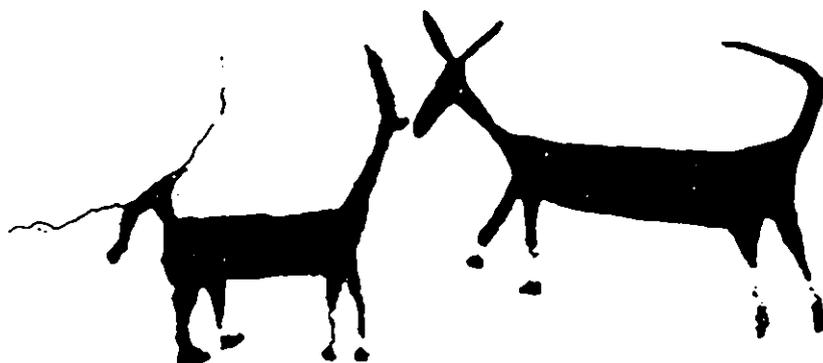


Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission
Consultant Report No. 21

The petroglyphs of Kaho'olawe, Hawai'i



By: Georgia Lee and Edward Stasack

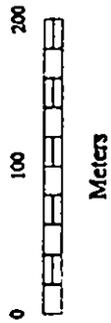
INLAND: LOA'A



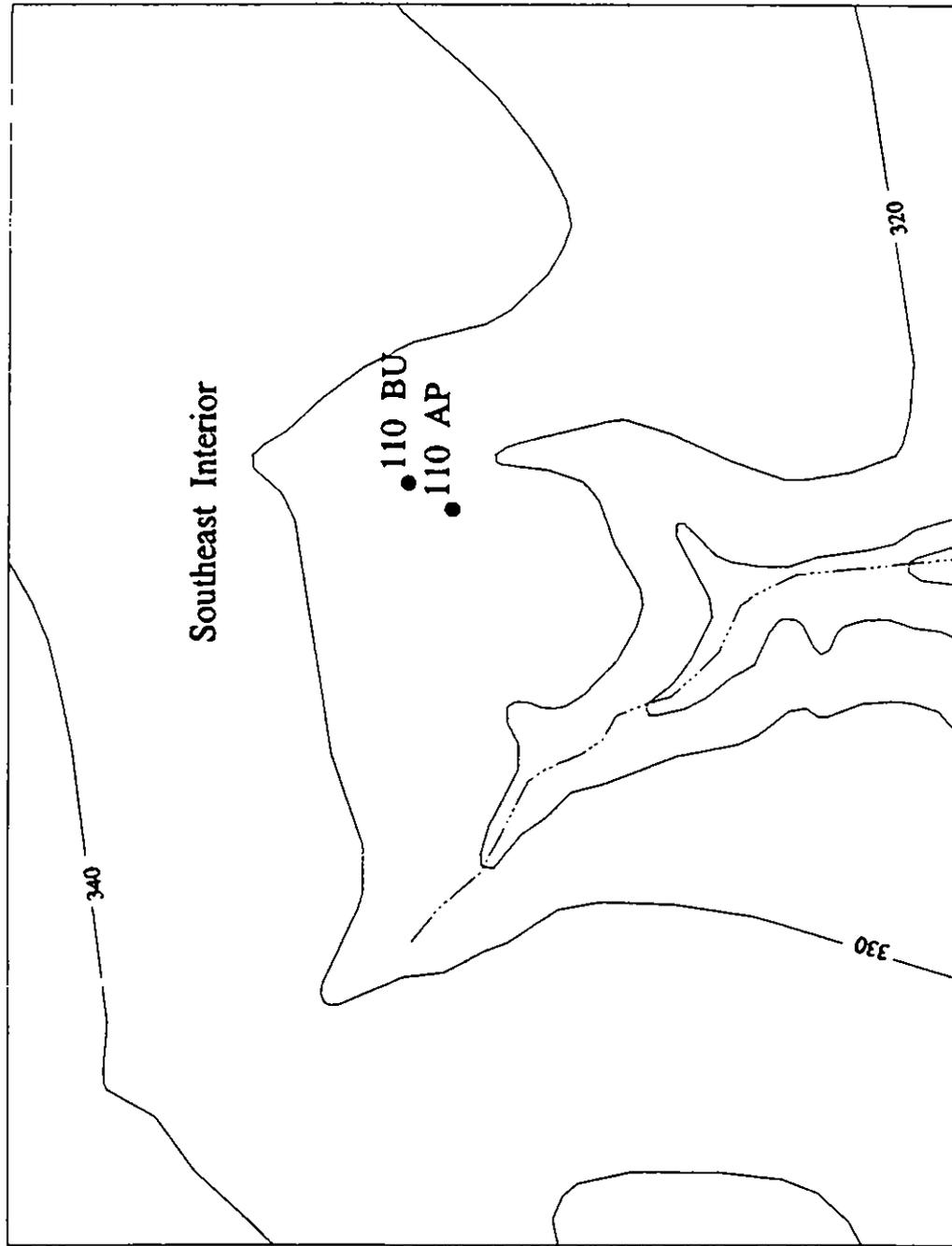
SOUTHEAST INTERIOR PETROGLYPH SITES

-  Petroglyph site
-  10 meter contours
-  Shoreline
-  Streams

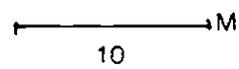
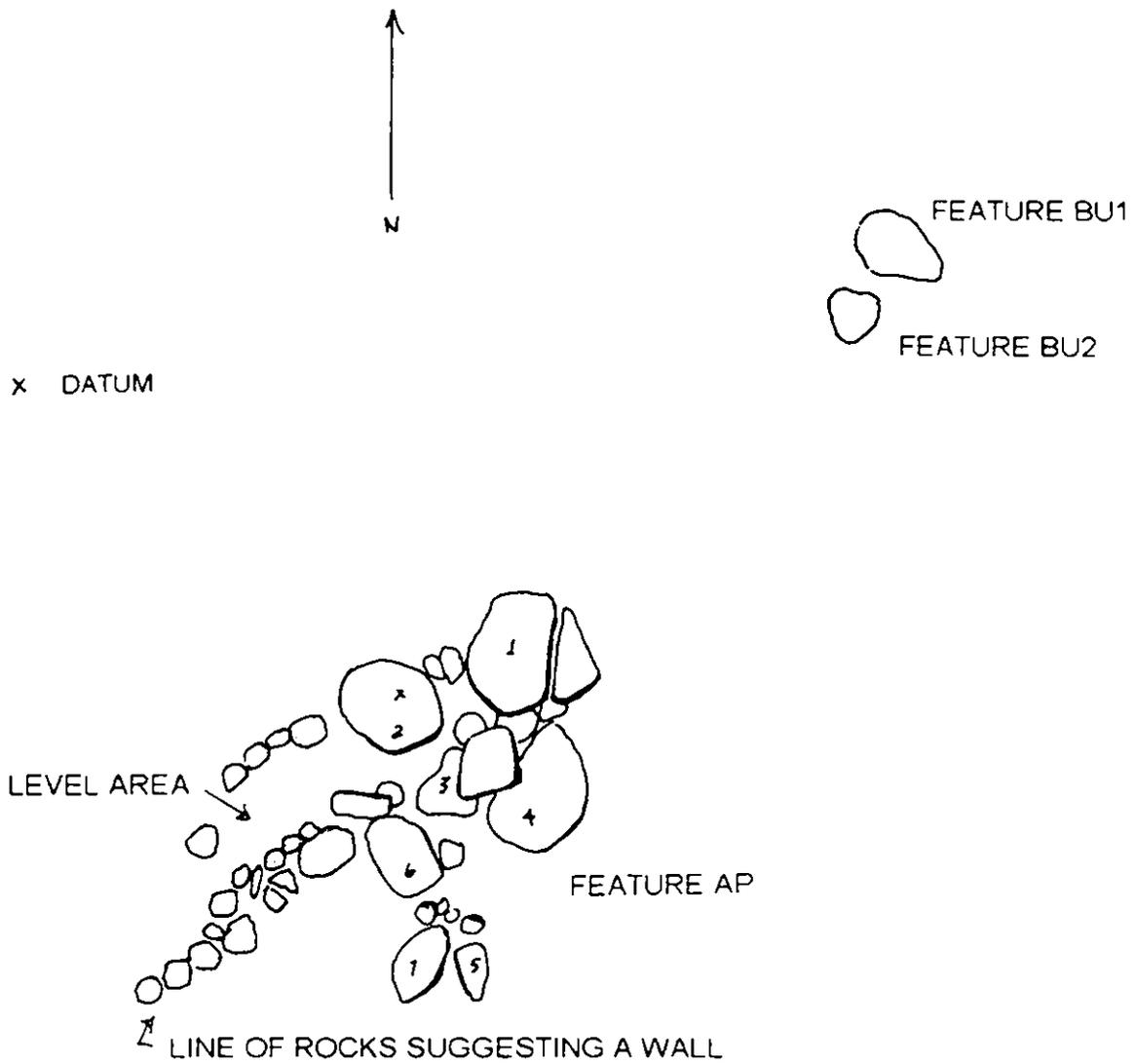
481 N Site & Feature ID



KIOC 1993



GDSI 1993.08.15



SITE 50-20-97-110
INLAND SITE, LOA'A

Inland

"Loa`a"

Site 50-20-97-110

Petroglyph site 110 is located on the southwestern slope of Pu`u Moaulanui on the road to Kanapou. The ancient name of the site is unknown; it was given the name "Loa`a" by Rubellite Johnson on our first visit to the site. Loa`a can be translated as meaning "find, discover".

The site is spread over a gently sloping stretch of hardpan at an elevation of 350 meters and is very large, consisting of some 72 features, many of them were temporary occupation sites. The area is today basically denuded of vegetation; only a few *kiawe* trees and clumps of grass are now growing here. With erosion and removal of the overlying soil, these sites have deflated and now appear as scatters of fire-cracked rock, midden, and lithic materials lying on the surface of the hardpan.

The portion of the site designated as Feature AP consists of a cluster of large bedrock boulders situated at the southeastern corner of the area. Today these boulders lie less than ten meters from an expanding erosion gully. At the time the site was first discovered, the original survey team noted two firehearths eroding out of the soil just to leeward (south) of the boulders. These hearths were not visible during our recent visits to the site. Flakes of basaltic glass recovered from the vicinity of the boulders by the 1976-80 survey team yielded a date of AD 1486 ± 43.

During our work at 110AP, we noted the presence of what appears to be a short stone alignment running west from the boulder cluster. The earth-floored terrace formed by this alignment is relatively small and shows no outward signs of having served as an occupation site (the area immediately surrounding the boulder cluster is clear of midden debris). The possibility exists that the terrace and boulder cluster once served as the site of a small shrine. At present, however, we possess no concrete evidence to either prove or disprove this assumption (R. Reeve, personal communication 1993).

The original documentation of this site was under the direction of R.J.Hommon, who reported "...at least 75 individual petroglyph units on 14 faces of 7 bedrock boulders...." Our count varies. We documented 91 petroglyphs but relatively few match those he found. It appears that, in some cases, natural features in the rock had been mistaken for man-made elements. It is easy to see how this could be, for the rock has natural "dimples" and other irregularities which can take the appearance of pecking.

Whenever possible, we used the same boulder and panel designation as did Hommon. See map and illustrations at the end of this section.

Site 110 also contains another nearby cluster of petroglyphs which were not recorded by Hommon's survey team. Feature BU, which was discovered during our initial visit to the site, lies 25 meters to the northeast of the Feature AP boulders. It consists of a single large boulder whose flat upper surface is covered with carvings (Panel 1). A smaller stone nearby possesses a single anthropomorphic figure (Panel 2). Both stones presently rest on the edge of the erosion gully and will soon be in imminent danger of collapsing into

it. It is possible that the site once contained additional petroglyph boulders which have already been lost.

The following petroglyphs were recorded in the boulder cluster AP:

Panel 1 is on a large boulder with a crack running through it. It is on the north end of this boulder cluster.

1A. contains two stick figure anthropomorphs, one finely pecked and measuring 16x20; 1B. the other is roughly pecked and apparently unfinished. It lacks legs. Measurement: 10x11. Both figures have one arm raised. Hommon's survey reported seven anthropomorphs on this panel. We saw only these two, neither of which matches his figure 1a2, showing a square-headed figure with a phallus.

Panel 2A, B, C and D are on a large boulder just to the west of #1. Petroglyphs are on three faces of the south side plus the top surface.

2A has one figure.

1. a faint suggestion of a stick figure, finely pecked and measuring 10x24, but apparently unfinished. It shows a torso, legs, and possibly one arm and a phallus. No head, or left arm.

2B contains three figures:

- 1) A stick figure with triangular head, shelf hands and feet, measuring 14x28;
- 2) A headless anthropomorph measuring 12x18; and
- 3) A partial anthropomorph, legless, measuring 20x26. Hommon reported six other figures on this panel, none of which we were able to relocate.

Panel 2C, contains two figures:

- 1) A stick figure measuring 23x29 with extra limbs plus an angled extension. It is roughly pecked.
- 2) Triangular-bodied anthropomorph with curved legs and wide "bird-like" arms. The upper torso is unclear. Figure measures 22x31. Hommon recorded a figure with six limbs, but his measurements are different from ours.

Panel 2D is the top surface; it contains four units: Hommon reported eight figures on this panel; only one of his descriptions matches our recorded figure 2, but his measurements of the figure do not match ours.

- 1) a "V" form measuring 5x9;
- 2) stick figure with what may be extra limbs, phallus, and shelf hands and feet, 15x20;
- 3) unidentified figure, 11x20. This may be a "start" of a figure; and
- 4) a "T" figure measuring 13x14, which has some bird-like qualities.

Panel 3A contains one stick figure, 15x20, with an extra horizontal line in the torso, and shelf-like hands and feet. Hommon reports a male figure, with measurements that are close

to ours, but not identical. Boulder #3 is south of # 1 and 2, and lower; it is partially underneath another large rock.

Panel 3B contains three figures:

- 1) a running figure with one arm raised, 15x18;
- 2) an incomplete stick figure with one arm raised, 10x13; and
- 3) a stick figure with one arm raised, 15x23. Parts of this panel are severely eroded. Hommon illustrated these figures as being connected, which we did not. Our measurements also vary. He drew an exfoliated area as part of figure No. 1.

Panel 4 has three faces; A1 contains two elements, and is located in a niche that is very difficult to access. A large boulder rests on top of both rock #3 and # 4.

- 1) a stick figure with extra limbs, measuring 15x27, and with a triangular head and curved legs; and 2) an unidentified figure, 10x23. These two are in a small niche in the boulder cluster and difficult to see clearly. Hommon's drawing of our figure 1 is similar but proportioned differently; the other figure is fairly close although our measurements (and some details) vary.

Panel 4B is to the outside and south part of the rock which has a large panel containing five elements:

- 1) A stick figure with one arm raised, measuring 13x16.
- 2) A running figure with shelf-like feet, 15x20.
- 3) An armless triangle shaped torso measuring 10x20, with a head formed of peck marks.
- 4) A triangle torso, armless and legless, 12x14. Two projections appear to be 2 necks or heads.
- 5) An unidentified figure, 8x10, plus random peck marks, some very deep.

Hommon's drawing has connected some figures, and added others that we did not locate. However, the rock has many rough areas which could have been so interpreted by him. The differences in measurements may, in large part, be due to the lines he drew as connecting elements.

Panel 4C contains ten figures:

- 1) A one-armed phallic stick figure, measuring 18x24.
- 2) A stick figure with one arm raised and what may be a phallus. The figure measures 19x19.
- 3) A phallic stick figure, 22x37, overlapping a portion of figure 4.
- 4) A phallic stick figure with extra line/limb at torso and shelf-like feet. It measures 18x25.
- 5) An active stick figure, 15x16, has a lobed head which may have been intended to suggest a headdress, and one arm raised. The left foot is shelf-like.
- 6) A stick figure with one arm raised and shelf-like feet and hands. The head is triangular. The figure measures 11x19.
- 7) A phallic stick figure, with one arm raised, triangular head and shelf-like hands and feet measures 22x22. The right foot is exfoliated.

- 8) A line, 9 cm long
- 9) One pecked cupule, 2 cm diameter.
- 10) A possible figure, 14x15, very faint. A recent abrasion is also on this panel, which is eroding and exfoliating. The figures on this panel are very lively showing movement and action. Only four of our figures match Hommon's drawing.

Panel 5A is a smaller rock on the south edge of this cluster; it contains five figures in the same lively style as those in Panel 4C:

- 1) a small stick figure, one arm raised, 10x13;
- 2) stick figure with one arm raised, 15x30;
- 3) stick figure, one arm raised and curved legs, 20x24;
- 4) phallic stick figure, shelf hands and feet, 15x28; and
- 5) phallic stick figure with two-lobed head and short legs, 14x14.

Panel 6A is on a large boulder just south of #3. It contains two figures:

- 1) stick figure with one arm raised and legs in an action pose, possibly running. It is 17x22; and
- 2) small poorly formed stick figure with asymmetrical arms and legs, plus a small cupule below the crotch area. The surface of the rock is very rough. This panel is fairly close to Hommon's drawing although measurements do not match.

Panel 7A was a puzzle. This medium sized boulder is south of the cluster, and next to #5. We only recorded one clear figure here, although Hommon's report claimed to see numerous elements. Aside from the one clear element, there are traces that may suggest several figures but which are too far eroded to see clearly. The clear figure is also shown in Hommon's drawing (with different dimensions), but the rest of the figures in his drawing are simply not on the rock. The few possible traces we noted do not match the elaborate set of figures in his drawing. The surface of this boulder is rough and dimpled with many natural irregularities which must have been mistaken for petroglyphs. A photograph in the Hommon report shows this boulder face with its chalked "images", but the only one that is chalked correctly is the figure we recorded.

1. A phallic stick figure with one arm raised, 18.5x26,

We thus recorded ninety-one petroglyphs in the same area where Hommon reported 75 units. But many of these are not the same motifs as were reported by the earlier survey. Using his site information, including drawings and photographs, we inspected every boulder with care under differing light conditions. Although some petroglyphs could be matched to the earlier report, many times the variation was considerable and in two instances, (Panels 1 and 7) we failed to see anything even remotely like that which was cited in the earlier report. One problem with Hommon's study is that the recorder chalked what he saw, or thought he saw. Thus photographs and drawings made from photographs show the chalked images which are simply natural markings in the rocks.

Following our first brief visit to the site we came away believing that the petroglyphs at 110AP were eroding rapidly and that some had disappeared in the time since Hommon's original study. Our subsequent work at the site has caused us to discard this

theory. The figures which remain and can be clearly seen do not appear to have changed since Hommon's visit to the site. It is unlikely that some would have eroded and others, on the same rock face, remain in good condition. Our conclusion is that whomever drew the images in the early survey was inexperienced with regard to petroglyphs and saw things in the rock that are not actually there.

Site 110BU

Feature BU(1) is a large horizontally oriented boulder, possessing some very interesting petroglyphs (12 units plus four lines) as well as a row of 32 cupules (man-made depressions) around its perimeter. The stone itself is relatively flat and rests on a natural pedestal. It resonates when tapped with a stone, giving out a bell-like peal.

The motifs on this boulder include:

- 1) stick figure with shelf feet (15 x23);
- 2) phallic stick figure with shelf feet and triangular head (33 x34);
- 3) phallic stick figure with curved legs and lines projecting from the head. The arms appear to be double, ending in wing like forms. (21 x22):
- 4) triangular anthropomorph with triangle shaped head, one arm up, and shelf feet (35 x36);
- 5) very small and faint stick figure, 13 x15 ;
- 6) unidentified figure 14x16 ;
- 7) triangle anthropomorph with curved legs and round head. The right arm is doubled, wing-like, and similar to the arms on figure 3 (22 x22);
- 8) headless stick figure with both arms up (27 x32);
- 9) stick figure (10 x19);
- 10) stick figure with one arm raised and outsized legs, out of proportion to the rest of the figure (23 x27);
- 11) small triangle figure, phallic with curtailed legs and arms (11x 12); and
- 12) triangle figure, armless (9.5 x19).

The other elements on this panel are long lines, three of which run the length of the surface of the boulder: they measure 220, 210, and 280 cm in length. One has a triangle shape at one end. One line runs off at an angle, connecting to the arm of an anthropomorph. A few cupules are scattered in the panel, but most are around the perimeter of the boulder. The cupules are quite deep and large; sizes range from 3 cm in diameter to 15 cm; depth from .3 to 3.5 cm. This boulder is unique on Kaho'olawe, where cupules are rare.

Feature BU-2, the smaller stone is a few meters south of the cupule boulder; this loci is another new find, not recorded by Hommon. It has a single petroglyph.

1. A stick figure anthropomorph with both arms raised, three fingers on each hand, a phallus and shelf like feet.

Discussion

Fifty-two percent of the petroglyphs at Loa`a are human figures, but only seven figures represent triangular-bodied anthropomorphs. There are no historic elements at the site, such as petroglyphs of goats, or initials.

Several figures have triangular shaped heads, and many exhibit lively, active stances. No petroglyphs of dogs were noted. There is stylistic unity among many of the anthropomorphs. Outstanding are those figures suggesting a physical activity such as running or dancing. Many figures have one arm raised.

The cupule boulder, called Loa`a, has similar figures but varies because of the deep depressions around the perimeter and the long lines that run across the surface of the panel.

Although there are only a few triangular-bodied figures at this site, among these are the "winged" arm figures on the Loa`a stone (BU1-3, 6). Beckwith (1970:189) tells the legend of Pu`u-o-inaina whose husbands Kaakakai and Kaanahua are able to fly. There are a number of birdman type figures at various sites. If there is a connection between the petroglyphs and the legend, it is impossible to say.

In general, the petroglyphs at this site are quite nicely designed, despite being mostly in the older, stick-figure style. The distinctiveness of some, suggested by the headdresses and the odd heads, contributes to the possibility that this was a sacred site. There is no nearby water source and it is a good distance from the nearest settlement, Hakiowa. There is a noticeable feeling about this place, perhaps a wahi pana, which is enhanced by the presence of the bell rock and the near shrine-like character of the setting of the boulders.

Because of the proliferation of cupules on the Loa`a stone, the imaginative and well-designed figures, and the bell-like qualities when struck, this site stands apart from the other rock art sites on Kaho`olawe. The cupules by themselves represent a unique grouping in Hawai`i. We know of no other single boulder with such a large and ordered grouping of cupules.

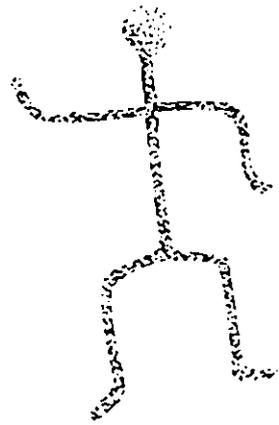
At sunrise and sunset during the spring months, a stick held vertically at either end of the lines casts a shadow which generally follows the line. Likewise, a stick held vertically in a few of the cupules does the same. This may be fortuitous since the majority of the cupules are on the south perimeter of the boulder.

Many of the cupules could be used as containers; we were present after a shower and nearly half of them held water. The fact that many did not, may rule out their use as a reflector of sun, moon, or stars. Some could have been used as containers for a *piko*, a well-established practice at Pu`uloa on the Big Island. It is unlikely, however, that this was their function.

The fact remains that it took great effort to create these cupules. One is 3.5 cm deep and nearly 15 cm in diameter. Pecking and abrading a concavity in basalt is a very long and tedious process, and would require serious motivation. These cupules are refined to a fair degree of smoothness to the touch by some sort of abrasion; the cupule maker attached some importance to smoothing the surfaces. Another possibility is that they were created by abrasion and the smoothness is a by-product of the process. Usually pecking in combination with abrasion is the most efficient method.

Finally, there is the unlikely possibility that these cupules were the result of striking it to make the bell sound. We found that it did produce sounds of a slightly different pitch when struck at different points along its perimeter.

The Loa'a stone supports a very special group of petroglyphs which must be preserved. The boulder is balanced somewhat precariously on a pedestal on the edge of a fast-eroding gulch, and is in danger of falling. It may, in fact, have shifted considerably already. Efforts should be made to stabilize this site before it is too late. It is also vital that information regarding its bell-like qualities be confined to this report and not broadcast about to the public. One has only to see the damage done to the bell-stones of Kaua'i to understand why this is so.

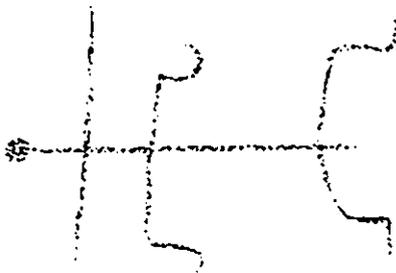


10 CM

SITE 50-20-97-110AP, PANEL 1A



1



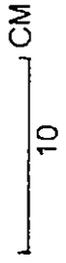
2



3

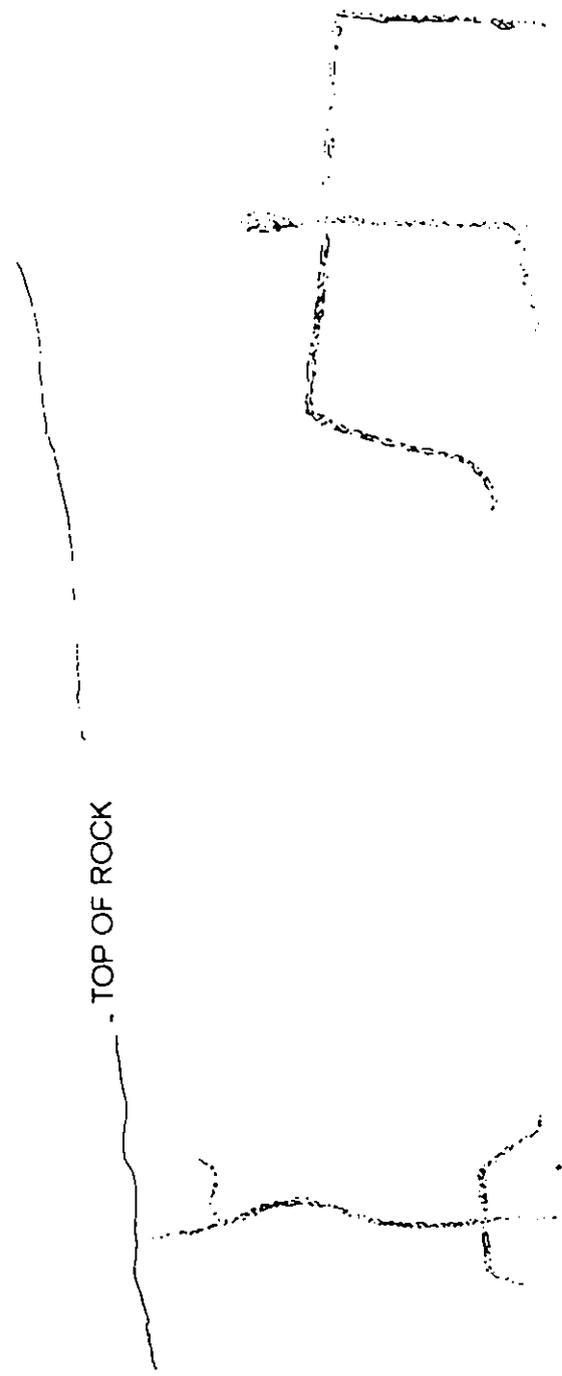


4

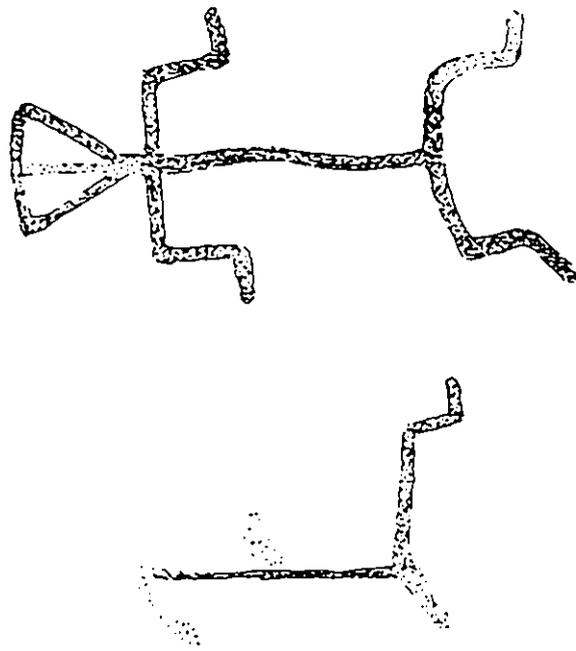


SITE 50-20-97-110AP, PANEL 2D (1-4)

TOP OF ROCK

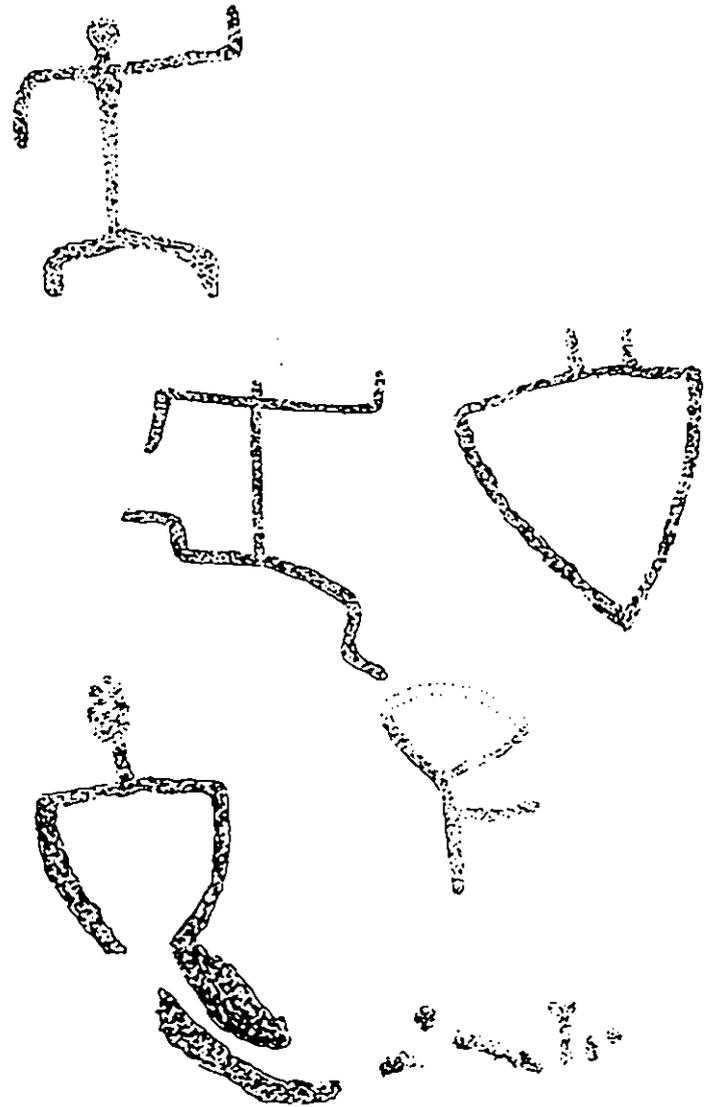


SITE 50-20-97-110AP, PANEL 2A



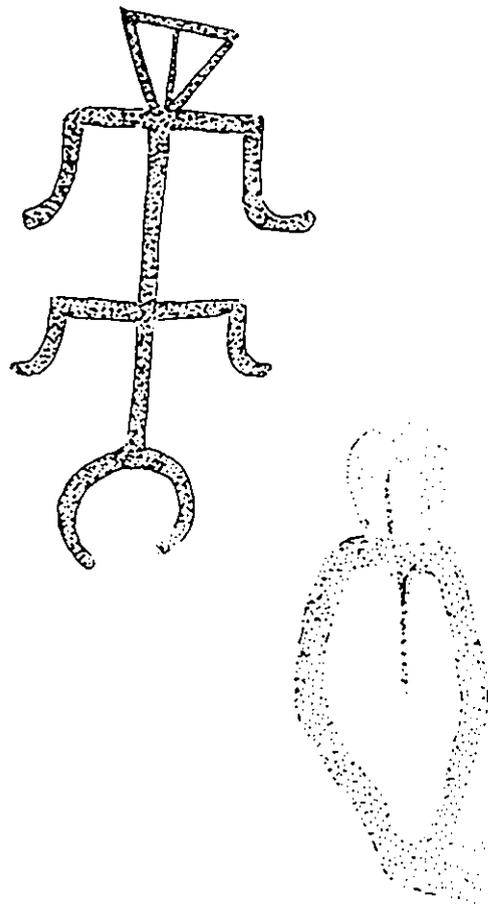
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SITE 50-20-97-110AP, PANEL 2B



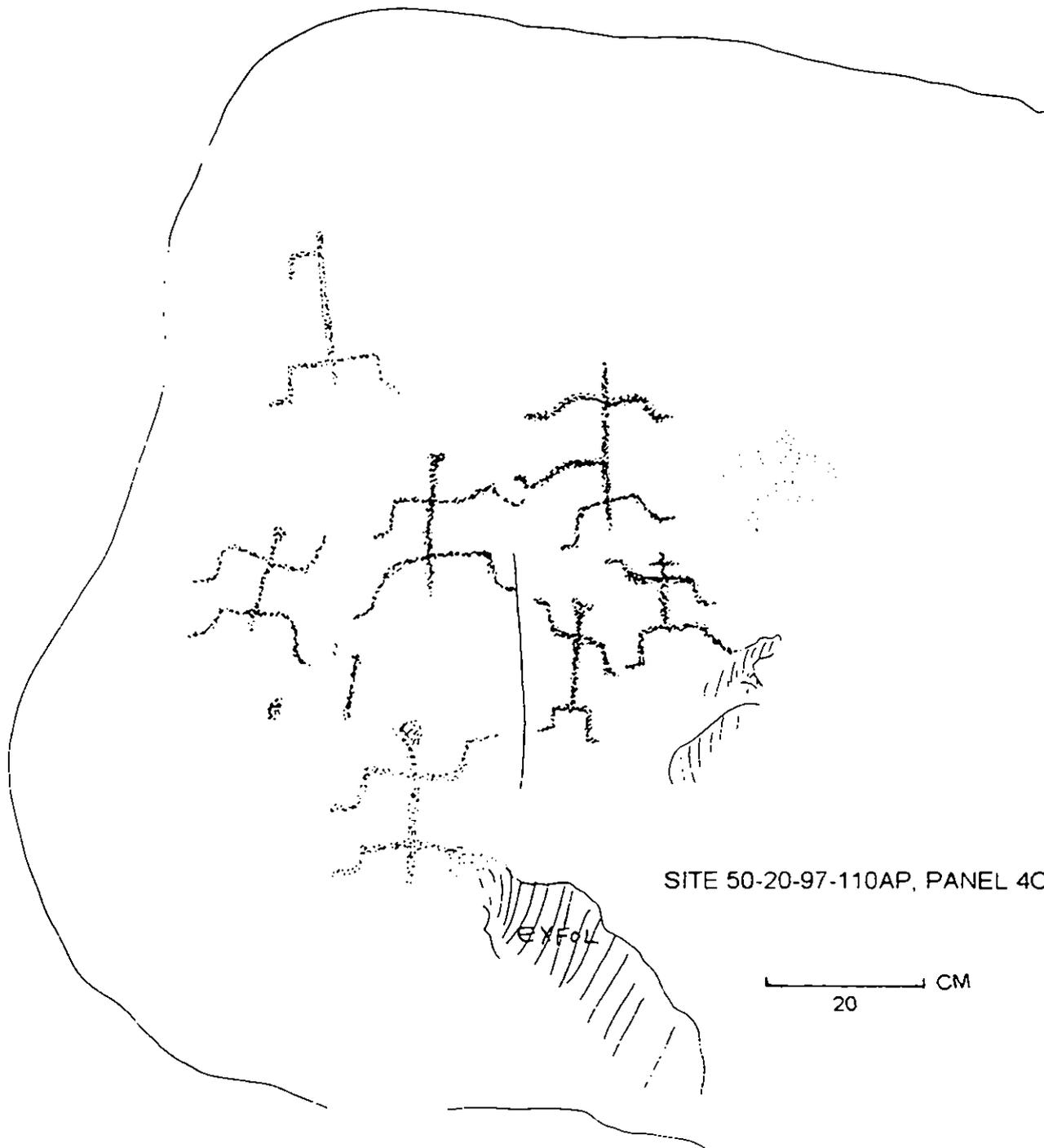
SITE 50-20-97-110AP, PANEL 4B

10 CM



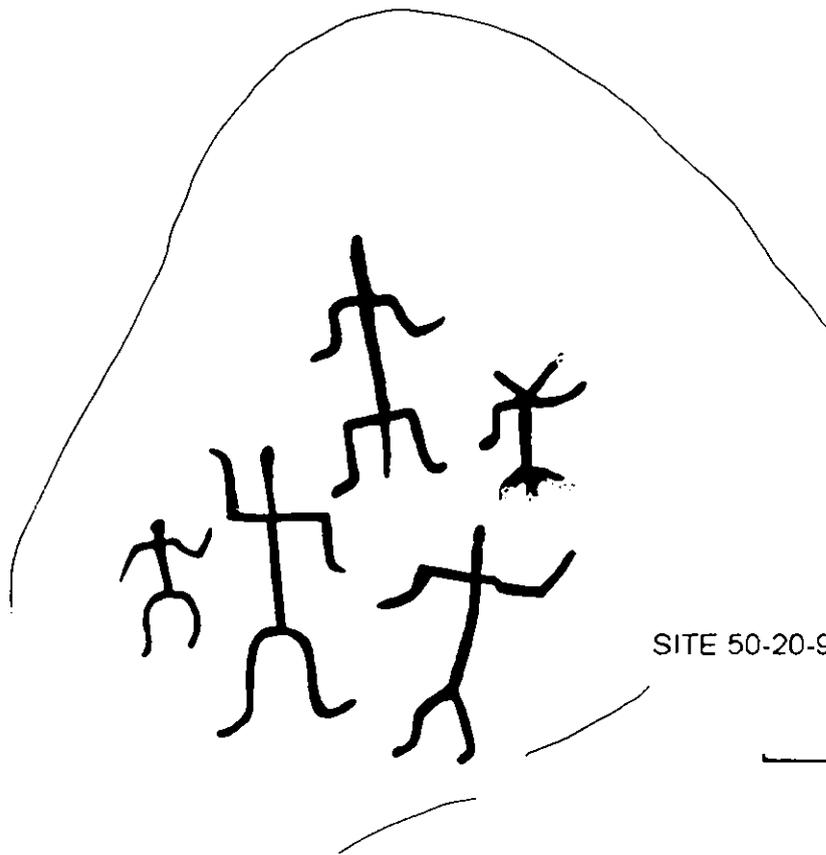
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SITE 50-20-97-110AP, PANEL 4A (1)

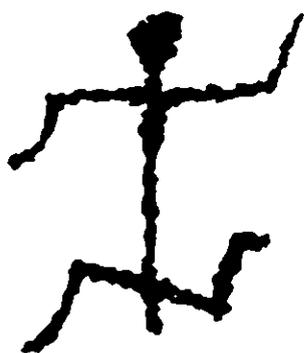
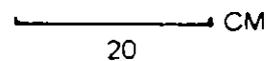


SITE 50-20-97-110AP, PANEL 4C

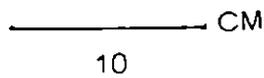
20 CM

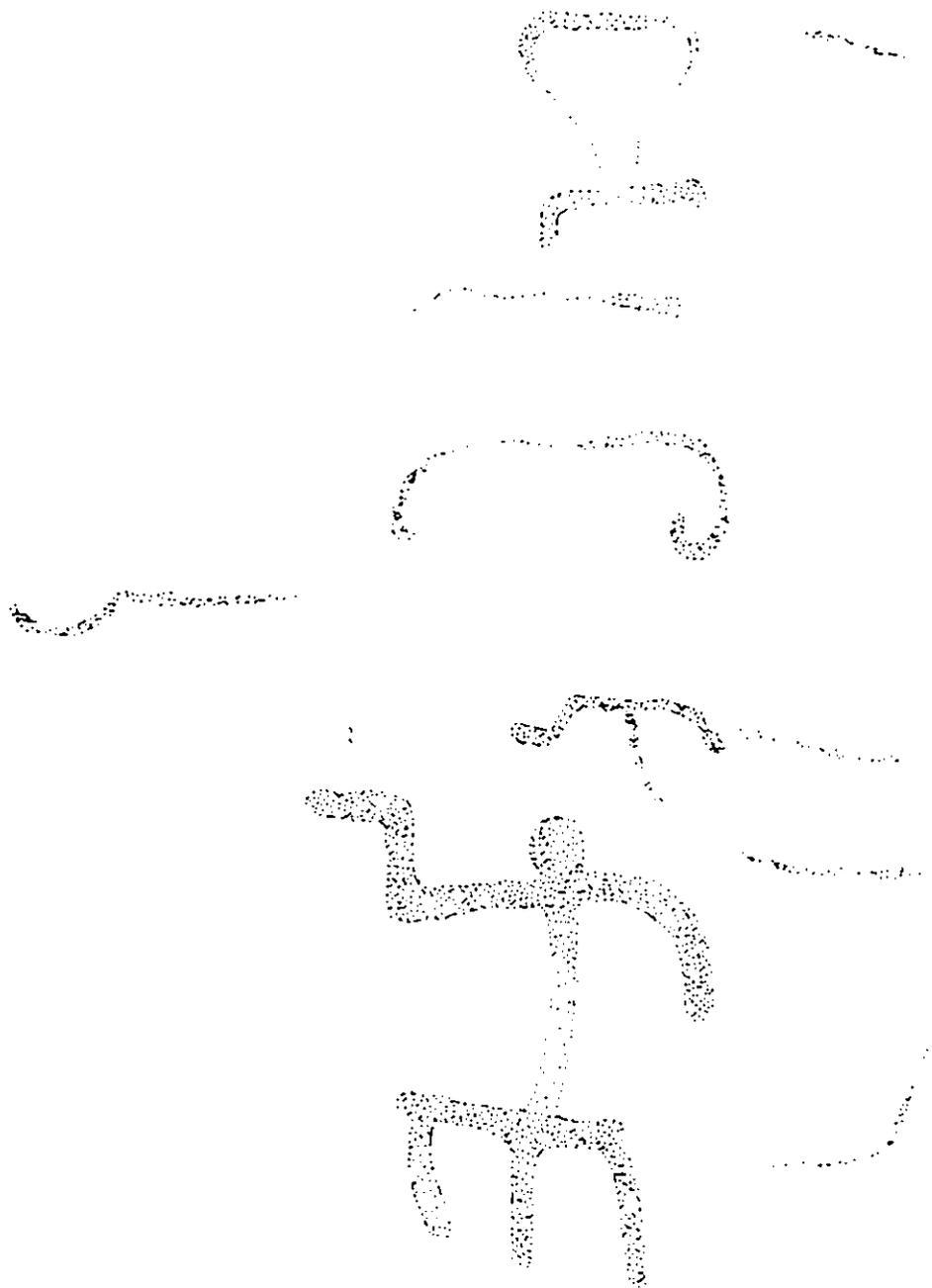


SITE 50-20-97-110AP, PANEL 5A



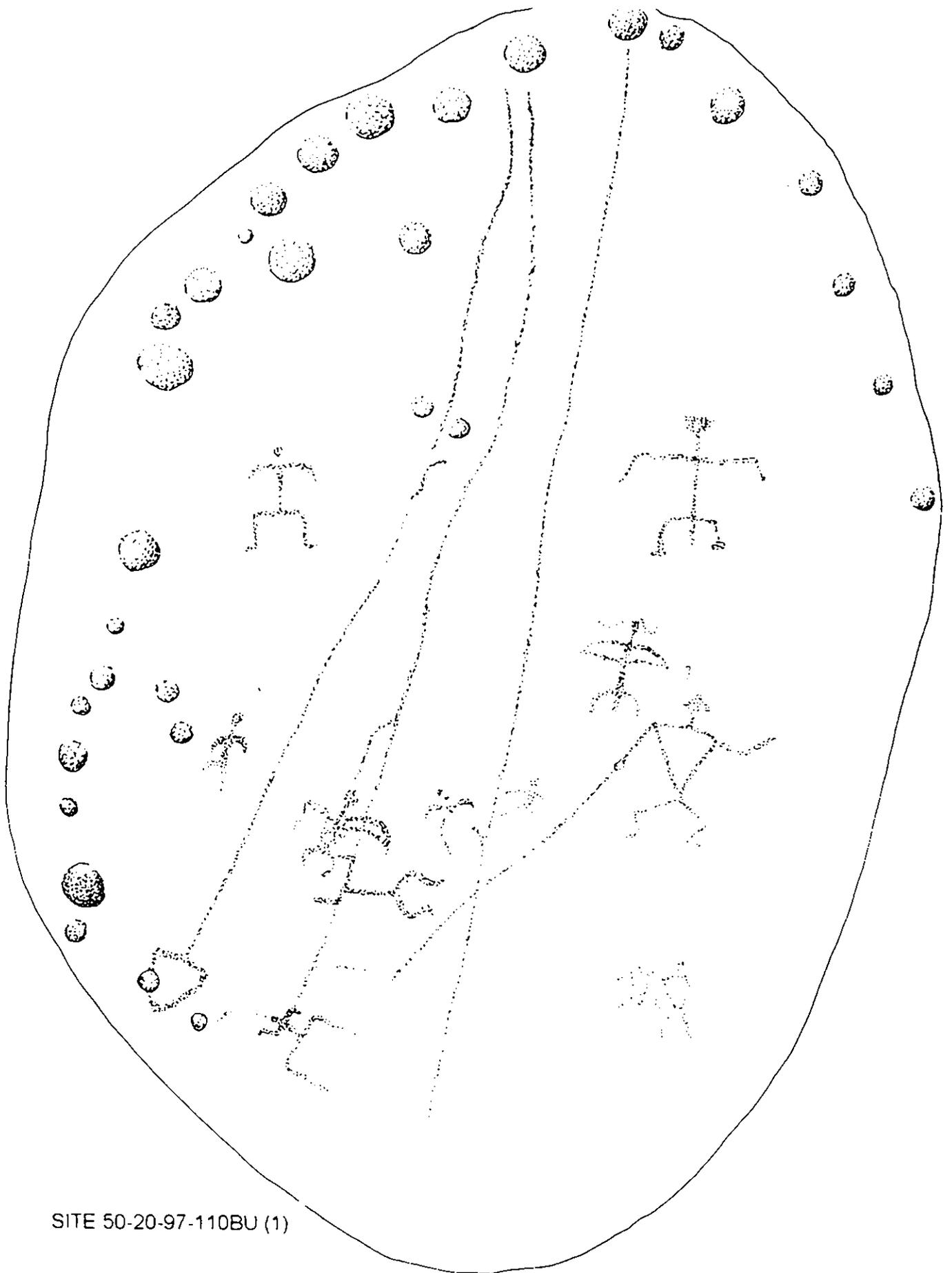
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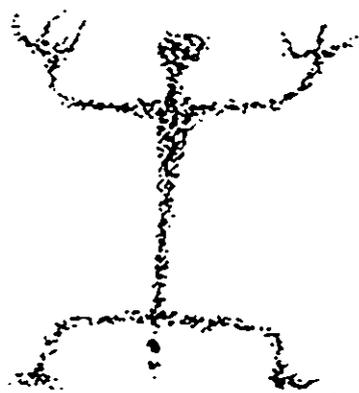
10 CM

SITE 50-20-97-110AP, PANEL 7A



SITE 50-20-97-110BU (1)

— 20 CM



SITE 50-20-97-110BU (2)



SITE 50-20-97-110AP, PANEL 2C

10 CM

Conclusion

The petroglyphs recorded on Kaho'olawe were found at 82 loci, and include at least 423 (the incised panels were recorded as one unit, not sorting out each incised line from the myriad numbers of lines). The spread sheet included in this report shows the distribution of motifs at the various sites.

Stick figure anthropomorphs outnumber triangular figures (173 to 112), plus there are 15 "special bodied" figures. Thus 71% of all the petroglyphs so far documented represent human figures.

Our recording project documented all the known petroglyph sites we were able to locate, and found more; it is likely that more petroglyphs are still to be found. Time constraints as well as difficulties in getting around to the more isolated parts of the island prevented our searching further.

Petroglyphs take on characteristics depending upon the surface upon which they are carved. The more dense the stone, the more shallow they usually are. Since most of the stone on Kaho'olawe is dense basalt, it is rare to find petroglyphs on the island which are deeply cut. The difficulty inherent in carving images into this dense stone also tends to limit their size, and we found few large figures. Those at Site 669 are the largest images we located.

It was also noted that different sites on the island had a somewhat different ambiance; they do not all follow a single pattern. Perhaps this variation may be due in part to the function of the sites. Most of the island's petroglyphs are narrowly focused around settlement areas, such as at Kaukakupapa, where they rest within the confines of small coastal fishing settlements. At Hakioawa, however, we see a major settlement with small clusters of petroglyphs scattered amongst the house sites and other structures; Site 110 (Loa'a) is a large boulder cluster in the uplands, with probably no permanent nearby habitation. This suggests that the site may have had religious significance.

What little information we have for Kaho'olawe suggests that the island held some special importance in the ancient Hawaiian culture. For example, Moaulaiki is a small cinder cone on northwestern slope of Pu'u Moaulanui; on top of the hill are remains of a stone faced platform which may have been a shrine. Oral traditions suggest that this was the site of a school for astronomy and navigation. Near the platform is a large slab boulder on a pedestal which when struck, rings with a sonorous tone which brings to mind the boulder at Loa'a; however, the Moaulaiki rock has no petroglyphs.

Compared to the petroglyphs in the other islands of Hawai'i, Kaho'olawe's designs most resemble those on Maui and Lana'i, specifically the petroglyphs at Kukui Point, and to a lesser degree, at Kaunalu and Luahiwa. Those at Kuheia are similar to petroglyphs on Maui (although Maui's petroglyphs are among those least documented). It is possible that such resemblances are due to the type of surface, basalt boulders being more difficult to carve than *pahoehoe*. But this would have minimal effect on style.

As for specific special features, there are certain conventions we see on Kaho'olawe that stand out: detached heads, wedge shaped heads, action figures (in running or dancing posture), bird-like images, and zoomorphs. Many of the latter are surely goats although others are clearly meant to depict dogs. In contrast to many other petroglyph sites

in Hawai'i, cupules are a rarity. These cup-shaped man-made depressions are ubiquitous at many sites such as Pu'uloa and Anaho'omalua on the Big Island. They are, however, in *pahoehoe*. The cupule boulder at the inland site of Loa'a is an exception. The petroglyphs are cut into a hard basalt and then abraded until smooth; we know of no other single boulder in Hawai'i with such a large grouping of cupules.

The petroglyphs found on Kaho'olawe span a vast period of time, from the prehistoric period up to the early years of this century. In certain cases, such as at the gulch west of Ahupuiki (Site 121G), historic petroglyphs occur on faces containing what appear to be far more ancient images. At times a historic image, such as a goat, is superimposed on the apparently older figure.

In the early 1800s New England missionaries introduced the art of writing to the Hawaiian Islands. Not long afterward a missionary school was established on Kaho'olawe. Although we know little about the school beyond the number of the students who attended, it seems probable that it consisted of a single native teacher who taught reading, writing and scripture. The people of Kaho'olawe appear to have learned their lessons well, for our surveys revealed a goodly number of petroglyphs written in English script. These appear for the most part to be personal names, but in at least one instance (at Site 137 near Kealaikihiki Point) we have what seems to be a phrase or possibly a title.

In some cases we have been able to link a carved name with a known historic individual. Our earliest example of this is Keliikipi, whom we know to be a young boy living on Kaho'olawe at the time of the 1866 census. Keliikipi carved his name into the surface of a large beach boulder at the bay just east of Ahupu. The concentration of carved names in and around Ahupu bay suggests that this was a major settlement during the historic period (a conclusion which is supported by documentary evidence). Most of the other names for which we have known dates belong to cowboys or visitors to the ranch headquarters at Kuheia.

One of the most interesting characteristics of all these sites, except for Kuheia, is the inconsistency exhibited. There seems little, if any, historical order. This is also true at other sites in the islands but seems exaggerated at Kaho'olawe. This, and other evidence cited earlier, supports the idea that the petroglyph sites were occupied only periodically and that a minimum amount of "local" style developed, with the exception of "wedge" shaped heads, sometimes with a bisecting vertical line, and the goat motifs.

It could be suggested that, despite a subtle Kaho'olawe flavor, there was insufficient quantity of petroglyph making to advance the occasional unique stylistic statement. Kaho'olawe's petroglyphs are anachronistic and generally stylistically heterogeneous within each site (with the now familiar exception, Kuheia), but taken as a whole there is often an elusive element of style and/or technique which comes through--a common thread providing unity and uniqueness.

Style-wise, the triangular heads stand out, particularly those with a bisecting center line. In fact, the proportion of "unusual" heads seems greater than at other important sites in Hawai'i. The heterogeneity may be mostly responsible for this. At major sites such as Puako and Pu'uloa, the standard head is a small dot, usually with a neck. Kaho'olawe's detached heads are not the standard elsewhere.

To summarize, Kaho'olawe's petroglyphs tend to be small, shallow, emphasizing curved lines, and with idiosyncrasies or quirks. They are found almost exclusively near settlements, with the exception of the one inland site. Except for the gulch west of Kuheia,

each site has its own style mix, a clear personality. Such special ambiance is a characteristic for all petroglyph sites in Hawai'i.

At the above mentioned gulch west of Kuheia, almost all of the images are stylistically similar: a small softly triangular body, with curved lines emphasized. This style resembles those at Kukui Point (Lana'i) as well as many of the Maui images. It should be considered that these petroglyphs could have been made by visitors or emigrants from either of those islands, or that they are all connected in some way. There were *ohana* on Kaho'olawe related to *ohana* on Lana'i and Maui. These families were accustomed to fish and camp on and near Kaho'olawe. The petroglyphs are too well made to have been created by someone who had simply seen them on Lana'i or Maui and then tried to copy them from memory.

The overall aesthetic quality may not match the exceptional level of some of the petroglyphs from other islands in Hawai'i but the imagination, inventiveness, and sense of individuality of many of the images holds up well. It seems apparent that each settlement did not have a resident *kahuna* with the talents and skills of the Master of Kaunolu, who created those stunning birdman images of such artistic power. But the Kaho'olawe petroglyphs are purposeful and sincere, revealing the perceptively of their makers. They tell us that there were probably three periods of petroglyph making.

In the earliest period, stick figures were made with both straight and curved lines; the differences were in proportion, size of line, quality and technique. Most were pecked, some were pecked and then abraded.

In the next period, softly curvilinear figures with triangular torsos emerged, possibly at the same time as those with straight edges and squared arms and legs. Stylizations appeared such as the birdman types, and various body types with headdresses, winged arms, unusual proportions, etc. Lana'i and Maui influence and/or connections seem strong during this time.

In the final period, names and words were inscribed. Figures and animals in heterogeneous styles continued to be made and intermingled with older images. The lettering may be attributable to the influence of nearby Lahaina and the printing activity there.

By the above measures, Loa'a may be the oldest site, with Hakioawa the next oldest. Ahupuiki shows the longest period of (probably) intermittent occupancy, and Kaukukapapa also shows a long period of intermittent activity but with a preponderance of anachronistic style mix (i.e., older types being made in later times). Kuheia suggests a brief period of petroglyph making in the middle period. This is not a conclusive analysis but it may not be far from the mark, in regard to the other archaeological evidence.

The Kaho'olawe petroglyphs were undoubtedly made for the same purposes as those of the other islands. It seems evident that they possessed *mana*, or spiritual power. They had the same variety of uses as did writing, e.g., as records; for the commemoration of events, political and historical; recording of legends; proclamation of domain or custodianship; births and perhaps deaths of great significance; battles won or lost; genealogical records; as adjunct or focus of ritual or ceremonial activities; *piko* centered rituals; and so forth.

These symbols carved in stone are the tangible remains of a much broader ceremonial that included chant and prayer. It is our firm belief that they were neither idly nor casually made but are silent reminders of past spiritual power and belief. They deserve

to be preserved and protected for all who treasure the past. The fact that many of the panels we recorded have been damaged by gunfire suggests that conservation of the petroglyphs has previously not been a big issue. We hope that future concerns will address conservation efforts and the general attitude toward rock art protection will change.

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