records about Cook's bones being carried about, could it be that the *kā'ai* in the drawer of the Bishop Museum is Cook *cum* Lono of the Makahiki?

In any event it is good to keep in mind this Hawaiian principle that gods called "Lono" are so many bodies (*kino*) or specific refractions of the

inclusive Lono when reading the tortuous argument of Bergendorff *et al.* about why the Hawaiians could not have assimilated Captain Cook to the god Lono (pp.400–2; cf. Valeri 1985:12ff).[10] They introduce their own argument as a counterthesis to "the 'standard theory' (that Cook was mistaken for Lono)" (p.400). This is a bad start, because the so-called standard theory is, rather, the reverse: not that Cook was mistaken for Lono, but that he was recognised as Lono, as an avatar of that god. Anyhow, their argument goes something like this. While it is true that Hawaiians considered Captain Cook to be divine, this is because there is no distinction in Hawaiian categories between chiefs from Kahiki and gods and Cook clearly was a chief from Kahiki. It happens that he was called "Lono" but this was just a kind of metaphor, due apparently to the resemblance between Cook's cannon and the thunder and lightning attributed to Lono. For, in the same way, S. Kamakau relates that a man of Cook's crew was given a name with the prefix "Ku" because what he was doing bore some likeness to a temple image of the god Ku. Bergendorff *ma* (somehow) conclude that, to claim "Cook was perceived as god would be to accept a later Western representation — one made from within a Christian paradigm" (p.402).

Damned (as ethnocentric) if you do and damned if you do not. If you say Cook was perceived as a god you are taking a Western perspective. On the other hand (this is from the same page), "the gods were inseparable from chiefs from Kahiki. In Hawaiian cosmology there was no distinction between these two (European) categories" (p.402). This discussion comes in the section of the article titled "God or Chief".

The reason why the argument of Bergendorff *et al.* is so weird is that it is implicitly constructed as a faulty syllogism: all chiefs from Kahiki are gods; Cook was a god; therefore, Cook was (just) a chief from Kahiki. Or perhaps Lewis Carroll is the historical source to whom the confusion is primarily due:

> "I call the name of the god Lono."
> "Oh, Lono is the name of the god."
> "No, no. Lono is what I *call* the name of the god. The name of the god is Cook."

There is also something characteristic about the way Bergendorff and colleagues here make use of the historical sources. I do not mean simply that they fail to recognise the principle in Samuel Kamakau's example, *viz.*, the name given to the sailor, Ku-of-the-coloured-flag (Ku-ka-lepa-'oni'oni'o), is the typical binominal form of a particular manifestation of the god (Ku + attribute; cf. Valeri 1985:13). More interesting is the liberty they allow themselves by quoting S. Kamakau. When it suits them they have no scruples about using a Lahainaluna historian: in some respects the most derivative (cf.

Barrère in Kamakau 1976:v), and, as younger than Malo, even further removed from the events he describes. Nevertheless, Kamakau can tell us what Hawaiians said about Cook in 1779. Agreed. Then why not consider seriously the sentence before that in Kamakau's text? (1961:93): "They called Captain Cook Lono (after the god Lono who had gone away promising to return)" (1961:93); together with another in the same paragraph? — "'This is indeed Lono, and this [his ship] is his heiau [temple] come across the sea from Moa-'ula-nui-akea'" (p.93; see below).[11]

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE MAKAHIKI FESTIVAL

Bergendorff-folks confess their poor success in locating early historical references to the Makahiki, "and none at all to that described by Malo, which, given its size, could not possibly have gone unnoticed" (p.397). Hence their researches leave the "general impression . . . that there was no mammoth festival during the winter" (p.398). Perhaps, they say, a spectacle of such grandeur was a later phenomenon; perhaps it was elaborated by Kamahameha (p.398). But they do not specify what changes Kamehameha authored, nor when, nor much about what existed before except it was some simpler "first fruit ceremonies" (p.404). By the date of the visit of the Russian explorer Lisiansky (1804), 20 years had passed since Kamehameha seized the succession of Kalaniopu'u and since 1795 he had ruled all the islands save Kaua'i. Yet nothing had happened as concerns the Makahiki, for Lisiansky is one of the sources that suggest its nonexistence, according to the Copenhagen group. Such documents, they say, make no mention of the ceremonies described by Malo. Thereupon they proceed to disclose that Lisiansky refers to the Makahiki by name and recounts specific features of it that are found in Malo's account — on the authority of John Young, who goes back to 1790 (p.397). However, they do not tell us that as much could be found in the relations of Vancouver's voyage, which is their other main source. It turns out that the problem is not how the Makahiki could have escaped the notice of Vancouver and Lisiansky; the problem is how Vancouver's and Lisiansky's notices of the Makahiki escaped the Bergendorff *ma*. And this is too bad because the Lisiansky and Vancouver documents are complementary, speaking to different phases of the Makahiki, so that, when put together, they describe a distinct ritual season of about four months at the turn of year — or the Makahiki as Malo, Kelou Kamakau, I'i and the other Hawaiian ethnographers recorded it.

This classic Makahiki of the Hawaiian texts had contrastive features, as well as a specific cadence of ritual activities, that need to be appreciated in order to recognise it in the historical accounts. Linked to celestial events such as the autumnal appearance of the Pleiades and the winter solstice, the

Makahiki was set off from the rest of the year by ceremonies distinct from the regular *haipule* rites. The *haipule* were the rites attended by priests and chiefs at the major temples during the four tabu periods (each of two or three days) in the Hawaiian lunar month. Such *haipule* rites were suspended in the Makahiki season, although the temples were used on certain occasions for other purposes. Indeed, the climax of the Makahiki was rather a popular *fête* than an exclusive ceremony of the powers-that-be. Lasting about one month, from c. 21 Welehu to 16 Makali'i in the Hawai'i calendar, this heightened period of public celebrations was marked by: the preparation of the Makahiki images and feasts; the imposition of the tabu of Lono interdicting war and activities on the sea; the procession of the Makahiki gods round the island, led by Lonomakua, collecting offerings (*ho'okupu*) in each district; feasting on special foods, dancing, boxing and other public amusements; and, in addition to the tribute collected by Lono, an offering to the king's god (Ku or Ku-ka-ili-moku) through the chiefs of the island. Now the ritual complexities of the season are reflected in different uses of term "Makahiki". Meaning in the most general sense 'year', the word is applied more narrowly to the four-month ritual season (from Ikuwa to Kā'elo), or, still more specifically, to the climactic month when the god is abroad. So, for an example of the last, Malo speaks of the preparation of feast foods just before the god's advent as a provisioning "against the coming of the Makahiki" (1951:143) — even as he also describes the whole season, of course, as "the Makahiki". Given the public and popular character of the events of the Lono procession, it may be that "Makahiki" in an unmarked sense refers to this period. This is what typically happens in the European historical accounts: by "Makahiki", the journalist usually intends the one-month high point of the season. On the other hand, the same European texts, notably those of Lisiansky and Vancouver, also justify the traditional differentiation of a four-month Makahiki period, for they indicate not only that it was ritually distinct from the rest of the year but also that Hawaiians conceived the ceremonies of the entire season, including those beyond the Lono procession, as included in the rules of the Makahiki. Indeed, the voyages of Lisiansky and Vancouver alone, which constitute the main body of Bergendorff-folks' evidence that was were "no mammoth winter festival", would be enough to prove its existence, for Lisiansky in particular fills us in on the first two months and Vancouver on the last two.

Lisiansky was in the islands in June 1804, not the Makahiki season. What he wrote about the festival he learned from others, probably from John Young in the main, but he also interviewed the "high priest" at Kealakekua. Speaking of the festival by name, he reports (1814:118) that this "Macahity" lasts an

entire month, corresponding to the 12th month of the Hawaiian year (which is likewise called "Macahity"). His descriptions of the activities of the month correspond to the received descriptions of the Hawaiian historians: dancing, play and the dramatic *kāli'i*, the ritual victory of the king. Lisiansky's report of the *kāli'i* likewise parallels the details known from the Hawaiian texts: richly dressed, the king comes in from the sea; he is opposed by a warrior whose spears he must parry; he enters the temple; a sham fight follows (1814:118–9; cf. Malo 1951:150; K. Kamakau 1919–20:42–4). Moreover, there are elements of Lisiansky's description of the Makahiki not found in the later texts, although they would be consistent with the sense of the festival as a new year ritual. For instance, "all punishments are remitted throughout the country" (p.119). Again, Lisiansky notes the rule that no one may leave the place where he begins the Makahiki — a rule that twice plays a part in Vancouver's experience of the Makahiki and, we shall see, echoes in the behaviour of King Kalaniopu'u in Cook's day. And Lisiansky's note on the prohibition of war during the Makahiki may be more precise than Malo's (although like K. Kamakau's) as he says it obtains "during the taboo of Macahity," which for him is one month (1814:130).

Apart from this evident verification of the accounts of Malo *ma*, what interests us here is the Russian explorer's reference to ritual events of the previous month, which would be the beginning of the Makahiki season. Lisiansky provides a table of the Hawaiian months as well as a list of the 30 day- names for each month (1814:118–9) All these names closely correlate with the calendrical date from Hawai'i Island given by Malo (1951:30–6), the principal difference being the substitution of "Macahity" for the month of Welehu. In addition, the Russian accurately records the days of the four tabu periods of each month, the days of the *haipule* rites of the non-Makahiki season. But precisely in this connection he notes that the tabu periods of the *haipule* are not observed in the 11th month, Ikuwa ("Oytooa" — Lisiansky 1814:118–9) And this, of course, answers to Malo's and K. Kamakau's descriptions of the Makahiki, as beginning with the suspension of the regular *haipule* rites in the first days of the month of Ikuwa (Malo 1951:141; K. Kamakau 1919–20:35). Lisiansky thus gives a certain antiquity to the later Hawaiian versions.

Indeed, although collected in 1804, Lisiansky's notices of the Makahiki probably go back into the 1790s via Kamehameha's white *ali'i*, John Young. This puts Lisiansky's information in the same historical neighbourhood as the Vancouver journals of 1792–4. In any event, the latter complement Lisiansky's text by references to the termination ceremonies of the Makahiki, subsequent to the central month of *fête*.

The Vancouver documents, in fact, indicate that the termination rites were more complicated in ancient times than represented in the texts of Malo *ma* — rather than less so, as represented by Bergendorff *ma*. This particularly concerns the ceremonies of the opening of the bonito (*aku*) season. The bonito fishing is not well described by the Hawaiian scholars. About all we know is that it culminates in the offering of the first catch during the final Makahiki ceremonies, at the full moon (*hua tabu*) of the fourth month (Kā'elo); and it is thus joined with the rituals which permit the king to resume eating pork (Malo 1951:152). On the model of the counterpart ceremonies of the *opelu* or mackerel season, the tabu on the ocean — excepting ceremonial fishing by certain experts — would go on for the *anahulu* or 10-day period before the offering of the fish at the temple. The Vancouver texts can confirm that the bonito fishing tabu lasts 10 days. But they also indicate that Kamehameha abbreviated the period to four days in 1794, and that, in any event, the bonito fishing would come before rather than coincide with the final Makahiki ceremonies (as in Malo's account). So, if Malo was reporting a late state of the Makahiki, in these respects at least it had been simplified.

I briefly summarise the evidence on the Makahiki from Vancouver's visits.

In 1793 and again in 1794 Vancouver and other journalists in his squadron took note of the *aku* (bonito) tabu; they also indicate that the tabu took place within the cadre of the Makahiki ritual season as the Hawaiians conceived it. On February 12 and 13, 1793, when the ships first made Hawai'i on their second visit to the Islands, the bonito tabu was on. Surprised at first by the lack of communication from shore, so unlike their experiences the year before, the British now learned that the tabu had been in effect for some days, that it lasted 10 days in all and would end in another day or two, and that it indeed concerned the annual opening of bonito fishing (Vancouver 1801:3:183–9, 282; Bell 1929:1(5):59–62; Manby 1929:1(2):38–9; Menzies MS: February 13-15, 1793; Puget MSd: February 12–15, 1793). Yet, unlike Malo's account, in 1793 the end of the bonito tabu would not make up part of the final Makahiki rituals. For, as late as March 7, Kamehameha was still under the prohibitions of the Makahiki season; he had not undergone the purificatory rites that would release him from Makahiki tabus — apparently those that begin on 26 and 27 Makali'i (Malo 1951:152). This was the reason, Kamehameha explained to Vancouver, that he could not go about to organise supplies for the British, who were then taking their departure:

> . . . it was impossible for him to absent himself from Karakakooa [Kealakekua] until certain ceremonies had taken place, in consequence of his having celebrated the festival of the new year in this district; and of his having transgressed

> the law by living in such social intercourse with us, who had eaten and drank in the company of women (Vancouver 1801:3:275).

The events of 1794 confirm this complex sequence of termination rituals, even as they document the existence of a protracted Makahiki season, fully four months long. Arriving at Hilo on January 9, 1794, Vancouver found Kamehameha celebrating the new year there, but for that reason again unable to leave the place: "The tabu appertaining to the festival of the new year demanded his continuance for a certain period, within the limits of the district in which those ceremonies had commenced" (Vancouver 1801:5:8). Hence Midshipman Bell was mistaken when he wrote at this time that "a kind of festival that is held annually at this Island about the months of October and November" was already over (1930:2(1):81). The mistake accounts for Bell's underestimate of the Makahiki as a ceremony that "generally lasts about six weeks or two months, and draws together the principal chiefs, and a vast concourse of Islanders" (p.81). Even as it is, this looks like a "mammoth winter festival". Yet what Bell's statement suggests is that the Makahiki in question began back in October, 1793 — October 6, 1793, would be the first day of the moon (of Ikuwa, then; cf. Sahlins MS). What had probably ended (in December) was the procession of the god, thus the "Makahiki" in the restricted sense. But it was now January; Kamehameha was still celebrating the Makahiki at Hilo; and certain Makahiki rituals were still to come.

By an infamous piece of blackmail, Vancouver forced Kamehameha to violate the Makahiki rule and leave Hilo for Kealakekua, where the British ships could be better supplied. Vancouver demanded Kamehameha accompany him, or else the British would take their business to the king's great enemy, Kahekili of Maui. Nevertheless, at Kealakekua the Hawaiians resumed the Makahiki ceremonies, apparently compensating for the disturbance by allowing a lapse of one lunar month, as Valeri suggests (1985:229–30; cf. Sahlins MS). The bonito tabu was imposed on February 1, 1794. However, instead of 10 days, Kamehameha abbreviated it in the Kona district to four days for men, five for women, apparently so as not to discourage commerce with the British (Vancouver 1801:5:31). Fully two weeks later, from the evening of February 12 to the morning of the 15th, came the rites — of 13–14 Kā'elo, according to Malo — which allow the king to resume eating pork. The lunar phase would be correct, as February 12–15, 1794, makes it the 11th to 14th day of the moon (±1 day; cf. Sahlins MS). Vancouver assisted at these temple ceremonies and the report he left also correlates well with Malo's description of the final Makahiki rituals (cf. Valeri 1985:228f.).

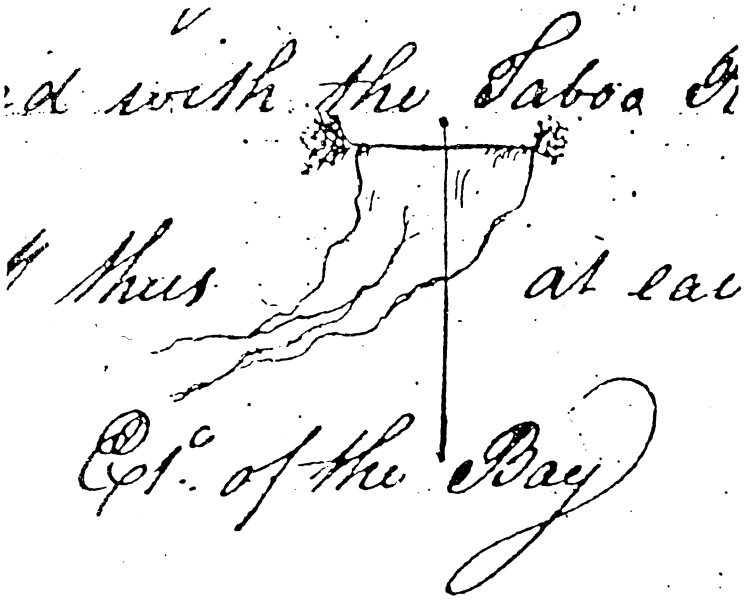
Whereas, taken together with the relation of Lisiansky, the annals of Vancouver's voyage do not support the contention of the Danish scholars that Malo and his like latterly combined a number of disparate rites under the name "Makahiki", in this way fabricating an extended new year festival that was never practised as such. For, quite apart from the correspondences between the Hawaiian and the historical accounts which Bergendorff and colleagues somehow managed to overlook, what these accounts show is that the Makahiki ceremonies, from the suspension of the mensural *haipule* to the king's resumption of pork-eating, form a coherent cycle in complementary relation to the royal temple ceremonies of the rest of the year (cf. Valeri 1985). In this respect the historical texts make it clear that such rites as the bonito tabu were by Hawaiian conceptions part of the traditional Makahiki, since they were temporally encompassed by specific Makahiki restrictions, such as the rule prohibiting the king from eating pork or leaving the place in which he began the ceremonies until certain purificatory rituals had been completed.

The reports of Lisiansky and Vancouver make up the greater part of Bergendorff *ma*'s evidence that the Makahiki did not exist. As for the rest, Portlock and Dixon in 1786, and 1787, one can agree that what they report is not decisive. What they report is only suggestive: notably the ceremonies of December 15–17, 1786, at O'ahu, involving a tabu on the sea, the construction of a temporary structure covered in red at the temple (probably the *luakini* at Leahi), and the collection of tributes including European trade goods by the ruling chief Kahekili (Portlock 1789:162f; Dixon 1789:103f). It is suggestive of the terminal *kuapola* offering of the Makahiki (Malo 1951:152), except that the O'ahu events happened on the 24th to 26th day of the month and the Hawai'i *kuapola* is supposed to occur at the full moon. On the other hand, Portlock (1789:178–9) recorded a similar tabu and tribute at Kaua'i on January 1, 1787, which is the 12th night of the moon (Sahlins MS). All of this, however, becomes more interesting only in the light of James Colnett's experiences in the next year at O'ahu.

On January 17, 1788, following two nights of drumming and fires burning on the Waikiki shore, a priest came out to the *Prince of Wales*, James Colnett master, bearing an unmistakable Makahiki image. We can be sure of this — and not merely because Colnett's verbal description matches Malo's (1951:143–4) or John Papa I'i's (1959:70–2), which in turn closely resemble the drawings made by Webber during Cook's voyage (see below). We can be sure because Colnett likewise favours us with a small sketch, inserted directly into his journal entry (Fig. 1). The entry reads:

> one of the Chiefs that came of[f] was called a priest, attended with the Taboo Rods & a white Flag like a pendant with a stick on the Tack [?] part & seized

to a long staff thus [see Colnett's sketch below] at each end of the pendant stick was a bunch of green Bows as seen in this enlargement of Colnett MS: January 17, 1788.



Such images are not abroad outside the Makahiki period; rather, they are dismantled and housed in a temple after the circuit of Lono, to reappear at the next Makahiki.

We have another kind of evidence for the existence of the next historic Makahiki, the winter of 1788–9. On December 12, 1788, Captain William Douglas of the *Iphigenia* was greeted at Kealakekua with the same kind of ritual as Cook received a decade earlier, ritual that is specific to Lono (see below). Escorted on shore by Kamehameha and another chief, Douglas was met by three priests who, in a ceremony lasting some 10 minutes, "chanted a kind of song" and offered a small pig and coconut, the pig then being presented to Douglas by the king (Meares 1790:338–9). As had also been true of Cook, the rite was repeated at a certain house at Kealakekua (probably the Hale o Lono). The chiefs, however, did not share Douglas's pigs, for the tabu on the

consumption of pork by the *ali'i*, prohibition distinctive of the Makahiki, was in effect: "at this season of the year even the chiefs are forbidden to eat hogs and fowls, from the King down to the lowest Eree [*ali'i*]" (pp.338–9; cf. Mortimer 1791:87 for another instance).

From the early 1790s until 1819, references to the Makahiki become frequent as well as explicit. We have already seen the like from the Vancouver and Lisiansky visits (cf. Menzies 1920:51, 53, 59, 94, 143–4, 174). I briefly summarise some of the other relevant documentation:

— Townsend in 1798: "What they call their Marhatiti, which is their annual taboo and comes regular by so many moons, is about a month before Christmas and during that they are prohibited from fighting, and then they who cultivate the land make payment of tithes to the chiefs, who are the owners, of which there are too many" (1888:64).

— Shaler, in Hawaii in 1803 and 1805, describes "the grand maktrybe, or new year" as lasting 10 days: "This is a great festival, and the taxes are then collected with much ceremony" (Shaler 1808:16f).

— Recall that Mariner, whose information dates to 1806, speaks of the annual procession of Cook's remains (Martin 1981:280–1).

— Campbell, on O'ahu in 1809–10, repeats details known also from the classic Hawaiian descriptions: "During the period called Macaheite, which lasts a whole month, and takes place in November, the priests are employed in collecting the taxes, which are paid by the chiefs in proportion to the extent of their territories; they consist of mats, feathers, and the produce of the country. The people celebrate this festival by dancing, wrestling and other amusements. "The king remains on the morai [temple] for the whole period; before entering it, a singular ceremony takes place. He is obliged to stand till three spears are darted at him: he must catch the first with his hands and with it ward off the other two. This is not a mere formality" (1967 [1822]:129).

— John Whitman, whose Hawaiian journal runs from 1813 to 1815, mentions a feature of the Makahiki not found in any other account, yet symbolically consistent with the sense of reproduction and rebirth: that boys are circumcised at the Makahiki following their eighth birthday (Whitman 1979:23). Whitman also describes the image of the Makahiki god of boxing, *akua mokomoko;* his description confirms I'i's observation that the shape of the gods of sport (*akua pa'ani*) is the same as the Lono image (p.55; see below).

— Peter Corney, who was in and out of Hawaii between 1815 and 1817, mentions several features of the "muckahitee" relevant to the present discussion (Corney 1896:101–2). Like Campbell, he speaks of a *kāli'i* (the royal spear-dodging) as opening the ceremonies — which he puts at November. Corney is the first to mention explicitly the breaking-the-coconut rite (cf. Malo 1951:142). "The King", he writes, "enters the church where he remains for some days, and the people decorate their houses with green branches and new mats" (1896:101; the last is a consistent feature of Austronesian new year rituals and not reported

by Malo, unless it is the *luau* placed on people's houses, dismissed by the Danish scholars as incongruous with the Makahiki; cf. Malo 1951:149).[12] Corney confirms that the people dress in their best garments in connection with the appearance and procession of the god, and that people are stripped of their clothes if they pass between the god and the sea (cf. Corney 1896:146). He notes that the god's circuit lasts about 30 days, and the tabu is taken off when he returns to his starting place. Sundry other information provided by Corney is also consistent with the classic descriptions. The same can be said of the Golovnin (1979:53–4) and Freycinet (1979:72–3) reports of this period. An entry in the journal of Alexander Adams suggests new information, to the effect that ships are consecrated in the new year rites: "All hands on shore on the 12th to observe the taboo. The vessels to be prayed over it being one of their religious ceremony's" (MS: January 12, 1817).

— Finally, information from the last decade of the Makahiki, mainly provided by Marin, allows us to corroborate that the procession of the god lasted 23 days, beginning on lunar day 24 (of Welehu) and ending on lunar 16 (of Makali'i), as specified by K. Kamakau and Malo (Table 1).

Perhaps the antiquity and authenticity of the Makahiki would have seemed less dubious to Bergendorff *et al.* had they considered that it is the Hawaiian version only of the elaborate rituals marking the turn of the year that are known from all over Polynesia — and beyond, among many insular Austronesians (cf. Handy 1927:107–13, 131, 264–5; Makemson 1941; Williamson 1933:1:154ff). Distinct for its hierarchical transformations, the Hawaiian Makahiki nonetheless shares numerous features of these cognate rituals. Probably because they all entail the same general cosmic scenario: the annual return of the ancestral spirits (*cum* departed gods), who come to regenerate nature and in particular the agricultural crops; an event that is marked celestially by the reappearance of the Pleiades, terrestrially by the people's revelries, and on the sea by the opening of the season on a certain species of fish (Polynesia) or by the coming of the *palolo* worm (Melanesia); the season ending with the dispatch of the spirits again to the world of the dead, which allows humankind to appropriate the fruits of their fertilising passage. Among the widespread ceremonial implementations of these ideas are the following:

— ritual circumambulations, involving the collection of the god's offerings, through different political districts (Hawaii; Cook Islands); alternatively, the festivities are repeated in successive months over a series of districts (Trobriands, Samoa); or again, the various districts may carry their tributes to a central ritual space (Tahiti).

— a tabu on gardening and other usual occupations is in effect for a certain period; the gardens are then sacred to the gods and their fructifying work; thus also the symbolism of the implanted stick image (Maori, Hawaii).

TABLE 1
Historic Dates of the Circuit of the Makahiki God at O'ahu, 1811–18

	Departure of the God (Welehu 24)		Return of the God (Makali'i 16)		
Year	Gregorian Date	Lunar Day[1]	Gregorian Date	Lunar Day	Sources
1811	Dec [8][2]	25	Dec 29	15	Gast and Conrad 1973:202–3.
1812	Nov 27	23			Gast and Conrad 1973:208
1814	Nov 5	23	Nov 27	16	Gast and Conrad 1973:214
1817	Dec 3[3]	24	Dec 24 or Dec 25	16	Gast and Conrad 1973:220; Hunnewell MS:December 25, 1817; Corney 1896:83
1818	Nov 21	23			Gast and Conrad 1973:227

Notes:

1. Lunar days may be ±1 (Sahlins MS).
2. On December 10 at Honolulu, Marin noted the arrival of the god from Waikiki, whence it probably started c. December 8.
3. Notice there was no calendrical intercalation between 1811 and 1814, but there was one between 1814 and 1817. For 1817, Hunnewell confirms that, as of December 6, the Makahiki tabu was on (MS:December 6, 1817).

— warfare is prohibited while the god is abroad.
— the revelries notably feature suggestive dancing and/or other displays of sexuality, designed to attract ("to please") the inseminating spirits; and also boxing, wrestling, sham fights and noise that send them off again.
— the gaiety of the occasion involves food and feasting — often the preparation of special foods such as coconut-taro or coconut-breadfruit puddings (Hawaii *kuolulo;* Fiji vakalolo, etc.).
— the finery assumed by the people also signifies renewal, rebirth: the new clothing, oiling, ornaments, garlands and wreaths.
— the desired abundance of the coming year is signified by the display of a variety of food, sometimes in a kind of explosive fashion (*e.g.*, net of Maoloha, Hawaii) or perhaps a pell-mell distribution (Tahiti).
— this period of the year is associated with the relaxation of rules; it is the time of popular rejoicing, carnival kings (as Lono), *communitas*; it is opposed to order, *societas*, and the constituted authorities in place the rest of the year.

The list could easily be expanded. And while its items may be matched in the classical descriptions of the Hawaiian Makahiki, they are also found as far afield as the Milamala of the Trobriands (Malinowski 1916) or the compa-

rable new year rituals of the Marshall Islands (Carrucci 1980).

Historically closer to Hawaii, however, the central-eastern Polynesian societies had new year ceremonies that were likewise closer to the Makahiki. I have elsewhere shown the striking parallels between the Hawaiian Makahiki and the ceremonial cycle of Maori agriculture (Sahlins 1985b). The analogous rituals in the Society Islands organised the season of the "Pleiades Above" (*Matar'i-i-ni'ia*): the period from the appearance of the Pleiades in late November to the disappearance of this constellation in late May — which was (as in Hawaii) the rainy season and the time of abundance (Henry 1928:177, 332; Moerenhaut 1837:1:502, 517–23; Ellis 1833:1:270; Oliver 1974:3:259ff). The beginning of the "Pleiades Above" was also the season of the sea (or of the outside, *te tai*), initiated by the opening of bonito fishing. Including a preparatory tabu on the sea, followed by the taking and offering of the first catch, this Tahitian rite is the sibling of the Hawaiian fishing ceremonies (Handy 1932:78; K. Kamakau 1919–20:30-4). But the Pleiades season is more notably framed by two rituals occurring three to four months apart and marking respectively the arrival and departure of the fructifying spirits. The initial ceremony, the 'Ripening of the Year' (*Pararoa Matahiti*) could begin at various times from late December to early January. "They invoked Roma-tane, god of Paradise, to come with the spirits of their deceased friends to share their pleasures" (Henry 1928:177). These deceased friends, Ellis tells us, are "the spirits of departed relatives", called upon at the family *marae* subsequent to the great offering at the central temple. The family prayers liberated the ancestors "from the *po*, or state of night" and allowed them "to ascend to *rohutu-noanoa*. . . . or return to this world, by entering the body of one of its inhabitants" (Ellis 1833:1:270). Notice the incarnation of the spirit in a human form.

The rite of the Ripening of the Year at the central temple also echoes practices of the Hawaiian Makahiki. There was a massive display *cum* offering of canoes, fine goods and foods, assembled by district. Warfare was then suspended; the sources speak rather of wrestling and sham battles, of dancing and the suggestive performances of the celebrated Ariori society. Many of these activities were repeated at the final ceremony of the Pleiades season: the year-closing rite around the end of March or beginning of April, when the people bade the spirits farewell, while praying on the family *marae* that they would return next year from the *po*. Indeed, as the sun now began its solstitial decline (*i.e.*, toward the *po*), the Arioi suspended their revelries and went into mourning (Moerenhaut 1837:1:518, 523).

The Society Islands Pleiades ceremonies are clearly a seasonal permutation of the Makahiki (or vice versa), related to differences in the agricultural

cycle. And if one misses in Tahiti the circumambulation of the god, this triumph being the privilege rather of conquering kings (Oliver 1974:1266–7), an annual procession, again like the Hawaiian, can be found in the Cook Islands. One of the two Tahitian teachers left on Aitutaki in 1821 by the Rev. John Williams told of the curious ceremonies that took place about a month after his arrival, i.e. in November:

> a great feast took place before the Marae [the feast was] called bure Arii, which is a general assembly of all the people of the Island before the Marae. The Kings or rather the family of the Kings take their seats in separate situations from the common people. They cover themselves completely with cloth except a small part of their faces. They remain for a month sometimes longer before the Marae eating and drinking & observing certain (to us) unmeaning ceremonies. After this the Priests & many of the people smear themselves with charcoal. The people clothe themselves with the finest of their cloth & make a tour around the Island, previously to which they go to the Marae & cover the kings with cloth in great abundance. The following morning they all leave the Marae, every one with a large piece of wood on his shoulder which they use in the separation of their wrestlers. For when they leave the Marae they make a tour of the island wrestling at every district. Sometimes there are two or three in every district. This finishes the Ceremony of the bure Arii (Williams MS).

THE MAKAHIKI AND CAPTAIN COOK

> "With chiefs one does not count [i.e., argue about] phases of the moon".
>
> Samoan proverb.

Bergendorff and colleagues could find no evidence of the classic Makahiki in the annals of the Cook voyage and not much either that the Hawaiians received Cook as their god, Lono. Perhaps they were looking for "Lonomakau (Father of Waters)". Many of their other arguments, likewise, seem to be based on simple misunderstandings.

For instance, their mistaken idea that, because the normal *haipule* ceremonies are suspended during the Makahiki, the royal *luakini* temples are not used during this season — hence that Cook was received in the *luakini* temple (Hikiau) at Kealakekua in 1779 indicates there was no Makahiki going on. Or again, their argument that, as Ku was the major god of the temple, Lono was not worshipped there, so how could Cook be? Even Malo's text is clear on these points, since the term *luakini* remains untranslated in his description of the Makahiki: "It was on the same evening that the Makahiki god was brought back to *luakini*" (1951:150; Emerson's footnote to this sentence explains: "A

heiau [temple] of the highest class, a war temple, in which human sacrifices were offered"). Or, if the Danish scholars had consulted the neglected text of K. Kamakau on the ritual events of the evening to which Malo here refers, they would find that the king enters the temple — again *luakini*, as this is a bilingual text — to sacrifice a pig to Lono: "calling upon the deity: 'O Lononuiakea [All-embracing-Lono], here is your pig'" (K. Kamakau 1919–20:44–5). The image of Lono in the forecourt of Hikiau temple is noted in the Cook documents (Ellis 1782:2:180; cf. Valeri 1985:184). Indeed, the chronicles make it clear that the group of Lono priests at Kealakekua (where there was also a *Hale o Lono*, House of Lono) were in charge of Hikiau, although the head priest Ka'o'o was not present when Cook arrived, as he was attending the wars of King Kalanipu'u at Maui. Oh yes, the wars: K. Kamakau's text could have allayed the suspicion of Bergendorff *ma* that Kalaniopu'u would be violating a Makahiki rule by fighting on Maui since it (at least) suggests that the rule did not cover the entire four-month period. For the peace was specifically declared when the god appeared, late in the second month. The interdiction on fighting was one of the conditions of the Lono tabu in effect during the 23 days of the god's circuit: "man was prohibited not [sic] to kill; war was prohibited" (K. Kamakau 1919–20:40). But then other classical accounts in addition to Malo's and Kamakau's — John Papa I'i, where *luakini* also appears in the English translation (1959:72); or the Anonymous of Kohala (1919–20), another bilingual text — would show that many rituals of the Makahiki took place at the *luakini* temple. Yes, Hikiau at Kealakekua was of the type and here Cook, instructed by Hawaiians to assume a posture that imitated the Makahiki image of Lonomakua, was put through the traditional ceremony of welcome to that god.

Still, the contemporary documents describe more than one icon of Lono abroad during Cook's visit, for the British actually saw several cross-piece Makahiki images. This would be proof enough that the Makahiki was on, for the Makahiki gods are dismantled after the procession and not seen again until the next year's ceremonies. It will be recalled that Malo described the Makahiki image as a long pole (c.16 feet) with a carved figure at its head and near the top a cross-piece from which were suspended certain ferns, feather leis and feather forms of the *kā'upu* bird as well as a large piece of white tapa cloth (1951:143–4; cf. Anonymous of Kohala, 1919–20:204). Compare this with Samwell's description of the "Three Ensigns or whatever else they may be called" which presided over a boxing match staged for the British on February 1, 1779:

> they are made of a long pole with a stick about a Yard and a half long made fast at the upper end of it so as to form a Cross, to this stick are hung pieces of Cloth

> of various Colours with a few red Feathers, two or three geese & other birds (in Beaglehole 1967:1173; for other published descriptions, see Cook and King 1784:3:23; Ledyard 1963:115).

Webber's sketch of this image — a single one either because Webber reduced the three images to one or because he depicts a second boxing match of February 3 — has been widely reproduced. There is one in the Beaglehole edition of the Cook Journals (1967:between pp.624 and 625), another in I'i (1959:74).

The Makahiki images seen by Cook's people were *akua pā'ani*, gods of sport, who indeed rule over the wrestling and boxing that ensue in the aftermath of Lono's passage. For that matter, they were seen just as Cook was about to leave the island, and at the matches put on by the Hawaiians at the request of the British — another historical metaphor. If these images resemble Malo's description of Lonomakua, it is because the gods of sport, which were set up in Lono's place when he moved out of the district, were indeed of the same form (I'i 1959:71–3; cf. Whitman 1979:55). And this again was the form assumed by Captain Cook at Hikiau temple when he first came ashore at Kealakekua, escorted by the warrior *cum* priest named "Koah" (Koa).

It was January 17, 1779. Koah came aboard the *Resolution* where he formally greeted Captain Cook in a distinctive way. First wrapping Cook in a red tapa cloth, the warrior-priest then presented him with a small pig, of the kind used in offerings, which prestation was accompanied by a long recitation. This was *not* the usual reception of a sacred chief (see below). It was rather, as Lt King observed, the way Hawaiians sacrificed before their images:

> This ceremony was frequently repeated [for Cook] during our stay at Owhyhee, and appeared to us, from many circumstances, to be a sort of religious adoration. Their idols are found always arrayed with red cloth, in the same manner as was done to Captain Cook; and a small pig was their usual offering to the *Eatooas* [*akua*'s]. Their speeches, or prayers, were uttered too with a readiness and volubility that indicated them to be according to some formulary (Cook and King 1784:3:5).

King's observations are repeated in the reminiscences of old Hawaiians from Ka'awaloa (Koah's village), collected over 40 years later:

> As soon as Captain Cook arrived, it was supposed and reported that the god Rono had returned; the priests clothed him with the sacred cloth worn only by the god, conducted him to their temples, sacrificed animals to propitiate his favour, and hence the people prostrated themselves before him as he walked through the villages (Ellis 1833:4:104).

The last is just what happened in 1779 when Koah led Cook to Hikiau temple at Kealakekua: they were preceded by men bearing tabu wands and crying "O Lono", while Hawaiians on their course prostrated themselves (or else fled). In the complex rituals that followed, Koah — he would soon take the name "Brittanee" — played the leading part. A resident of the chiefly settlement of Ka'awaloa and once a distinguished warrior, Koah was the king's man, not one of the Lono priests of Kealakekua. When the king, Kalaniopu'u, came to Ka'awaloa some days later, Koah went to attend him; and after Cook's death the same Koah was the main negotiator with the British on behalf of the king's party. In fact, the Lono priests of Kealakekua mistrusted and detested him (Cook and King 1784:3:69 *et passim*; Clerke in Beaglehole 1967:543; Edgar, MSa:February 16, 1779; Law, MS:February 16, 1779). I invoke this biography because Bergendorff *et al.*, taking Malo's point that the Lono image on its circuit is ritually received by *ali'i*, make the trivial (if italicised) objection that Cook's reception could not answer to Lono's as Cook was so honoured by *priests* not chiefs (p.400). In any event, of the several ceremonies of the reception at Hikiau temple, we need notice only two.

The first took place at the offering stage in front of the principal images, on which stage a pig had been placed some time before and was now rotting away. All the same, Koah, "having placed the Captain under this stand, took down the hog, and held it toward him; and after having a second time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall to the ground" (Cook and King 1784:3:7). I call attention to the offering of this putrid pig because, according to traditional accounts of the Makahihi, after the termination of the god's circuit — and Cook had just completed a nearly complete circumnavigation of the island — the king enters the *luakini* temple to sacrifice a single pig to Lono. This is the rite, already alluded to, in which the king prays to Lonomiakea: "'This is for your tired feet from visiting our land, and as you have returned watch over me and over our land'" (K. Kamakau 1919–20:44). Was this "stinking hog" of 1779 the very one? By the Hawaiian calendar it is sacrificed on 16 Makali'i; whereas, by the concordance adopted here, this would be less than two weeks before Koah represented the putrid pig to Cook (see Sahlins MS).

But we need not rest the case for the Makahiki on the rate of decomposition of dead pigs because the ensuing ritual at Hikiau temple was an unmistakable repetition of the *hānaipū*, the ceremonial 'feeding' of the Lono image by the principal men in the course of the god's circuit. It was now that Koah and Lt King held Cook's arms outstretched in imitation of the cross-piece Makahiki image. In this posture Cook became the object of formalities that correspond

in precise detail to the *hānaipū* as described by K. Kamakau and John Papa I'i. In addition to the posture of Lono, the agreements include the choral dialogues, the foods offered, the kava, anointing the image with masticated coconut and the feeding of the image (the bearers). I juxtapose the classic texts to Lt King's account of the rite of January 17, 1779:

We now were led near the Center of the Area, where was a space of 10 or 12 feet square, dug lower by 3 feet than the level of the Area; On one side were two wooden Images; between these the Captain was seated; Koah support'd one of his Arms, while I was made to do the same to the other. At this time a second procession of Indians carrying a baked hog, Breadfruit, sweet Potatoes, plantains, a Pudding & Coco Nuts with Kirikeeah at their head approachd towards us, he having the pig in his hand, & with his face towards the Capt[n] he kept repeating in a very quick tone some speeches or prayers, to which the rest responded, his part became shorter & shorter, till at last he repeat'd only two or three words at a time & was answerd by the Croud repeating the word Erono. When this Offering was concluded, which I suppose lastd near a Quarter of an hour, the Indians sat down fronting us, & began to cut up the hog, to peal the Vegetables, & break the Coco nuts; whilst others were busy in brewing the Yava by chew[ing] it in the same manner they do at the other Islands. The Kernel of the Coco nut was chewd by Kaireekeea & wrapped in a piece of cloth with which he rubbd the Capt[ns] face, head, hands, Arms, & Shoulders, & did the same to M[r] Bailey & myself, Pareea also were just touchd & Koah. These two now insist'd upon Cramming us with hog, but not till after taseting the Kava; I had no objection to have the hog handled by Pareea, but the

And when the long god arrived at the king's place, the king prepared a meal for the said god. The attendants were then under restriction for a short time. As the god was brought out of the king's house and the eyes of the king beheld the image, they were filled with tears, and he cried for his love of the deity. And the king and all the people who were in house, cried out, "Be thou feared, O Lono;" and the attendant people answered for the deity's greeting, saying: "Is it mine?" and they answered, "Here is the king's aloha unto you, O Lono." The people outside replied, "Here is Lono's aloha unto your majesty." After these things the deity with his attendants entered the king's house while certain priests who came with him offered prayers which were followed by the king's priest. Then the king offered the deity an ivory necklace, placing it around the god's neck. The king then fed the man who carried the idol, he was the image's mouth, and ate the pork, the uhau, taro and coconut pudding and awa. This service was called *hanaipu.*

After this the deity went outside [to] the hanaipu of all the chiefs who worshipped the deity. The deity did not eat their pork, but the man who carried it; he was its mouth who ate its food (K. Kamakau 1919–20:40–3).

While the games were going on, the *akua loa* (long god) was brought to the

Capt[n] recollecting what offices Koah had officiated when he handled the Putrid hog could not get a Morsel down, not even when the old fellow very Politely chew'd it for him (King in Beaglehole 1967:506).

gate of the enclosure surrounding the house of a chief of *ni'aupi'o* rank. . . . The person bearing the image said, "Greetings." Those from within the enclosure replied, "Greetings, greetings to you, O Lono." Then the bearer of the image came in and stood by the doorway of the house, where he was handed an ointment made of masticated coconut wrapped in a bundle for the annointing of the stick, accompanied by the words, "Here is your annointing, O Lono"; but the actual annointing was done by someone from within the house.

In the meantime, foods were prepared for the wooden god, to be eaten by the man who carried it. They consisted of a cup of *'awa* and banana or sugar cane to remove its bitterness, and some *'a'aho*, a pudding made of coconut and pia starch thickened by heating with hot stones. This food was laid on ti leaves to be eaten after the other foods. Then a side of well-cooked pork was given him with some poi. The chief fed the carrier of the god with his own hands, so that the hands of the carrier did not touch any of it. After this feeding of the god, the bearer was ready to depart and said, "Farewell, O friends." Those of the household answered, "Farewell, O Lono." Then the whole company left the *hale mua* and went to the field to wait for the chiefess of *ni'aupi'o* rank to present her gift to the god (I'i 1959:73–5).

The *hānaipū* ceremony was repeated more than once in the following days, beginning with a performance on January 19 at the Lono temple of Kealakekua — which Cook again suffered with outstretched arms (Burney MSa: January 18 and 19, 1779; Cook and King 1784:3:15). In Samwell's understanding, Cook was thus "invested by them [the Lono priests], with the

Title and Dignity of Orono [Lono], which is the highest Rank among these Indians and is a character that is looked upon by them as partaking something of divinity" (in Beaglehole 1967:1161–2). According to Samwell, after the ceremony at Kealakekua two priests conducted this Lono to a place five miles distant where he went through the same honours; we are probably justified in supposing this was the Hale o Keawe, the temple of chiefly ancestral remains at Honaunau.

The chronicles tell of frequent prestations of small pigs to Captain Cook on the days thereafter, offerings accompanied by choral incantations if not by the actual feeding and anointing of the *hānaipū* rite. Although it seems commonly believed (as by Bergendorff *ma*) that Cook was thus accorded the respects due to any sacred chief, in fact such ceremonies, even as they are appropriate to Lono, are not those given to chiefly dignitaries of other kinds, at least not in the traditional or the historical literature. By tradition, the ruling chief is met at the shore with the test of spears, the *kāli'i*, as at the Makahiki. In the regal welcomes known to history the canoes of the host king, laden with gods and valuable goods, circle several times around the ship of the distinguished visitor, whereupon the latter is invited to shore to receive the king's gifts. The day after Kalaniopu'u arrived at Kealakekua he put on this kind of show for Cook, as did Kamehameha for Vancouver in 1793. I have elsewhere commented on the differences between the king's greeting of Cook and that of the high priest Ka'o'o on the same occasion (Sahlins 1985a:122–4). That these differences — including the contrast between the royal gift of a feather cloak and the red tapa cloth that the priest wrapped around Cook — nonetheless form part of the same system of interpretation, representing different relations to the god appropriate to this calendrical juncture, is the presumption also of the Hawaiian tradition of Kalaniopu'u's exchanges with Cook. The famous *Mooolelo* of 1838 says: "Kalani'opu'u was kind to Cook [Lono, in the original Hawaiian text]; gave him some feather cloaks and feather standards — kahili. Kalani'opu'u worshipped him [*Ua ho'omana no 'o Kalani'opu'u iā ia*]" (Kahananui 1984:173; Hawaiian text p.18).

The Lahainaluna scholars collected another tradition of Cook important here, one that happily it is possible to verify from the annals of the voyage. According to the *Mooolelo*, Cook was already known as "Lono" to Kalaniopu'u's party encamped at Maui when the British arrived there in late November, 1778 (Kahananui, Hawaiian text p.12). Cook, of course, had been at Kaua'i earlier in the year: in late January, 1778 — which is to say, in the previous Makahiki season. Moreover, there was at least one man at Maui who had seen Cook at Kaua'i. (Clerke's log entry for November 26, 1778, reads: "The first man on board told me he knew the ship very well, & had been on

board her at A tou I [Kaua'i] & related some anecdotes which convinc'd me of his veracity" [MS].) Probably, then, Cook's appearance at Maui in November was Lono's second coming. In any event, on the same afternoon of November 30 that Kalaniopu'u unobtrusively boarded the *Resolution* off north-eastern Maui (Beaglehole 1967:476), a large sailing canoe bearing a man wearing a red feather cloak—thus, by the canoe and the feathers, an *ali'i*—came out to the *Discovery*. This notable, according to the journal of the master Thomas Edgar, "Ask'd for our Arrona or Chief" (Edgar MSa: December 1,1778).[13] Since the "'o" in Edgar's "'o Lono" is a clitic subject marker used before proper names, one may conclude that this first naïve mention of "Lono or chief" is the beginning also of a Western historiographic tradition likewise unable to conceive that Cook was someone other than a simple "chief". To conclude the alternative case, that Cook was indeed Lono, it remains to correlate the transactions of the voyage from this point in late November with the Makahiki as traditionally known.

Here there are essentially two calendrical problems to resolve, as Bergendorff *ma* indicate. First, one must match Gregorian calendar dates to lunar phases. This is relatively easy to do, as a formula exists that can assure a close correspondence, generally within ± 1 day (Sahlins MS). Moreover, we can confirm the accuracy of the calculations as the Cook logs record an eclipse of the moon on January 4, 1779, an event that occurs only during the full moon, and our conversion tables indicate that January 4 was indeed the 14th day of the lunar month. The second problem is more difficult, *viz.*, which month is it in the Hawai'i lunar calendar? We have to know because the lunar calendar is the one used, of course, in the classic descriptions of Malo *ma*.

For this problem there are only two reasonable solutions, which I hereafter call the "November Makahiki" and the "December Makahiki" (Table 2). By the earlier option, the beginning of the Makahiki season, the first day of Ikuwa in the Hawai'i calendar, falls on September 22, 1778, while the procession of Lono begins on November 14, (24 Welehu) to end on December 6 (16 Makali'i). By the December Makahiki, the season begins on October 21, 1778, and the god's circuit runs from December 14, 1778, to January 4, 1779. These are the only reasonable options because they already lie near the early and late extremes of the Makahiki as historically documented (Sahlins MS; cf. above, Table 1). To push the dates another month either way would take the ceremony beyond historical precedent and ritual reason. As it is, the optional dates we have for the end of the god's progress, December 6 or January 4, which would also be the day of the king's victory (*kāli'i*), nicely bracket the ideal finale of the Makahiki circuit, *viz.*, when these events fall on December 21, the winter solstice (cf. Sahlins 1985a:119).

TABLE 2
Optional Calendars of Major Makahiki Events, 1778–9*

	Ikuwa Makahiki begins	24 Welehu Lono appears	16 Makali'i End of Lono's circuit	15 Kā'elo End of Makahiki
"November Makahiki"	Sept 22, 1778	Nov 14, 1778	Dec 6, 1778	Jan 3 1779
"December Makahiki"	Oct 21 1778	Dec 14, 1778	Jan 4, 1779	Feb 2, 1779

* All Gregorian dates are c.±1 lunar.

By either concordance the advent of Captain Cook would come when the Makahiki image was abroad, although in neither case could Cook's movements around Hawai'i be synchronised precisely with Lonomakua's (a claim I have never made). On November 26, 1778, Cook came off north-eastern Maui where (as we are now aware) he was already known as Lono to the Hawai'i warriors encamped there. On December 2, the ships crossed over to north-western Hawai'i, whence they proceeded on an almost complete "right circuit" of the island, i.e., clockwise, like the god's circuit. For a time the *Resolution* and *Discovery* lost contact with each other, from December 23 to January 6, and for many days both lost contact with shore as they made long stretches out to sea in order to beat against the prevailing easterlies. Nor did they anchor anywhere until they finally came into Kealakekua Bay on January 17, 1779. So, as I say, by either date Cook appears while the god is travelling: either Lono's circuit ends on December 6 when Cook is off northern Hawai'i; or Cook's circumnavigation encompasses the god's progress, i.e., from December 14, when the ships were out of sight off the north-west coast, to January 4, when the ships were running towards South Point (Fig. 2).

We shall see that the coincidences between events recorded in the Cook annals and rites described in Makahiki annals (of Malo *ma*) definitely favour the December Makahiki, which is the one I have adopted in previous works (1981, 1985a). However, insofar as by either concordance Cook's course would intersect the god's progress, we should reserve the possibility that the Hawaiians then intercalated a month or otherwise improvised on the ritual sequence to accord with Cook's own movements. One does not argue with chiefs about the phases of the moon: we know this was done during Vancouver's visit of 1794. For that matter, the appearance of the Makahiki

gods of sport (*akua pā'ani*) on the eve of Cook's departure in early February could have no justification in the traditional calendar — except by the logic that these gods and activities do indeed preside at Lono's passing on. In the same vein, we shall see in a moment, the Hawaiians would also have to compromise Makahiki rules by coming off to Cook's ships; on the other hand, the distinctive pattern of trade that ensued, as well as the activities and movements of King Kalaniopu'u and many other transactions recorded in the chronicles of the voyage, as I say, closely fit the classical Makahiki, assuming the December Makahiki dating was in effect.

Periodically during the voyage from Maui around Hawai'i the *Resolution* and *Discovery* would stand in to shore in order to "trade" for provisions. Yet we can corroborate that this trade was prohibited to Hawaiians — which is evidence that the Makahiki was on — and that they had to be induced to overcome their ritual scruples. During the 23-day circuit of the god on the land, the sea is in principle tabu: no canoes can venture off, as for fishing (with a certain exception, to be considered shortly).[14] Hence, if Cook were truly Lono and this were indeed the time of the god's progress, any sort of intercourse with the ships would pose an obvious ritual dilemma. Indeed, the recollections of the old folks recorded in the *Mooolelo* of 1838 speak to this contradiction — and to its resolution:

> At the time Lono (Cook [this parenthetical "Cook" is not in the original Hawaiian]) arrived the people could not go out to sea in their canoes because it was the time for the annual gift giving ceremonies called the Makahiki. But because Lono had arrived by sea the people assumed it was perfectly proper for them to go out to sea in their canoes. The people were convinced Lono was really a god [*akua*] and his vessel was a temple (Kahananui 1984:171, cf. 17).

Since this passage follows upon a discussion of Cook's entire circuit, implying thereby that the tabu was in effect during that time, it rather supports the December concordance of the Makahiki (by which Cook's voyage encompasses Lono's). On the other side, the Cook documents support the *Mooolelo* text on this point. On two occasions while off Hawai'i the British reported seeing white flags being waved at them from shore: sign that a tabu was in effect — not a flag of truce as some of Cook's company believed. This happened at northern Kohala on December 2, 1778, or 12 Welehu by the December Makahiki calendar, which would be a scheduled temple rite (Malo 1951:142; cf. I'i 1959: 72); then again near Cape Kumakahi on December 19, being 29 Welehu, thus during the Lono tabu and procession (Riou MS: December 2, 1770; Cook in Beaglehole 1967:482–3; Roberts MS: December 19, 1778).[15] On the second occasion (December 19) the British ships moved

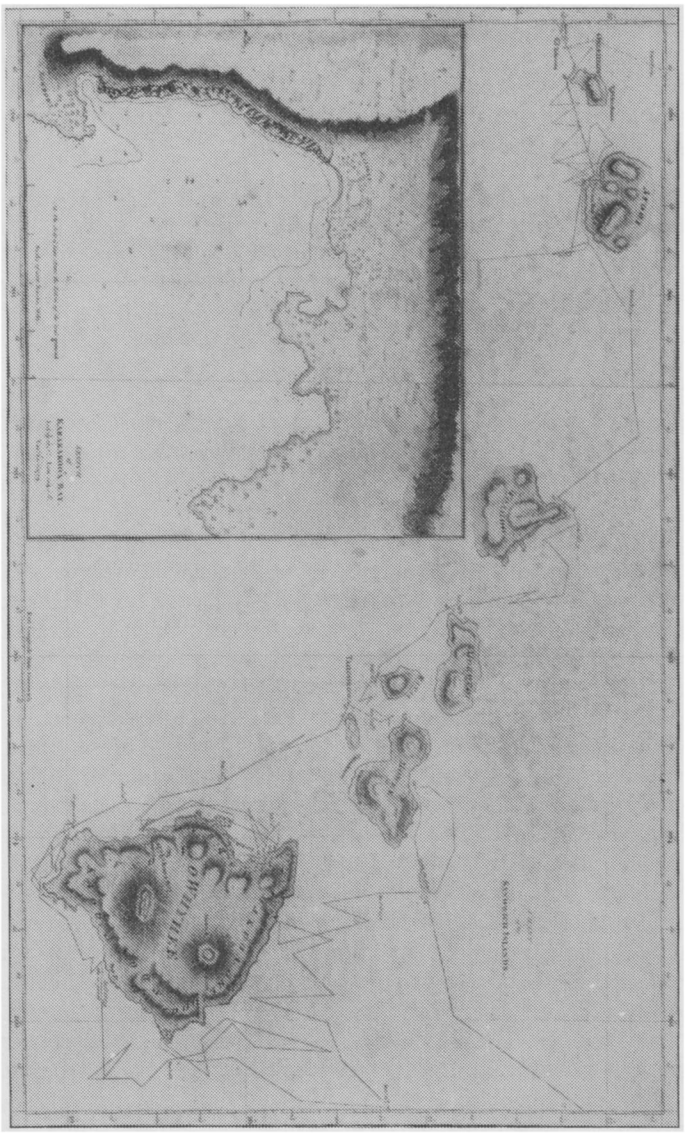


Figure 2. Tracks of H.M.S. *Endeavour* at Hawaii. From Beaglehole 1967:1:268.

off before any canoes could reach them. However, Cook's own journal entry for December 2 is altogether consistent with the affirmation of the *Mooolelo* that, because this was Lono, the people decided the tabu could be violated; indeed, they were actually prevailed upon by the British to bring out provisions, after their initial hesitation:

> As we drew near the shore, some of the Natives came off to us ["throwing out white steamers". wrote Roberts, "as emblems of peace"]; they were a little shy at first, *but we soon inticed some on board and at length prevailed upon them to go a shore and bring off what we wanted.* Soon after these reached the shore we had company enough, and as few came empty, we got a tolerable supply of small pigs, fruit and roots (in Beaglehole 1967:476; emphasis added).

Lt King's journal confirms that, "The Natives were shy in their first approaches", and adds further particulars again consistent with the *Mooolelo*'s sense of a visitation of Lono: "They were exceedingly happy in being suffered to come on board, & were very humble & humiliating [sic] in their outward actions" (in Beaglehole 1967:501).

Yet, if the ban on the sea was transgressed for the purpose of exchange with Lono, it was not violated for fishing, so far as the detailed evidence of these exchanges goes — which is also *prima facie* evidence for the December Makahiki dating. Some 15 different journalists were making observations on the traffic with the Islanders from the time the ships reached Maui until they anchored at Kealakekua.[16] Certain of them — Bayly, Burney, Clerke, Cook, Edgar, Ellis, King, Roberts, Samwell — were often more than perfunctory, taking care to record the kinds of foods and goods brought off by Hawaiians and some idea of the quantities. Yet the combined indication of all of them, without exception, is that the Hawaiians offered no fish whatever to the British from November 26, 1778, when a variety of species including squid were obtained at Maui, to January 4 and 5, 1779, when some fish (probably albacore) were brought off as the ships were nearing the South Point of Hawai'i (Sahlins MS). This remarkable record is consonant at once with the December Makahiki and the tradition that Cook's circuit incorporated Lono's, so that for the greater part of the period fishing would be interdicted. It is incompatible, however, with a November Makahiki, insofar as the trade in fish on November 26 would violate the Lono tabu, while the absence of any like transactions during the next six weeks could have no evident reason. But there is also something else — the albacore. The appearance of this species at a certain date in the Cook annals is peculiarly congruent with a specific fishing ritual that takes place towards the end of the Lono tabu, according to the received Hawaiian accounts of the Makahiki.

Called "the fires of the Puea", an affair of the king and chiefs exclusively, this fishing rite runs from 28 Welehu to 11 Makali'i, in Malo's description, after which the sea is again tabu until the end of the Lono circuit, 16 Makali'i (1951:149–50). From Kelou Kamakau (1919–20:42) we learn that the fish concerned is the *ahi*, the albacore (*Thynnus thynnus*) — not to be confused with the *aku*, the bonito (or skipjack; *Katsuwonus pelamys*). The king himself goes out to catch *ahi* on 3 Makali'i. Now, according to the December Makahiki concordance, the relevant Gregorian dates would be:

28 Welehu (beginning of albacore fishing) = December 18, 1778
3 Makali'i (king fishes for albacore) = December 22, 1778
11 Makali'i (end of ritual fishing) = December 30, 1778
12–16 Makali'i (sea is tabu) = December 31, 1778 – January 4, 1779

Just so, on January 5, 1779, while nearing South Point, Surgeon Ellis and Midshipman Riou of the *Discovery* for the first time in six weeks report that fish were obtained in trade — which they unequivocally identify as "albacore" (Ellis 1782:2:80, 144; Riou MS: January 6, 1779). We need to be careful about the identification because in late 18th century English texts the yellow-finned albacore is not always distinguished from the generally smaller bonito, which is the object of a different and later fishing ritual (cf. Beaglehole 1969:336n1). But Surgeon Ellis seems reliable on this score as he does consistently differentiate the two species — which makes it probable that Roberts, too, was speaking of albacore when he described the fish received on the *Resolution* in the same general location on the afternoon of January 4 as, "bonneatoes, & one of them the largest that most of our people had ever seen" (MS: January 5, 1779). Moreover, Ellis also noted that the albacore was obtainable only at South Point or, as he described it, "only at a small town, situated in a very barren spot, not far from the east point, nor was there any salted fish offered to sale but at this place, at A'tou'wi [Kaua'i] and O'neehoa [Ni'ihau]" (1782:2:144).[17] Again this evokes the *ahi* rituals, for the southern coast was specially frequented for albacore fishing, while the settlement at South Point was veritably a seasonal fishing camp of the *ali'i* set on the seaside edge of an old lava flow (Titcomb 1972:521). Ellis even obliges us by recording that precisely seven albacore were brought that day to the ship; whereas we know — from the analogous *opelu* or mackerel rites (K. Kamakau 1919–20:32) — that seven is the number of fish ritually offered to the god as the first catch of the season.

Then there were the small pigs, always the small pigs: ceremonially correct perhaps as offerings to Lono but not so highly esteemed by the British who

wanted big hogs and took pains to make their more practical preferences known to the Hawaiians (Cook and King 1784:2:544).On December 13, the *Resolution* got 130 to 150 pigs (Trevenan MSb:December 14, 1779); on December 23, 163 (Bayly MSb:December 23). One of the most important of Lono's myriad bodies (*kino*), the pig was likewise one of the tributes offered to the Makahiki image as it travelled through the districts (K. Kamakau 1919–20:42; Anonymous of Kohala 1919–20:204; S. Kamakau 1964:21). Indeed, the rules about eating pork during the Makahiki amounted to a culinary code of the season's cosmic relationships. The Lono priests and sometimes the people in general indulged in it but, except for a few occasions, pork was proscribed for the kings and *ali'i*.[18] Insofar as Lono takes possession of the realm this prohibition on the king seems appropriate, just as his ceremonial resumption of pork-eating at the end of the Makahiki would signify his incorporation of the god. Ledyard is not the most reliable of the Cook chroniclers, but he does notice that, in late January, 1779, Kalaniopu'u refused to eat pork (1963:113).

If we take the December concordance to be in effect, many of the king's doings during Cook's sojourn become intelligible. In late November, 1778, Kalaniopu'u was warring in Maui. By the December Makahiki this does not break the peace of Lono, which is on during the god's circuit of December 14 to the following January 4, although it would be a transgression of the Lono tabu by the November concordance. Then there is the intriguing pattern of the king's movements. He does not arrive at Kealakekua until the evening of January 25, a good eight days after Cook, despite the evident significance of Cook's advent. But we know the rule on travel during the Makahiki from Vancouver's experiences with Kamehameha in 1793 and 1794: the king cannot leave the place where he has celebrated the Makahiki (tabu?) until he goes through certain ceremonies of purification (see above). Malo discusses these ceremonies. They take place on 26 and 27 Makali'i and involve the consecration of certain ritual structures by the king: "in order to purify himself from the pleasures in which he indulged before he resumed his religious observances" (Malo 1951:152). The dates of 26–27 Makali'i would correspond to January 14–15, 1779. We do not know how long the purification rites last. On the strength of a note by Emerson and certain ritual analogies, Valeri (1985:227) believes it was an *anahulu*, 10 days, which in 1779 would take it to January 24 or 25. In this connection, there was an interesting formality to the timing of Kalaniopu'u's arrival at Kealakekua. Exhibiting unusual precision, the local authorities knew several days in advance when he would come and at least one of them, on January 21, called it exactly to Mr Edgar: four days hence (Edgar MSa:January 22, 1779 [P.M. = January 21]; cf. Roberts

MS:January 20, 1779). On January 25 the king showed up. That was also the day, Ledyard said, that he refused to eat pork when invited by Captain Cook, although some of the younger chiefs with him took a modest amount (1963:113). In principle the king would not again eat pork until released by the ceremonies of the next full moon, which were the only remaining rituals of the season, the finale of the Makahiki (Malo 1951:152).

So it happened in historical practice: there were no further ceremonial events at Kealakekua until February 1 to 3, 1779, the 14th to 16th day of the moon (± 1 day). Or rather, the events began in the evening of January 29 and the day of the 30th, almost imperceptibly to the British, when a tabu was put on the sea — noted by Samwell though he could not explain it (in Beaglehole 1967:1171–2). There followed the boxing match of February 1, as the British were preparing to leave, the performance watched over by the appropriate Makahiki images (*akua pā'ani*). On the dates of February 2 and 3 the chronicles report two rituals quite like those described by Malo as termination ceremonies of the Makahiki.

One was the tribute (*ho'okupu*) called "the heap of Kuapola" that the people had to make for the king during the tabu period of Hua — the full moon period — of the month of Kā'elo. (According to the December concordance, we are just there.) This heap of Kuapola "was but a small levy, however" — which ends what Malo had to say about it. Nonetheless, the affair witnessed by Cook's people on February 3 matches this brief description in several particulars: it was a display-offering (a heap); it was for the king, rather than for themselves as the British thought; and it was small, being collected from the people of the immediate district (Cook and King 1784:3:28–9). Perhaps the temple ceremony which took place the previous night also had something to do with this Kuapola offering. The only clear notice comes from Lt King:

> Whilst Kao [Ka'o'o, head of the Lono order] was amongst the priests they were perpetually offering sacrifices & prayers: before he left the place, which was the time we first went out of Karakacooa [Kealakekua] bay, they had during the preceding night [the night of February 2–3, as the British left in the early morning of February 4] many ceremonies upon the Marai, the Images were drest, the great drums & large bundles of feathers, & of what Valuables they had collected were placed under one of the Carv'd images: those things we understood Kao was to carry with him (in Beaglehole 1967:620).

Whatever this may have to do with the Kuapola tribute, it also has significant elements of a second ceremony of the same period, again elliptically described by Malo:

> During this same [Hua] tabu, or *pule* , the king and the high priest slept in their own houses. (They had been sleeping in the heiau). On the last day of the tabu period, the king and *kahuana nui* [head priest], accompanied by the man who beat the drum, went and regaled themselves on pork. The services at this time were performed by a distinct set of priests. When those services were over the period of the Makahiki and its observances were ended, this being its fourth month. Now began the new year (1951:152).[19]

It was in this context of the ritual events of the full moon of February 1779 — or the Hua tabu of Kā'elo — that I made the remark for which Bergendorff *ma* (p.400) reproach me, "everything was indeed proceeding historically right on schedule" (Sahlins 1981:22). But perhaps more important were the remarks made during the same period by the Hawaiian king and chiefs: "Terreeoboo, and his Chiefs, had, for some days past, been very inquisitive about the time of one departure" (Cook and King 1784:3:26), to which Lt King adds in his journal, "& seemed well pleas'd that it was to be soon" (in Beaglehole 1967:517).

There is a whole lot of this kind of evidence, to which, however, insufficient attention has been paid, although it has much to teach us about the sociology as well as the theology of Cook's status as Lono. I mean the numerous records of the attitudes, gestures and emotions various Hawaiians displayed towards Cook and his people, especially the whole history of popular desire and delight that parallels the chroniclers' descriptions of incidents and events. Consider this scene on board the *Discovery* off Maui, on the second day:

> This day our decks have been crowded with the Natives expressing the greatest joy & pleasure at the most trivial things that first represented itself to them, dancing and singing was all that could either be seen or heard. Many of the women scrambled up the Ship's side and was as soon turned away, when they abused us (finding that nothing could be done by fair word) most sincerely (Rious MS:November 28, 1718 [PM]).

What could this celebration mean?

Consider that it was spontaneous and popular, not just something whipped up by the powers-that-were at Kealakekua. The really cool questions about the British (cited by Bergendorff *et al.*, p.404) — "he ask'd after our King, our Numbers, how our Shipping was built" — these were the questions of a certain chief. (This was the big *ali'i* Ka'eo of Kaua'i, according to Lt King's journal [Beaglehole 1967:625]; but the lesser chief Kanaina of Hawai'i, according to the attribution of the same statement in the published account [Cook and King

1784:3:131].) Yet, all along, as Cook's ships made their circuit of Hawai'i island, the people, the ordinary people, were really excited. And they were in movement. They must have been following Cook's course along the shore, in the same way as the Makahiki image of Lono gathered adherents as it circled the island (cf. I'i 1959:76). By the time the *Resolution* and *Discovery* entered Kealakekua Bay 10,000 people were there. This was probably five times the normal resident population, many of whom, besides, were away at Maui with the king. And that day at Kealakekua, January 17, was pandemonium. There were hundreds of canoes in the water — 500 was the lowest number reported by the chroniclers who claimed to count them — as well as shoals of people swimming about, "and all the Shore of the Bay was covered with people" (King in Beaglehole 1967:491). And they were singing, dancing, shrieking, clapping, jumping up and down. They were jubilant.

What could it mean? Probably just what the Hawaiian historian said it meant:

> when Captain Cook appeared they declared his name must be Lono, for Kealakekua was the home of that deity as a man, and it was a belief of the ancients that he had gone to Kahiki and would return. They were full of joy, all the more so that these were Lono's tabu days. Their happiness knew no bounds; they leaped for joy [shouting]: "Now shall our bones live; our *'aumakua* [ancestor-spirit] has come back. These are his tabu days and he has returned" (S. Kamakau 1961:98).

Of this joy, the higher theoretical wisdom of the World System can tell us nothing — except perhaps that it was mistaken. Nor will we get historical information on the cheap from some *a priori* and tired ideas about how the ruling classes dupe the masses. On the contrary, the Hawaiian celebration of Cook as Lono was from the beginning a collective movement, even as Lono was traditionally a popular god. The principal deity of the *mua* or domestic shrine, thus of the family's sustenance and reproduction, Lono was the mediator between polity and society. When initiated into the family cult, to eat thereafter in the *mua* in the company of the men and the ancestral guardians, every male child was consecrated to Lono (Handy and Pukui 1972:95–6). Likewise, the Makahiki, which celebrated the advent of Lono as a *fête* of pleasure and *communitas*, was a popular festival, marked for a time by the eclipse of the established order, of its royal rituals and human sacrifices, by the reign of a carnival king. And in the same way again, the veneration of Captain Cook in the Makahiki season of 1778–9 was a popular demonstration, spreading spontaneously around the island of Hawai'i even faster than his ships could carry him, so that, by the time he reached Kealakekua, he was

greeted by a rejoicing people. They were, besides, ready to do him all the appropriate honours when the priests called out "Lono". Later the Hawaiian ruling chiefs, notably Kamehameha, would similarly objectify this concept of Captain Cook as Lono on their own account. They ritualised it, institutionalised it, and thus, in various contingent ways, they functionalised it. At the same time, insofar as the ruling powers made Cook/Lono into an heroic cult of their own, they subjected it to the erosion of a developing class conflict. I have already written something about that, about the disengagement of the common people from the royal tabus and rituals in the earlier 19th century (Sahlins 1981). Contrary to the conclusions of Bergendorff *ma*, it follows that the political manipulation of the Cook/Lono cult would soon do more to weaken it than to propagate it. In any event, these ritual representations of Cook as Lono effectively ended in 1819 with the passing of the *Ancien Régime*. They were not fabricated decades later by a cabal of bourgeois chiefs and Protestant clergy — who could not believe in such ideas themselves.

NOTES

1. In preparation for the extended study of the early history of Hawaii (now postponed), I had made summaries of a number of materials on Cook and the Makahiki, which were also used in the writing of *Historical Metaphors* (Sahlins 1981) and the 1982 Frazer lecture (Sahlins 1985a:Chapter 4). As Bergendorff and colleagues have come to some erroneous conclusions regarding the basis of my work on the Makahiki, and because this complex material, too bulky to include here, may also be useful to others, I have deposited it for open access in the Special Collections of Regenstein Library, University of Chicago. This manuscript material includes:
   — a computer print-out of the concordance between Gregorian dates and lunar phases from 1777 to 1834.
   — a chart (32 pages long and 3 wide) correlating Makahiki rituals with incidents described in the Cook chronicles, the latter supplemented by several notebooks giving day-by-day entries from a number of Cook voyage logs and journals.
   — a series of tables with extensive explanatory remarks (c.90 pages) on the correlation between Gregorian dates and Makahiki rites for the years 1779 to 1819, giving also evidence of intercalations in the Hawaiian lunar calendar. Some of these data are pertinent to the present essay and will be referred to in parentheses as (Sahlins MS).
2. Page references are to Bergendorff *et al.* (1988). To avoid confusion, "Hawai'i" with a glottal stop will be used to refer to Hawai'i island only; for the entire archipelago, I continue the traditional orthography, "Hawaii", without glottal stop.
3. Bergendorff *et al.* do not explain why they have not mentioned the large unpublished, archival corpus on the Cook voyage and the history of Hawaii to the late 1830s (when the Lahainaluna texts began to appear). Since the work they criticise does refer to this material, and since they claim that work is not supported by the historical evidence, one would think they had some scholarly obligation to consult the manuscripts. In any event, my reply to their criticism will not be bound to the limitations they have set for themselves, *viz.*, published works only, any more than my original work was so restricted.
4. Including Sheldon Dibble's own history (1909, original 1843), the products of the

Lahainaluna historians begin to appear in 1838 with the publication of the original *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii* (Remy 1861; Kahananui 1984), part of which was incorporated in the 1858 Pogue revision (Pogue 1978). These Hawaiian texts (among others also pertinent) are not mentioned by Bergendorff *et al.* Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities* (1951) was written about 1840. The other prominent historian of the Lahainaluna school was Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, whose works include the well-known *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (1961). His notices of the Makahiki here (1961:52, 180–1) and elsewhere (1964:19–21) are not referred to in Bergendorff and colleagues' discussion.

5. The political situation about to be described can be followed in standard secondary sources (Kuykendall 1968, Bradley 1969, Daws 1968). A more comprehensive, annotated discussion will appear in volume one of Kirch and Sahlins (in preparation). Choice material on the politics of the period, including relations between Hawaiians and factions of the resident European community, appears in the journals of Levi Chamberlain and Stephen Reynolds (see References).
6. Even before the abolition of the tabus, Ka'ahumanu's brother Ke'eaumoku (Cox) could tell Peter Corney that the Hawaiian priests were all liars and the white man's god was the only true one (Corney 1896:102). This was not simply *pour faire plaisir aux Blancs*, as within a year or two Ke'eaumoku and his people would act upon it.
7. Bergendorff *ma* say in this connection that Kamehameha maintained trade with other countries than Britain, "despite vigorous requests to the contrary by the British . . . (Kuykendall 1947:54)" (p.403). This seems to be the authors' invention; the statement certainly does not appear in the Kuykendall discussion they cite that the British vigorously requested a monopoly of trade. What that discussion does say, however, is that: "In his foreign relations, Kamehameha adhered to the policy foreshadowed in the so-called 'cession' of the island of Hawai'i to Great Britain. In a letter which he sent in 1810 to King George III, he spoke of himself as being 'subject to' the British king".
8. For notices of Kelou Kamakau (in 1823) see Ellis (1833:4:53–4, 56–7). Kamakau was born c. 1773. Ellis had a high opinion of his intelligence and attainments, especially as he had passed little time in Honolulu and had limited direct contact with the missionaries. Kamakau lived at Ka'awaloa, the northern settlement at Kealakekua Bay, where Cook died. Indeed, his father, Nuha (or Kanuha), was alleged by many to have been the warrior who first stabbed Cook. Insofar as Kamakau's description of the Makahiki represents its character at Kealakekua, it is doubly valuable in the present context.
9. The English traveller Gilbert Mathison, in the Islands in 1822, similarly says that Hawaiians made an image of the deified Cook "which for many years was actually carried in procession round the island of Owhyhee" (1825:431–2). But Mathison proceeds to confuse Cook with Kamehameha's living god Kahoali'i. He calls Cook "the Wandering God" of the Makahiki, saying he was preceded by a man bearing an instrument with 20 feather lashes, "and any person who had the misfortune to be touched by it, was summarily put to death as violating the Tabu regulation". Mathison, who bought this instrument, was evidently sold a bill of goods about Cook along with it. According to Hawaiian traditions, Kamehameha had latterly put Kahoali'i — whose flag or *lepa* this was — into the Makahiki as "the travelling god" (*Ka Na'i Aupuni*: July 12, 1906).
10. The original of this argument appears to be Friedman (1985).
11. In a discussion of Cook in an Hawaiian newspaper, Kamakau once explained where he got his information:

    I think I could discard the idea that Captain Cook introduced the *pala* disease were it not for what I clearly heard from my grandparents Kaneakahoowaha, Kuohu and Kiikii.

Kaneakahoowaha was a grandfather of mine who first met with Captain Cook. These people were eye-witnesses to the activities of Captain Cook. They are the real authorities upon which my historical writings are based (S. Kamakau 1867).

12. The custom of decorating the house, especially the posts of the lanai, where feasts are held, remained a feature of the Makahiki (New Year) festivities until recent times in Hawaii, according to Mrs Pukui's reminiscences (MS:I:1294–7). This document, "Makahiki Hou" (New Makahiki) shows a number of interesting correspondences to the classical Makahiki rituals.
13. In Cook's time, the maritime day began at 12 noon; hence a log date reading December 1, P.M., is the afternoon of November 30, shore time. This becomes somewhat important when getting into the nitty-gritty of Cook-Makahiki correlations. (A tip when reading logs: if the P.M. entry for any date precedes the A.M. entry, you are in ship's time.)
14. Apart from the exception of the *ahi* (albacore) fishing discussed below, in Kepelino's account in the Emerson Collection (Kepelino MS:1:113–25), the gods of the Makahiki "passed either inland or by canoe". Despite the classic description of a circuit by land only, I believe this makes sense; for if certain passages were effected by canoe, then the ritual journey could be completed in 23 days, perhaps a difficult feat by land alone. If indeed the god took to the sea between certain districts, then the behaviour of Cook's ships would not be so *hors cadre* as might otherwise seem.
15. The Gregorian dates of the tabus fit the December Makahiki option, but they are not decisive. By the November dating, December 2 is 12 Makali'i, hence during the Lono tabu. The December 19 date is more problematic for the earlier option: this would be 29 Makali'i, but we do not know if it was a tabu period. That would depend on whether the royal tabu imposed on 27 Makali'i (Malo 1951:152) were still in effect and if it also entailed a ban on the sea. And there is the possibility that this was the ancient time of the *aku* (bonito) tabu — 24 Makali'i to 4 Ka'elo — as it seems to have been during Vancouver's visit of 1793.
16. The journalists whose records were used to assess daily exchanges with Hawaiians are listed below:

Bayly (MSa, MSb)	Ellis (1782)
Burney (MSa, MSb)	Gilbert (MS)
Charlton (MS)	King (MS)
Clerke (MS)	Lanyon (MS)
Cook (MS)	Riou (MS)
Cook and King (1784)	Roberts (MS)
Edgar (MSa, MSb)	Samwell (in Beaglehole 1967)
	Trevenan [Attributed] (MS)

17. This shows that the albacore was not obtained in late November off Maui when a variety of fish were offered to the ships, which is further support of the December Makahiki concordance.
18. The pig is not mentioned in Lono's tributes by Malo, who likewise seems to make too broad a statement about the interdiction on fresh pork for the *ali'i* during the Makahiki season, since none could be consecrated in *haipule* rites. There are several pig sacrifices at the *heiau* during the Makahiki during which it is evident that chiefs indulged in the consumption of pork (Malo 1951:150; K. Kamakau 1919–20:*passim*).
19. The correspondence of Malo's ritual schedule and the historic events can be taken one phase further, to the first services (Ku tabu) of the following month (Kaulua), of which Malo wrote:

> In the tabu period of Ku [1to 3 lunar nights] of the month Kaulua, the king, chiefs, and all the people took up again their ordinary religious observances, because religion (*haipule*) has from the very beginning of Hawaiian history been a matter of the greatest concern (1951:152).

According to an anonymous journal held by the National Library of Australia, after Cook's death, on February 18, 1779, the second night of the lunar month,

> The Priest [probably Keali'ikea] asked leave to perform some religious ceremony on the Morai as we had posted some men there, this ceremony was a singing of short sentences some Plantins was left there as an offering; the carved Images on the Morai were covered with red Cloth . . . the Priest again told us to beware of Britanee [i.e., Koah] (Anonymous of N.L.A. MS:February 18, 1779).

REFERENCES

Abbreviations:

AH	Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu.
BM	British Museum, London.
HEN	Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Library, Honolulu.
HMCS	Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu.
ML	Mitchell Library, Library of New South Wales, Sydney.
NLA	National Library of Australia, Canberra.
PRO	Public Records Office, London.
TL	Turnbull Library, Wellington.

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