OHA STRATEGIC ALIGNMENT

Mo‘omeheu

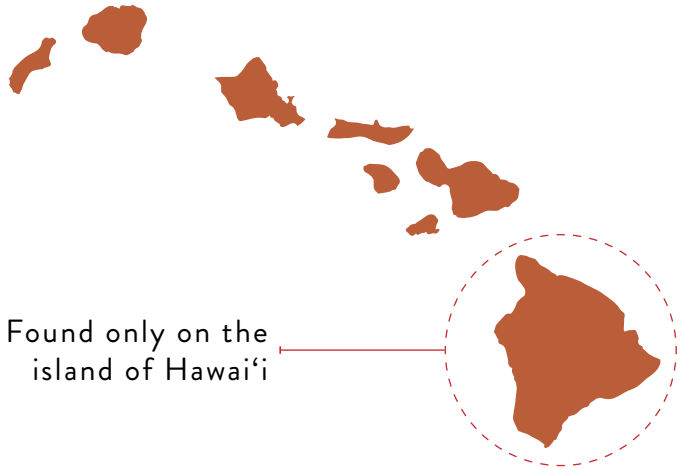
‘Io: The Hawaiian Hawk

Introduction

The ‘io or Hawaiian hawk (*Buteo solitarius*) is an endemic raptor found solely in the forests of Hawai‘i Island, although Wilson and Evans (1890–1899) reported ‘io on Ni‘ihau, Moloka‘i, and Kaua‘i in the past. The name ‘io comes from the chirping sound that the hawk makes, “io, io,” and because ‘io means swift-flying (Puku‘i & Elbert, 1986). A century earlier, Kepelino (1859) wrote of the hawk, “It is named for its cry” (p. 265).

FIGURE 1. Current range of the Hawaiian Hawk.

Photo. Bret Nainoa Mossman



Source. https://usfwspacific.tumblr.com/post/177107639145/species-spotlight-hawaiian-hawk

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Early Documentation of ʻIo

Captain Cook sighted "Brown Hawks and Kites" on his stop in Hawaiʻi in his search for the North-West Passage (Handy, 1941, p. 136). However, it was not until the U.S. Exploring Expedition, led by Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, that the first scientific observation was made by the team's ornithologist, Titian R. Peale, who described the ʻio as such:

> The Buzzard was seen at the island of Hawaii and from what we could learn from the natives, does not inhabit any other island of the group. It appears to have all the characteristic habits of the genus; sits solitary on dead trees, patiently watching small birds which constitute its principal food. (Peale, 1848, p. 63)

Eventually, the British ornithologist and explorer Scott Blanchard Wilson was sent by his professor to Hawaiʻi in 1887 to study its endemic birds. He returned home to write *Aves Hawaiiensis* with fellow ornithologist Arthur Humble Evans. The both of them documented and illustrated three color phases of the ʻio:

Source. Wilson & Evans (1890-1899)

1. Back, wings and tail brown and blackish brown, breast whitish with brown flecking, head dark brown with darker flecking.

2. Back, wings and tail dark brown barred and blackish brown, breast brown with blackish flecking, head blackish brown.

3. Back, wings and tail brown with yellow tinge with dark brown flecking, breast light-yellow, head yellow with brown fleckings. (Wilson & Evans, 1890-1899, plates 61, 62, 63)

They described the beak as black and the legs and feet as yellow in all phases. Handy (1941, p. 157) described these phases using the Hawaiian terms, not necessarily in Wilson's order, as ʻio mea, ʻio ehu, and ʻio uli. The latter, ʻio uli (dark hawk), may have been the most venerated hawk, which is consistent with the highly preferred Hawaiian ceremonial offerings of puaʻa hiwa (black pig), niu hiwa (dark coconut) and ʻawa hiwa (dark skinned kava). Pukuʻi, however, names ʻio mea as the Sacred One (andy, 1941, p. 153).

All three ornithologists—Wilson, Evans, and Peale—observed the ʻio on Hawaiʻi Island. However, Wilson and Evans (1890–1899) included sightings on Niʻihau and Molokaʻi and a curious story of an ʻio sighting on Kauaʻi in their publication *Aves Hawaiiensis*:

> Mr. G. H. Dole [Judge Sanford Dole's brother] while riding one day in Koloa, Island of Kauai, accompanied by a Scotch terrier, noticed one of these birds and was led by his peculiar movements to watch carefully. The bird appeared much disturbed by the presence of the dog, and after circling about him a few times flew to a pile of stones and took one in his claws and flew back with it to its old position over the dog and balanced himself in the air as if intending to drop it on the dog's back, but after some apparent hesitation he gave up whatever he was intending to accomplish with the stone, and carrying it back, he placed it on the pile whence he had taken it. (p. 180)

The intelligence displayed by the hawk in this story may account for Hawaiian beliefs about the superior intelligence, judgement, and insight of the bird.

Traditional Accounts of ʻIo

The ʻio is considered to be an ʻaumakua, or family guardian and deity, by some Hawaiian families, including the Kamehameha family according to Taylor (1931) and Emory (1942, p. 207). While recognizing that ʻio are kinolau, or body forms, of ʻaumakua, Pukuʻi did not associate the bird with any particular deity. However, Pukuʻi did recount a family story in which her grandmother beseeched a hawk to discontinue preying upon her baby chicks:

> Once an io bird pounced on one of Grandmother's chicks. She never threw a stone or grumbled, but sat for a while and then said: "Forgive, Io, the hasty speech by my mouth. You have never hurt except when we bring it upon ourselves. I have long ago said that the chickens belonged to the little granddaughter, but others have belied that speech, have come in my absence and taken a few for themselves. These belong to a new batch of chickens, but still the words have been longstanding so I beg your pardon, Io." (Handy, 1941, p. 139)

According to Pukuʻi, the granddaughter in the story, the ʻio never returned. An interview conducted with Pukuʻi's aunt Puʻuheana further attested to the sacred nature of the hawk:

> He akua nui o Io, he akua kapu loa ahe hoopukapuka wale ia o ka inoa. O ke kino io ke kino nana hewa, nana pono. O kona kaulike ia, he hoopaʻi ka hewa a he apono i ka pono. O ke kino pueo oia ke kino hoopakele i ke kanaka mai ka po ino mai. No ke kapu o kona inoa ua kapa ko kakou, kupuna iaia i Kanekupahuʻa no ke ku o kona kino i ka huʻa o ka laau. O Kane-pueo kekahi inoa, o Kuʻemanu kekahi a he nui wale aku no na inoa.
>
> Translation: Io is a great *akua*, an *akua* of great sanctity whose name is not to be revealed carelessly. The hawk-body that sees evil and sees the right. It is this body of his that executes justice, punishing sin and approving righteousness. The owl-body that gives a person protection from any impending harm. Because of the sacredness of his name, our forbears named him Kane-ku-pahuʻa [Man-standing-at-the-forest-border] because his bird body had its place at the edge of the forest. Owl-man [Kane-pueo] is another name, Kuʻemanu is another amongst many more names. (Handy, 1941, p. 139)

It should be emphasized, that the informant spoke only about her family traditions of Kaʻū on the island of Hawaiʻi. The relationship between ʻio and pueo (owl) will be discussed later.

In *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau*, the highest chiefs were called ʻio as expressed in the following proverbs:

He ʻio au, ʻaʻohe lālā kau ʻole.
I am a hawk; there is no branch on which I cannot perch.
[I can go anywhere I please; I am a chief.]
Source: *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau*, #638

He ʻio au, he manu i ka lewa lani.
I am an ʻio, the bird that soars in the heavenly space.
[A boast. The highest chiefs were often called ʻio (hawk), king of the Hawaiian birds.]
Source: *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau*, #639

Photo. Argue (n.d.) for digital sketch: https://www.mybirdingjourney.com/hawaiian-hawk-io/

ʻIo played the role of judge and king of the birds in the moʻolelo (story) of "The Naughty ʻElepaio" as told by Pukuʻi and Curtis (1985, pp. 105–107). Akana (1991) used this story as an example of corrective[1] or retributive justice. In the story, ʻElepaio (Hawaiian monarch flycatcher) pecked upon the huewai (water gourd) of a traveler, thereby emptying its contents of precious water. In retaliation, the man threw a stone at the little bird, injuring it. ʻElepaio sought justice from other birds of the forest but finally left the decision to ʻIo, who acted as the all-seeing and all-knowing adjudicator. Upon questioning by ʻIo, ʻElepaio confessed to his hala (transgression). ʻIo sent ʻElepaio away as the little bird was deserving of punishment for costly act. In his analysis of this story, Handy

(1941) concluded that "the hawk must be the embodiment of a deity having to do with sin, who has some quality of omnipresence attributed to it." This aspect was also alluded to in the Puʻuheana interview.

A popular song stems from this story of "The Naughty ʻElepaio." Here below is the source of the song that is based on a conversation between ʻIo and ʻElepaio. It is accompanied by a string figure for a water gourd, which was recorded in Dickey (1928, pp. 39–41).

[ʻElepaio] "E ʻIo e, e ʻIo e	Oh, Hawk! Oh, Hawk!
Ua pa wau i ka pohaku a ke kanaka."	The man hit me with a stone
[ʻIo] "No wai ka hala?"	Whose fault is it?
[ʻElepaio] "Noʻu ka hala."	It is my fault.
Ka pao ana i ka hewai a ke kanaka."	Pecking holes in the man's water gourd
[ʻIo] Hewa ha oe.. Hookolo ia i ka	Your fault indeed. You will be tried at our
Hui manu a kakou."	Court of birds
(p. 41)	(p. 41)

FIGURE 2. Malia Solomon of Ulu Mau Village in Heʻeia admiring Dr. Kilohana Mitchell's handling of the palaʻie (loop and ball game).

Source. https://www.staradvertiser.com/2019/06/02/photo-gallery/back-day-photos-hawaiis-past-20190602/

A recently published book, *The Naughty ʻElepaio,* as retold by Malia Kruger, was also printed in Hawaiian as *No ka ʻElepaio Kolohe.*

In "The Sweet-Potato Thief" (Pukuʻi & Curtis, 1985, pp. 74–77), ʻIo teaches Pueo (Owl) how to hunt the ʻiole (rats) that were plundering his sweet potato patch. Pueo ceased being vegetarian thereafter and becomes a carnivorous scavenger (a zoological designation) like ʻIo. The two birds become interconnected thereafter in lore and in spiritual matters.

Lastly, the following chant suggests the hawk's role as a helper and a savior-type. It is accompanied by a loop and ball game called palaʻie in which the ball represents the ʻio searching for a perch (the loop) from which, with its keen eyesight, it could locate water for the thirsty traveler.

E kau, e kau e ʻIo ē	Perch, perch o ʻio bird
E piʻi i wai no kāua	Go upland to get us some water
I hea ka wai e kiʻi ai?	Where shall I find the water?
I uka wale o Niniʻole	In the far upland of Niniʻole
He aha ka lāʻau e kau ai?	On what trees shall I perch?
He ʻōhiʻa lā, a he lama	On the ʻōhiʻa or lama
O hele ka hōkū, ka malama	The stars set, the night lights shine
Kau pū me ka māhinahina	And the dim moon above.
Na wai ke ahi kau ʻuiʻuiki	Whose light is blinking yonder?
Na Pele mā i Kīlauea.	It belongs to Pele's family at Kīlauea.
(Mitchell, 1992, p. 190)	(Trans., M. K. Pukuʻi)

Significantly, the keen eyesight of the ʻio was noted by Kepelino who wrote:

> It is much admired and praised by people. Because it flies so high and can see objects from a great height... it is called the ʻio way up above (ʻio-lani), or the ʻio-that-sees-everywhere on the land (*ka-ʻio-nui-maka-lana-aumoku*). This is the whole name of our present king [Kamehameha IV]. ʻIo-lani-ka-ʻio-nui-maka-lana-aumoku. It means the chief above all chiefs, the ruler of the kingdom... If a person wishes to brag of his skill in tree climbing, he boastingly says, 'I am an ʻio bird, there is no branch that I can not reach (*he ʻio au, aohe lala pili ole*)'... If a boy is clever in stealing, he is called a chicken-catching hawk (*ʻio poʻi moa*)." (Translation in Emory, 1942, p. 205)

ʻIo in Chanted Text

Mele or chanted texts contain important cultural information such as for ʻIo. The first text concerns two brothers, Makaʻiole and Kamiki, who are trained in Hawaiian martial arts by their grandmother in the mysterious uplands of Kona. They must undergo an ʻūniki (graduation) process as well as demonstrate their skills by challenging various experts in their district. In response to Kamiki's call for help during a challenge, the older brother, Makaʻiole, chanted the following:

Io e, Io e	O Io, O Io
Io iʻo ka manu	Io who is truly the bird
Ka manu o kuu kupuna wahine	My grandmother's bird
Na Io nui hoanoano	It is the great, holy Io
Nana e popoʻi ka aiwa o ka lani	Who pounces on the supernatural ones of the heavens
He lani manu, he aewa	The bird is a heavenly one, he flies in space
Aohe lala kau ole	There is no branch upon which he does not perch
Kau i ka lala maloo	He perches on dry branches
I ka lala maka	[And] on living branches
("Kamiki," 1916, March 9)	(Pukuʻi, K., Trans.)

The second chanted text concerns Kamehameha. When Kamehameha returned to Kamakahonu, Kona and was on his deathbed, a kahuna (priest) was summoned from Maui to advise the dying king. Here below are the beginning lines of a longer chant that addressed the four major male deities of Kū, Kāne, Kanaloa, and Lono, as well as Uli and Io:

Kuliʻa, e Uli, ka pule kalanaola,	Lift up. O Uli, the life-giving prayer
Kuliʻa imua,	Lift it in front,
Kuliʻa i Kealohilani,	Lift it to Kealohilani (The shining-heavens)
E kulia	Lift
E ui aku ana i ke kupuna o luna nei,	[We] are appealing to the ancestors up here,
O wai kupuna?	Who are the ancestors?
O wai ka eu o luna nei?	Who are the lively ones up here?
O Io-uli o ka lani, o Io-ehu,	Io-uli of heaven, Io the red-headed,
o Io-mea	Io the Sacred one,
O Ku-ke-ao-loa, o Ku-ke-ao-poko	Ku of the long cloud, Ku of the short cloud
O Ku-i-ka-awihiwihi-ula-o-ka-lani	Ku of the red fringed clouds of heaven
O kanaka loloa o ka mauna la	The tall men of the mountains
O Ku-pulupulu i ka nahele e	O Ku-pulupulu of the forest
(Handy, 1941, p. 153)	(Pukuʻi, K., Trans.)

ʻIo and the Cult of ʻIolani

The first mention in Hawaiian literature of ʻIo the Supreme Being was published in an article entitled "The Cult of Iolani" by Emma Ahuena Taylor in 1931. Taylor was a writer and historian and received an appointment to the Hawaiian Historical and Hawaiian Folklore Commissions in the 1920s. Later, she became an officer of the Hawaiian Historical Society along with her husband. Both positions in the literary world at the time were rare for women and especially for Native Hawaiians.

In the 1930s, Taylor published many articles for the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* such as "Vengeance of Pele" (1930), the "Legend of Puahuula" (1930), "Poki—Guardian dog of Moanalua" (1935), as well as the article on the cult of ʻIolani. The information and chants shared in that article came from a manuscript written by her mother and famed composer Mary Jane Montano. Of interest, many of Montano's notes revealed the influence of Christianity, as evidenced in the following:

- The Priesthood of Iolani was the highest priesthood of the islands of Hawaii.
- Io is the Holy Spirit, the invisible someone; the only symbol on earth is the young eyes that see at night [the pueo is diurnal].
- Keliimaikai [Brother of Kamehameha] was an Alii Kapu Akua of Io
- Io to us is Jehovah to other peoples.

(In Handy, 1941, p. 146)

Up until the publication of the cult article, there were no known documents or recordings regarding ʻIo or Io as a Supreme Being. Mary Kawena Pukuʻi and Kenneth Emory both believed that the "breaking-down of the ancient religion which resulted in the revelation of all those about what we have learned was such that no cult of importance is likely to have survived until 1932, then to be revealed for the first time" (Emory, 1942, p. 206).

Even so, Taylor wrote that "some of the older generations have a tradition that Io left Hawaii when the chieftain Hema departed for New Zealand to live after his feudal warfare with his brother Puna" (In Handy, 1941, p. 146). Apparently, Taylor wanted to make as many connections as possible to the Māori to support that tradition and asserted that their belief in Io was the same as the Hawaiian worship of ʻIo. In addition, her writings implied that the Māori notion of Io came from Hawaiʻi. Emory (1942, p. 201) suggested that Taylor's contact with Māori occurred in the 1920s when Mormons from New Zealand began visiting the Hawaiʻi temple at Lāʻie, Oʻahu. Supporting that assumption was an annual report of the Hawaiian Historical Society (1921) that said,

> a number of Maoris from New Zealand were in Honolulu last Spring. It was interesting to watch some of the Hawaiians trace the race connection between themselves and the Maoris, and also note the confidence with which the Maoris confused Hawaii of Asia with the Hawaiian islands. (p. 7)

In addition, the Daughters and Sons of Hawaiian Warriors, for which Taylor served as kuhina nui (president), lavishly entertained Māori visitors (Emory, 1942, p. 202).

Lastly, it should be noted that during the same period in New Zealand, "textualization [of Io the Supreme Being] allowed the European to complete by 1924 the intellectual colonization of the most tantalizing elusive aspect of Māori society: their inner beliefs on ultimate questions" (Simpson, 1997, p. 85). Simpson noted that the first occurrence of "Io" as "Supreme Being" was in 1876 (p. 60). As a final note, the Māori cognate for the Hawaiian ʻIo is Kio. Taylor did not address this obvious discrepancy in her effort to equate the Māori cult of Io to the Hawaiian cult of ʻIolani.

ʻIo as a Kinolau (Body Form of a God)

In a response given above by Pukuʻi's aunt Puʻuheana, she talked about the hawk-body that "sees evil and sees the right" and the owl-body that "gives a person protection from any impending harm" (Handy, 1941, p. 139). Taylor believed that the two were the same and asserted that Owl is the symbol of ʻIo (In Handy, 1942, p. 142) because it "can see at night and is all seeing" (pueo are diurnal) and that Kuʻe-manu-ai-lehua was a name for ʻIo (1931, p. 78). In reaction to this assertion, Emory (1942, p. 204) reported that "Kawena [Pukuʻi] was surprised at the implication that the owl was an embodiment of ʻIo, the Hawk, and maintains that Kane-ku-pahua and Kuʻe-manu are distinctly owl-gods." Puʻuheana stated this clearly. Nevertheless, Taylor contended that the god Uli was called a hawk and therefore equivalent to ʻIo the Supreme Being. She provided the following prayer as evidence of her assertion:

O ʻio lani oe, o ka maka iwa uli,	Thou art the sky hawk, the eyes of the frigate bird
O Uli nana hewa,	O Uli that discerns the right
O Uli nana pono	O Uli that discerns the wrong

Handy (1941, p. 139) supported Taylor's interpretation which was based on Nathaniel Emerson's translation of the same chant that was recorded much earlier in Malo (1951). He also noted that Puʻuheana's description of the hawk-body that "sees evil and sees the right" were the precise qualities ascribed to Uli. If these suppositions were true, Emory (1942) contended that the hawk was more likely a kinolau (body form) of Uli. He then provided other connections of birds in Hawaiian religion. For example, the god Kumukahi took the form of a kōlea (plover), and his brother Palamoa took the form of a moa (rooster), and Kane-i-ka-pahua and Kane-ku-pahua took owl forms (p. 206). Furthermore, according to Malo (1951), those who practiced sorcery "worshipped Ku-koaʻe, Uli, and Ka-alae-nui-a-Hina. Ku-koae is Ku-the-tropic bird; Ka-alae-nui-a-Hina is The-great-mud-hen-of-Hina" (p. 100). Though Malo did not point out Uli as having the hawk form, it seemed logical to Emory and also consistent with the texts in both Taylor's and Malo's prayer that the ʻio was a body-form, or kinolau, of Uli.

Photo. William "Yama" Chillingworth

ʻIo and Uli

In 1888, Kalākaua listed 83 important Hawaiian gods. ʻIo was not included, but Uli was recorded as "the god of the sorcerers, the god appealed to by the kahunas in praying people to death" (Kalākaua & Daggert, 1888, p. 50). Neither Malo (1773–1853) nor Kepelino (1830–1878) mentioned ʻIo as a god in their writing on Hawaiian religion. Taylor, however, believed that ʻIo was a god, in fact the Supreme God, and provided several chants to support her claim. One of the chants that Taylor used to support her claim appeared in Handy (1941, p. 125):

E Io e, E Io e	O Hawk, O Hawk
He kukala hale ke kanaka	A man stands and calls in his house
Aohe akua nana e ae	There is no god that sees beyond
Ke kapu kuahiwi	The tabu of the mountains
O Iolani oe o ka maka o iwa uli	Thou art Sky-hawk with eye like the dark frigate-bird
O Uli nana hewa	Dark [One] that sees the wrong
O Uli nana pono	Dark [One] that sees the right
E aloha mai oe i kau pulapula	Cherish thou this thy child
E hoʻopakele mai	Oh deliver
I na poino e hikilele mai ana	From the evil that affrights
E nana iho oe	Look thou down [and see]
I ka mea nana wau i hana ino mai	The person I see working evil hither
Elieli kau mai Amama ua noa	[The last two lines are a conventional closure for solemn prayers]

Ahuena Taylor considered this chant too sacred to publish herself in "Cult of ʻIolani" but provided it to Handy as proof of her claim that ʻIolani, or Sky-Hawk, and Uli-nana-hewa (Dark-one that sees the wrong) and Uli-nana-pono (Dark-one that sees the right) were the same god. However, as pointed out earlier in Malo (1951), those who prac- ticed sorcery "worshipped Ku-koaʻe, Uli, and Ka-alae-nui-a-Hina. Ku-koae is Ku-the-tropic bird; Ka-alae-nui-a-Hina is The-great-mud-hen-of-Hina" (p. 100). Again, while the bird-form of Uli was not specified by Malo, it seemed logical to Emory that the ʻio was the kinolau (body-form) of Uli (Emory, 1942, p. 206).

Taylor asserted that ʻIo the Supreme Being and Uli, the god listed by Kalākaua, were one and the same (Handy, 1941, p. 140). She and Handy based their assumption on a line taken from a malo- (loincloth) girding chant that combined the two names into Io-uli [Io and Uli]. This name appears as a footnote provided by N. B. Emerson in a malo chant for Kū during the dedication of a luakini (temple).

> Honua-ku-kapu ka malo o Io-uli
> Decorated at its end is the malo of the bird-god Io-uli.
> (Malo, 1951, p. 186)

However, Emory noted that in the chant, the image of Kū was girded with the Malo-lani-kailoa of the god Uli, followed by Hina-luʻu-loa as the malo of Hina, He-ua-lele as the malo of Kū, Aulana as the malo of Lono-kai-olohia, then Honua-ku-kapu as the malo of Io-uli, and Ka-malo-puhano-ku-kapi of Kaneʻaukaha. Finally, the malo ʻoloa, a sacred malo that was bleached in the sea was girded on. While Handy (1941, p. 149) inferred that all the malo listed are one, and therefore ʻIo and Uli are one, they are clearly not (Emory, 1942, p. 200).

ʻIo and Pueo

Previously, Pukuʻi and Curtis described the pilina (relationship) between the pueo and ʻio in "The Sweet-Potato Thief." As well, Ahuena Taylor saw a pilina between the two birds to Io the Supreme Being.

Additionally, Malo (1951) recorded that "the pueo, or owl and the io resemble each other, but the *pueo* has the larger head." However, in regard to the veneration of the two, he only mentioned that "the *pueo* [owl] is regarded as a deity and worshipped by many" (p. 38)[2] but did not mention the ʻio.

A few examples of pueo acting as protector-rescuers can be found in Westervelt (1913, pp. 127–137). The first is about Pueo, who rescued and revived the beautiful but battered and abused Kahalaomapuana of Mānoa. The second story concerned Kapoi of Kewalo, who built a heiau to honor the pueo he had stolen eggs from, and the third is when Kapoi was captured by Kākuhihewa for building that heiau. Kapoi's impending sacrifice initiated the greatest battle between man and the pueo ever recorded. Kapoi's owl god called all the pueo armies from many islands to rescue him. Lastly, Taylor (1931) related a story of Kahukuʻiikawaia, a mentor-teacher to Kamehameha, who was saved from falling off the pali (cliff) in the battle of Nuʻuanu when a pueo struck his face with its wing (In Handy, 1941, p. 140). Such stories of pueo rescuing people in Hawaiian newspapers are too numerous to include here.

Both ʻio and pueo often frequented the altars and sacrificial pits of luakini where animal and human sacrifices were exposed. According to Handy (1941), "This habit would also logically lead to the association of Hawk and Owl with vengeance upon malefactors (human sacrifices on the altars were kapu breakers)" (p. 143). The vengeance-seeking aspect of the pueo is illustrated in a temple ceremony where a man wearing a headdress of the hair of an ancestor stands and points a spear to the congregants saying, "Hekue, hekue, e ku auanei i ka ihe a pueo. Take care, take care or you will be struck by the spear of Pueo!" (Fornander, 1918, pp. 8–9).

Pueo appeared to be regarded as high chiefs. Consider these lines from the genealogical chant of Wākea:

> It was Piimai, Wailoa, and Kakaihili
> That was settled by the royal owl,
> The owl of the still eyes (expression indicative of a high chief).
> (Fornander, 1916, p. 14)

Thus, the role of the owl was more than an ʻaumakua or family guardian. Like the ʻio, pueo were associated with priests, temples, and the high chiefs.

ʻIolani as a Personal Name

In his article on indigenous birds, Kepelino (1859) wrote about the hawk, saying:

> It is called *ʻio* way up above (ʻio-lani), or ʻio-hat-sees-with-its-eyes-everywhere on the land (*ka-ʻio-nui-maka-lan[a]-aumoku*). This is the whole name of our present king (Kamehameha 4), ʻIo-lani-ka-ʻio-nui-maka-lana-aumoku. It means the chief above all chiefs, the ruler of the kingdom. (p. 265)

Taylor (1942) believed that the esoteric name ʻIolani was so sacred that it should not have been conferred on Kamehameha II[3] and Kamehameha IV,[4] as it led to the extinction of the Kamehameha dynasty (p. 78). Rather, the accepted cause was moving the capital of the kingdom from Lāhaina to Honolulu and building a royal residence at Keoneʻaialiʻi (the sands which consumes chiefs) at Waikīkī (Emory, 1942, p. 202).

ʻIolani is the name of the present royal palace in Honolulu, which was built by Kalākaua from 1879–1882. The palace retained the name given previously by Kamehameha V in memory of his brother Kamehameha IV who was known as ʻIolani. Kamehameha V made plans to build his own palace, which he would name Aliʻiōlani Hale, using buildings which today house the Hawaiʻi Supreme Court. However, being the pragmatist that he was, he instead converted the buildings into executive offices, the legislature, and the courts.

Another place of note named ʻIolani is the private school previously known as ʻIolani College (a branch of St. Alban's College) which was located on Bates Street in Kaliu, Nuʻuanu. St. Alban's College operated in Pauoa until 1887, and ʻIolani moved between Nuʻuanu and Honolulu and finally to its Ala Wai site in 1946. The school was named

for Kamehameha IV, who, with his wife, Queen Emma, were great supporters of the Anglican Church coming to Hawai'i. They supported St. Andrew's Cathedral and the Anglican diocese (later the Episcopal diocese). When Emma as queen dowager traveled to Europe and the United States in 1865 and 1866, she raised $50,000 ($932,000 today) for the Anglican mission in Hawai'i and bought the blueprints for the cathedral.

The most famous person of contemporary times was probably 'Iolani Luahine, regarded as "Hawai'i's last great exponent of the sacred hula ceremony" according to the New York Times (Tanner, 2004). She was born Harriet Lanihau Makekau and suffered from an eye ailment. A family friend suggested that her name should be changed to 'Iolani as revealed to her in a dream. The girl's eyes cleared up after the name change (Emory, 1942, p. 203). The clear insight and vision of the 'io was believed to have transferred to the newly named 'Iolani.

Summary

The 'io was regarded as an 'aumakua (family guardian) by some Hawaiian families and was thought to be the kinolau (body form) of the god/goddess Uli, described as the "god of sorcerers" by Kalākaua but who was actually petitioned to counter sorcery as Uli-nānā-hewa (Dark-one that sees the wrong) and Uli-nānā-pono (Dark-one that sees the right). The high reverence and respect for the bird meant that it was never harmed or hunted, lest, as with the pueo, vengeance and retribution would be had. In Hawaiian mo'olelo, 'Io was a teacher, a judge, and compared to the highest of chiefs. Other than Emily Ahuena Taylor's article, "The Cult of Iolani," there is no evidence or documentation of 'Io as a Supreme Being in the archive of Hawaiian knowledge; rather, the concept was probably introduced by Māori and influenced by Christianity in certain areas of New Zealand.

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Footnotes

[1] Other types of justice: distributive (determining who gets what), procedural (determining how fairly people are treated), and restorative (which tries to restore relationships to "rightness.").

[2] Only the 1903 version contains this passage. Subsequent editions do not.

[3] Kamehameha II or Liholiho ʻIolani

[4] Kamehameha IV or Alexander ʻIolani, later anglisized to Alexander Liholiho