



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

**The Development and Function of Hana Keaka
(Hawaiian-Medium Theatre)
A tool for empowering Kanaka Maoli consciousness**

**A thesis
submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
at
The University of Waikato**

**by
Tammy Haili'ōpua Baker**



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2018

Hō‘ulu‘ulu Pōkole: Abstract

Since time immemorial Kānaka Maoli have recounted histories, stories, and cultural beliefs through performance. The art of performance is intrinsic to Kanaka Maoli existence, as oratory was the means in which our stories were recorded and shared, prior to the introduction of a writing system. Performance was embedded within the traditional practices of Kānaka Maoli, both religious and secular, through ritual incantations, poetry, dance, formal oratory, and so on. These forms of expression were infused into the theatrical arts to create *hana keaka* (Hawaiian-medium theatre). Due to the negative effects of colonization that nearly obliterated the Hawaiian language, religion, cultural practices, forms of art, and the indigenous people of the Hawaiian archipelago, *hana keaka* faded into the background. However, the cultural renaissance of the 1970's, specifically the movement to revitalize and reinvigorate the Hawaiian language, elevated Hawaiian performing arts moving them into the foreground. The arts have promoted Hawaiian culture, language, and spirituality. Performing arts like *hana keaka* assert a Kanaka Maoli worldview through the medium of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i while reaffirming Kanaka Maoli consciousness.

This thesis explores the Kanaka Maoli performing art form of *hana keaka*, documenting the history, development, and practice of *hana keaka* from times past into the modern era. The research identifies four *kūkulu* (pillars) that are fundamental for *hana keaka*; *Mo'olelo*, *Kū'auhau*, *Hana No'eau*, and *'Ōlelo Hawai'i*. Each *kūkulu* are necessary elements in the composition of *hana keaka*. The thesis also examines the cultural practices, creation process, and structure of *hana keaka* through the creative works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka, a Hawaiian language theatre troupe based at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. The productions of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka represent an indigenous Hawaiian theatre aesthetic that contributes to the Hawaiian language revitalization movement. This study proves how *hana keaka* is being used as a tool to promote Kanaka Maoli perspectives, to empower Kanaka Maoli identity, and to reinforce Kanaka Maoli consciousness.

Keywords: hana keaka; keaka Hawai‘i; Hawaiian medium theatre; indigenous theatre; Hawaiian performance; hana no‘eau; performing arts; indigenous performing arts; indigenous theatre aesthetic; storytelling; tabalō; kapalō; tableau performance; Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i; nights of entertainment; Hawaiian opera; Hawaiian language revitalization; ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i; indigenous language; Kanaka Maoli; Kanaka Maoli consciousness; language as identity expression; indigenous identity;

He Mahalo: Acknowledgements

He loa ka helena ma ke alahahele. The journey of pursuing a doctoral degree is inevitably carried by the family and community of the student who balances their daily responsibilities with the authoring of a thesis. It is with a humble and grateful heart that I express my deepest gratitude to the many hands that have supported me in this process. My family, friends, colleagues, mentors, kumu, students, and community members have all contributed to this journey. He leo mahalo a he leo aloha kēia iā ‘oukou pākahi āpau.

Mahalo to Dean Peter Arnade, College of Arts & Humanities, and my colleagues in the Department of Theatre and Dance for supporting me through a sabbatical allowing me to complete my doctoral studies in Aotearoa.

He mihi nui tēneki ki Pou rāua ko Lenadean Temara, tēnā kōrua, i te whare mahana, i tō kōrua manaaki, i te aroha nui, te aroha roa. Tēnā rawa atu kōrua.

Mahalo to the University of Waikato, the workshops and guidance of the School of Graduate Research, and the financial support of the University of Waikato Doctoral Scholarship that ultimately made this journey possible.

Mahalo nui to Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao, Faculty of Māori and Indigenous Studies, for nurturing me in an environment that expands the world’s understanding of research to include indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and methodologies. I am blessed to have shared time and space with the internationally recognized Māori scholars who constitute Te Pua Wānanga ki te Ao. Mahalo ā nui to Dean Brendan Hokuwhitu, Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Professor Pou Temara, the helpful hands of Nadia Jones, Wiki Ihaka, and Puti Booth.

Ngā mihi ki kōrua e ngā ahorangi, e Rangi Matamua rāua ko Hemi Waanga, tēnā kōrua. Tēnā kōrua i te kete aronui, i ngā mātauranga, i te whakahau hoki i te kōrero punenga, i te mōhio mō te ao mārama, me te tautoko i a au i roto o ngā piki me ngā heke. Tēnā kōrua, i te ranga wairua, i te wairua manaaki me te wairua aroha, e ngā tangata koi te hinengaro, tēnā kōrua. Words cannot express the gratitude I feel for

the generous support, exceptional guidance, and the profound inspiration that I've experienced under your direction during the research and writing process. Ua mahalo nui 'ia ko 'olua aloha 'ana mai ia'u.

He leo mahalo kēia i nā hoa hana keaka i alulike mai i ka makahiki 1995 e lu'u pū ihola me māua 'o Kaliko e lawelawe aku i kā kākou hana keaka mua a pēlā nō ho'i ka ho'okumu 'ana i Ka Hālau Hanakeaka i alaha e laupa'i ai ka 'ōlelo hiwahiwa o nā kūpuna o kākou. E mahalo ana au i nā hoa hana keaka a me nā hoa kākō'o hana keaka āpau i hāpai like i ia kuleana mai ka wā i ho'okumu 'ia ai ka hana keaka mua a hiki i kēia manawa, he 22 makahiki o nā hana keaka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i o kēia au e holo nei. Mahalo palena 'ole iā 'oukou pākahi āpau e nā hoa e māke'e mau ana i ka 'ōlelo, ka mo'olelo, ka 'āina, a me ka 'ike kūpuna. I am eternally indebted to everyone who has contributed to the productions of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka since its inception; from performing on stage to sewing costumes and fundraising for the touring of each hana keaka, I thank each of you for time, commitment, and mana that has built the foundation of the modern-day practice of hana keaka.

Mahalo to my parents Ima and Norman for the sacrifices that you've made which afforded me the opportunity to venture beyond the shores of our island of Kaua'i and enroll at the university when I graduated from high school. I will always remember your unwavering support and unconditional love. Mahalo ā nui for always being there for our 'ohana, a special mahalo for the time you made to care for your mo'opuna on O'ahu while I was overseas writing this thesis. Mahalo palena 'ole iā 'olua e ku'u mau mākuā i aloha nui 'ia.

He leo mahalo kēia iā 'oe e ku'u kōko'olua, ku'u hoa o ke kīhei like, mahalo ā nui iā 'oe e Kauka C.M. Kaliko Baker. Mahalo i ke kākō'o mau 'ana mai i ka 'ohana a kāua a me nā papahana e ho'omāhuahua a'e ai i ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i a me ka Lāhui Hawai'i. Mahalo i kō aloha pau 'ole, 'o ke aloha ka mea nui ma kēia honua nei, a ma o ka pilina a kāua i 'ike le'a ai au i ia mea 'o ke aloha. He pōmaika'i maoli nō kēia ho'i 'ana o'u i ke kulanui e 'imi i palapala lae'ula ma Aotearoa 'oiai ua pōmaika'i nō ho'i kāua i ka huaka'i pū 'ana i ia 'āina hu'ihu'i o nā hoa hānau i papahana ho'onui 'ike a i ala e ho'opili pū ai ko kākou lāhui, i nā Kānaka Maoli ho'i me nā Kānaka Māori. Kohu mea lā ua 'ohana 'ē kākou, a iā kāua e noho ana

ma Kirikiriroa, Ruatahuna, a me nā ‘āina ‘ē a‘e o laila, ua ‘ike maka kāua i ke aloha ‘oia‘i‘o, ke aloha i ke kanaka, ke aloha i ka ‘ōlelo, a me ke aloha i ka lāhui.

E ku‘u mau lei henoheno i ‘ohu‘ohu a‘ela nā ‘ā‘ī o māua, he leo mahalo kēia iā ‘olua no ko ‘olua ahonui, ko ‘olua kāko‘o mau, a me ko ‘olua aloha palena ‘ole. Iā ‘oe e ka hānau mua, e Kaipulaumakaniolono, ua nui kou kōkua ‘ana mai ia‘u ma kēia pepa lae ‘ula a‘u i kākau ai, ‘o ia ho‘i ka ho‘olohe ‘ana i ko‘u mau mana‘o, ke kūkahekahe mana‘o ‘ana, ka nunenune pū ‘ana i ua mau mana‘o o kāua e ‘oi a‘e ai ka na‘auao, a me ka palapala leo ‘ana i ka pānela ‘aha hana keaka. Mahalo ā nui iā ‘oe e ku‘u Ipu! Iā ‘oe e ku‘u kaikamahine, e Kaneikoliakawahineika‘iukapuomua, he wahi leo mahalo kēia iā ‘oe no kou lokomaika‘i a me kou ‘auamo piha ‘ana i nā kuleana o ka ‘ohana a me ka hale i ka‘awale ai au e ho‘okō i nā kuleana haumāna a e pa‘a pono ai nō ho‘i ka‘u pepa lae ‘ula. Nui loa ko‘u mahalo i kāu ‘ōlelo paipai i lana a‘e ai ko‘u na‘au ma kēia alahahele ‘imi palapala lae ‘ula. Mahalo ā nui iā ‘oe e ku‘u ‘Iu! ‘O ko ‘olua aloha ka mea e ‘oi a‘e ai ko māua nohona ma ka honua nei.

Eia nō au ke ‘ālana a‘e nei i kēia wahi pepa lae ‘ula no ka lāhui Kānaka Maoli, i ala ia e ho‘ohanohano ai i ka hana a ko kākou po‘e kūpuna, i ala e ola ai ka mo‘olelo Hawai‘i, a i ala ho‘i e ola ai ka ‘ōlelo kamaha‘o o ka ‘āina a kākou i minamina ai ho‘i, e pūlama nui nei no nā hānauna i hānau akula, e hānau ‘ia mai nei, a e hānau ‘ia a‘e ana. Ke aloha nō kākou.

‘Ōlelo Mua: Preface

Welina me ke aloha. Ke hā‘awi mua aku nei ka mea kākau o kēia pepa lae ‘ula i kona aloha i nā makamaka o ka na‘auao a me nā hoa aloha o ka lāhui hiwahiwa ‘o ia ho‘i nā hoa hānau o ka moana nui a Kanaloa, ‘o Hawai‘inui, ‘o Hawai‘iiki, ‘o Hawai‘ipoko, ‘o Hawai‘iloa, ‘o Hawai‘inuiākea, ma mua o kona waiho ‘ana aku i mua ou e ka makamaka i ua hō‘ulu‘ulu nei o kāna mea e kākau ai no ka ho‘okō ‘ana i ka mahele mua o kēia papahana noi‘i lae ‘ula. E hui kala mai i ka hemahema a me nā kīna‘una‘u paha e waiho nei ma kēia pepa. No laila e nā makamaka ā pau o ka na‘auao, mai ka lā hiki a ka lā kau, eia lā ka pepa hō‘ulu‘ulu e ho‘ākaaka ana i ke kumuhana nui o kā ka mea kākau e noi‘i nei no ka hana keaka Hawai‘i a me kona waiwai i ka lāhui Hawai‘i, ke waiho nei i mua o ‘oukou me ke aloha. Aloha nō!

Papa Kuhikuhi: Contents

Hō‘ulu‘ulu Pōkole: Abstract	i
He Mahalo: Acknowledgements	iii
‘Ōlelo Mua: Preface	vi
Papa Kuhikuhi: Contents	vii
Nā Papakuhi: List of Tables	xiii
Nā Ki‘i: List of Figures	xiv
Papa Hua‘ōlelo: Glossary	xvii
Chapter 1	1
Introduction	1
1.1 ‘Ōlelo Ho‘ākaaka & Ho‘olauna: Introductions	1
1.1.1 Hula & Hana Keaka: Traditional Dance & Theatre	3
1.1.2 Hale Pule: Church	5
1.1.3 Haumāna Kulanui: Becoming a University Student	6
1.1.4 Kula Lae O‘o: Graduate School	10
1.1.5 Ka Lilo ‘ana i Kumu ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: Becoming a Hawaiian language teacher	13
1.1.5.1 Ua ao Hawai‘i ke ‘ōlinolino nei mālamalama.	16
1.1.6 Ki‘ina Hana A‘o: Teaching Philosophy	17
1.1.6.1 <i>Kūkulu ka ‘ike i ka ‘ōpua.</i>	18
1.1.6.2 <i>E kuhikuhi pono i nā au iki a me nā au nui o ka ‘ike.</i>	19
1.1.7 <i>Ua lehulehu a manomano ka ‘ike a ka Hawai‘i.</i>	21
1.2 Kūkulu Kumuhana: Rationale	23
1.2.1 No ka Hana Keaka Hawai‘i: Hawaiian Medium Theatre	24
1.2.2 Kumuhana Noi‘i: Research Questions	27
1.3 Kēlā Mokuna, Kēia Mokuna: Chapter Breakdown	28
1.4 Nā Hopena: Outcomes	30
1.5 Panina: Chapter Conclusion	31
Chapter 2	33
Methodology	33

2.1	Wehena: Chapter Introduction _____	33
2.2	No Ke Ki'ina Hana Kanaka Maoli: Kanaka Maoli Methodologies ____	34
2.3	No Ka'u Ki'ina Hana: My Methodology _____	37
2.4	No ke Ki'ina Hana Haku Hana Keaka: Methodology for Play Development _____	45
2.4.1	No ke Ka'ina Hana Noi'i: Research Process _____	47
2.4.2	No ka Haku Hana Keaka a me ka Hō'ano Hou 'ana i ka Mo'olelo no ke Kahua: Play Development and Adapting Mo'olelo for the Stage _____	49
2.4.3	No ke Anaina: Target Audience _____	55
2.4.4	No ka Ho'onoho Hāme'e 'ana: Auditions and Casting _____	58
2.4.5	No ke Alaka'i 'ana a me ka Ho'oma'ama'a: Directing and the Rehearsal Process _____	59
2.4.6	No ka Lawelawe 'ana: Performance _____	61
2.5	Panina: Chapter Conclusion _____	63
Chapter 3 _____		65
The History of Kānaka Maoli _____		65
3.1	Wehena: Chapter Introduction _____	65
3.2	He aha ia mea he Kanaka Maoli?: What is a Kanaka Maoli? _____	66
3.2.1	Ke ēwe hānau o ka 'āina: Origin stories _____	67
3.3	Ka wā i o Kikilo mā: Traditional Society _____	73
3.3.1	Eia ke kānaenae a ka mea hele; he leo, he leo wale nō: Oral Tradition _____	81
3.4	Ka i'a 'awa'awa a ka haole: Haole contact and colonization _____	84
3.4.1	"He aupuni palapala ko'u.": Christianity and Literacy _____	90
3.4.2	Ke Aupuni Mō'i: The monarchy and foreign politics _____	92
3.4.3	'Onipa'a, Ma hope mākou o Lili'ulani: Steadfast Kanaka Maoli Resistance _____	101
3.5	Ua ao Hawai'i, ke 'ōlino nei mālamalama: Cultural Renaissance ____	106
3.6	Kēia Au e Holo nei: Current Day _____	118
3.6.1	Kū Ha'aheo e Ku'u Hawai'i: Kanaka Maoli Identity _____	119
3.6.2	I Pono nā Mamo a Hāloa: Language Practice _____	123
3.6.3	'Au'a 'ia e Kama, e kona moku: Religious and Cultural Practice	124

3.6.4	Kaulana nā pua o Hawai‘i, Kūpa‘a ma hope o ka ‘āina: Cultural Awareness and Aloha ‘Āina _____	128
3.7	Panina: Chapter Conclusion _____	132
Chapter 4 _____		134
The History of Hana Keaka _____		134
4.1	Wehena: Chapter Introduction _____	134
4.2	Hana Keaka: Hawaiian-Medium Theatre _____	134
4.2.1	No ia mea he hana keaka: What is hana keaka? _____	135
4.2.2	No kā Emerson a me kā ‘Ī‘ī: Emerson and ‘Ī‘ī’s Thoughts on Hawaiian Performance _____	141
4.2.3	No ke Kumu ‘ana o ka Hana Keaka: The Origins and Development of Hana Keaka _____	143
4.2.4	No Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i: Nights of Entertainment _____	149
4.2.5	No ka Mō‘ī Kalākaua: The Theatrical Endeavors of King Kalākaua _____	155
4.2.6	No ka Tabalō: Tableaux Performances _____	157
4.2.7	No ka ‘Opela Hawai‘i: Hawaiian Opera _____	180
4.2.8	No ka Ho‘okumu Hou ‘ia ‘ana o ka Hana Keaka: Redefining the Function of Hana Keaka _____	184
4.2.9	Kupu ā Lau ka Hana Keaka: Hana Keaka Flourishes _____	196
4.3	No ka Hana Keaka o Ke Ao Nei: Modern Day Practice of Hana Keaka _____	197
4.3.1	Ke Kuapu‘u Ali‘i: The Grand Amphitheatre Performance of 1935	198
4.3.2	Lā‘ieikawai: The Aloha Week Festival Performance of 1961 ____	199
4.3.3	Laukiamanuikahiki: Charlot’s Bilingual Production of 1964 ____	202
4.3.4	No nā Lau o ka Hana Keaka: Variations of Hana Keaka and its Function _____	203
4.3.5	Hana Keaka Hula: Hawaiian Dance Theatre _____	204
4.3.6	He Ho‘olaule‘a Hana Keaka: Hawaiian Language Theatre Festival _____	206
4.3.7	Ka Hālau Hanakeaka: A Hawaiian-Medium Theatre Troupe ____	207
4.3.7.1	Kaluaike‘olau: Ke Kā‘e‘a‘e‘a o nā Pali Kalalau: The Hero of the Cliffs of Kalalau _____	208

4.3.7.2	Māuiiakalana: E Hi‘a i ke Ahi: Māuiiakalana Learns to Make Fire _____	212
4.3.7.3	Māuiiakamalo: Ka Ho‘okala Kupua o ka Moku: The Wondrous Ancestor of the Genealogy _____	218
4.3.7.4	Nāwahī: He Aloha ‘Āina ‘Oia‘i‘o: A True Patriot of the Land	220
4.3.7.5	Kamalelekū o Kaliuwa‘a: The Wayward Child of Kaliuwa‘a	222
4.3.7.6	‘Akahiakuleanakapiko: An Invited Performance for Ku‘u Ha‘eha‘e _____	224
4.3.7.7	Hawai‘inuiākea: Huaka‘i Aotearoa: Collaboration with Ka Pā Hula o ka Lei Lehua _____	225
4.3.7.8	He ‘Elua mau Me‘e Hawai‘i: Two Hawaiian Heros _____	225
4.3.7.9	Kāko‘o Papahana Kulanui: University Curriculum and Programmatic Support _____	226
4.3.8	Ka Papahana Hana Keaka Hawai‘i ma ke Kulanui o Hawai‘i ma Mānoa: Hawaiian Theatre Program, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa _____	227
4.3.9	He ‘Aha Hana Keaka: A Hawaiian Theatre Symposium _____	229
4.4	No ka Loa‘a ‘ana o ka Hana Keaka ma Hawai‘i: Timeline _____	231
4.5	Panina: Chapter Conclusion _____	254
	Chapter 5 _____	256
	Mo‘olelo _____	256
5.1	Wehena: Chapter Introduction _____	256
5.2	No ka Mo‘olelo a me ke Ka‘ao: Defining Mo‘olelo and Ka‘ao _____	256
5.2.1	No ka Ha‘i Mo‘olelo: Oral Tradition _____	258
5.2.2	‘O ka Mo‘olelo ke Kahua: Mo‘olelo as Foundational Knowledge	260
5.2.3	He Alo a he Alo: Face to Face Sharing of Mo‘olelo _____	262
5.2.4	No nā Waihona Lipine ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: Audio Recordings of Mo‘olelo _____	264
5.2.5	No ia mea he Wahi Pana: Mo‘olelo Revealed Through ‘Āina _____	266
5.3	No ka ‘Iliina Mo‘olelo: How Mo‘olelo Impacts on Kanaka Maoli Consciousness? _____	266
5.4	No ka Hō‘ike ‘ana a Ka Hālau Hanakeaka i ka Mo‘olelo: Ka Hālau Hanakeaka’s Portrayal of Mo‘olelo _____	271

5.4.1	No ka Mo‘olelo ma ka Haku Hana Keaka: Staging Mo‘olelo _____	273
5.4.2	Na nā Kūpuna e Alaka‘i mai: Guided by Ancestors _____	276
5.4.3	No ka Wā o ka Mo‘olelo: Deciphering Temporal Indicators in Mo‘olelo _____	290
5.4.4	Ma o ka Mo‘olelo: Theatre-Making Guided by Mo‘olelo _____	296
5.5	Panina: Chapter Conclusion _____	297
Chapter 6 _____		298
Kū‘auhau _____		298
6.1	Wehena: Chapter Introduction _____	298
6.2	No ke Kū‘auhau: Defining Kū‘auhau _____	298
6.3	No ka ‘Iliina Kū‘auhau: How Kū‘auhau Impacts on Kanaka Maoli Consciousness? _____	308
6.3.1	No ke Ala e Loa‘a ai ka ‘Ike: Access to Knowledge _____	309
6.4	No ka Hō‘ike ‘ana a Ka Hālau Hanakeaka i ke Kū‘auhau: Ka Hālau Hanakeaka’s Portrayal of Kū‘auhau _____	318
6.4.1	Nā Hana Keaka: The Production History of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka	321
6.4.2	No nā Kūpuna ma ka Hana Keaka: The Depection of Ancestors and Historical Figures as Characters in Hana Keaka _____	325
6.5	Panina: Chapter Conclusion _____	343
Chapter 7 _____		345
Hana No‘eau _____		345
7.1	Wehena: Chapter Introduction _____	345
7.1.1	Pule: Prayers and Incantations _____	346
7.1.2	Oli: Chant _____	352
7.1.3	Mele: Song and Poetry _____	356
7.1.4	Ha‘a, Hula and Hula Ki‘i: Traditional Dance Forms _____	364
7.1.5	Kākā‘ōlelo, Ha‘i Mo‘olelo and Ho‘opāpā: Skilled Oratory _____	380
7.2	No ka ‘Iliina Hana No‘eau: How Hana No‘eau Impacts on Kanaka Maoli Consciousness? _____	387
7.3	No ka Hō‘ike ‘ana a Ka Hālau Hanakeaka i ka Hana No‘eau: Ka Hālau Hanakeaka’s Portrayal of Hana No‘eau _____	391
7.4	Panina: Chapter Conclusion _____	418

Chapter 8	419
‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i	419
8.1 Wehena: Chapter Introduction	419
8.2 No ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: Defining ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i	419
8.3 No ka ‘Iliina ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: How Hawaiian Language Dialogue Impacts on Kanaka Maoli Consciousness?	421
8.4 No ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i ma nā Hana Keaka a Ka Hālau Hanakeaka: ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in the productions Ka Hālau Hanakeaka	454
8.4.1 ‘O ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i ke Kahua: ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i as the foundation for hana keaka	459
8.5 Panina: Chapter Conclusion	467
Chapter 9	469
Conclusion	469
9.1 No ka Pahuhopu o Kēia Papahana Noi‘i: Purpose of Thesis	469
9.2 No Nā Nīnau o Kēia Papahana Noi‘i: Research Questions	469
9.3 No ka Hana Keaka o Kēia Wā e Hiki Mai ana: The Future of Hana Keaka	473
9.4 Nā Mana‘o Hope: Final Thoughts	477
Papa Kūmole: References	478

Nā Papakuhi: List of Tables

Table 4.1: Traditional performance arts forms. _____	140
Table 4.2: Playbill acts and scenes, 1912. _____	164
Table 6.1: Ka Hālau Hanakeeka Production History. _____	322
Table 7.1: Genres of Pule. _____	349
Table 7.2: Genre of Mele. _____	359

Nā Ki'i: List of Figures

Figure 1.1: ‘Ahahui ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i newsletter, December 1995. _____	9
Figure 1.2: Poster for the 1996 Kaluaiko‘olau tour to Kaua‘i. _____	10
Figure 1.3: Program cover from the 1998 Pae ‘Āina tour of Māuiakamalo. ____	12
Figure 1.4: Lā‘ieikawai advertisement postcard. _____	22
Figure 2.1: Kānaka Maoli enrollment data. _____	35
Figure 2.2: Hālau or traditional long-house. _____	42
Figure 3.1: The Hawaiian Archipelago. _____	67
Figure 3.2: Stratification in traditional society. _____	75
Figure 3.3: A traditional ahupua‘a. _____	78
Figure 3.4: Ahupua‘a of O‘ahu. _____	79
Figure 3.5: The Kamehameha lineage. _____	88
Figure 4.1: Oceanica advertisement in 1894. _____	144
Figure 4.2: Advertisement for Hi‘iakaikapoliopele, 31 July 1880. _____	148
Figure 4.3: Photo of Charles E. King. _____	151
Figure 4.4: Photo of Henry Moses Kaniho. _____	152
Figure 4.5: Playbill for Ka Po Lea o Halalii (Ke Aloha Aina, 3 August 1907, p. 3). _____	154
Figure 4.6: The cast of Pele and Lohi‘au, (Nupepa Kuokoa, 23 April 1925, p. 5). _____	159
Figure 4.7: David K. Bray conducting a canoe blessing in 1954. _____	161
Figure 4.8: Tabalō of Hainakolo, 1914. _____	162
Figure 4.9: Complete playbill for Tabalō me Hulahula, 1912. _____	163
Figure 4.10: Advertisement for Lā‘ieikawai, 1902. _____	182
Figure 4.11: Keikialii o Hawaii cast photo, 1925. _____	184
Figure 4.12: Advertisement and playbill for Lā‘ieikawai, 1893. _____	187
Figure 4.13: Article about search of Hawaiian theatre troupe’s stage properties. _____	195
Figure 4.14: Photo of cast members Nina Rapozo (Keli‘iwahamana) as Lā‘ieikawai, Milton ‘Ī as the Rascal of Puna (Halaaniani), and J. Leialoha Cunningham as the Sorceress. _____	200
Figure 4.15: Production photos from the 1961 performance of Lā‘ieikawai. ____	201

Figure 4.16: Photo of Pi'ilani (wife of Ko'olau), their son Kaleimanu, Kukui Kaleimanu (mother of Ko'olau) and Kaluaiko'olau. _____	209
Figure 4.17: The story of Māui printed in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, 27 June 1863, p. 3. _____	214
Figure 4.18: Photo of original cast of 'Alae, 1998. _____	216
Figure 4.19: Ka'alehuapī observes the Māui brothers at sea. _____	217
Figure 4.20: Program for Nāwahī: A hero Remembered, 2001. _____	221
Figure 4.21: Kamapua'a program for 2007 Pae 'Āina tour. _____	224
Figure 4.22: Cast and kumu of Lā'ieikawai on Kennedy Theatre mainstage, 2015. _____	229
Figure 4.23: Poster for the 'Aha Hana Keaka, 2016. _____	231
Figure 5.1: Māuiakamalo (Hoe) travels to Moanaliha, 1998. _____	284
Figure 5.2: Māuiakamalo (Hoe) rescues his wahine, Hinakekā (McMillan-Wong), 1998. _____	285
Figure 5.3: Sparring in Kohala during makahiki. _____	293
Figure 5.4: Set design model for Lā'ieikawai. _____	294
Figure 5.5: Set design realized on Kennedy Theatre Mainstage, 2015. _____	295
Figure 5.6: Hula he'enalu on hanamichi. _____	296
Figure 6.1: Kū'auhau Ali'i call to public, 1883. _____	305
Figure 6.2: Kuiokalani Lee Gapero portrayed Kamapua'a in both the original 2004 production of Kamapua'a and the remount in 2007. _____	326
Figure 6.3: Kamapua'a published in Ka Leo o ka Lahui, 1891. _____	328
Figure 6.4: Genealogy chart for Kamapua'a as presented in the newspaper Ka Hae Hawaii, 26 June 1861, p. 1. _____	329
Figure 6.5: Genealogy chart for Kamapua'a as printed in Ka Leo o ka Lahui, 22 June 1891, p. 4; 4 June 1891, p. 4; and 23 June 1891, p. 4. _____	330
Figure 6.6: Kamapua'a is carried on the 'auamo by the warriors of Olopana. _	332
Figure 6.7: Hi'iakaika'ale'i (Kahipuanani Brooks-Richards), Hi'iakawāwahilani (Kaluapi'ilāhaina Castro), and Hi'iakaikapuako'olau (Noelle Kauano Takemoto) plead with their older sister Pele (Kameha'ililani Waiiau). _____	333
Figure 6.8: Kamapua'a insults Pele by exposing his backside. _____	336
Figure 6.9: Actors representing the kinolau of Kamapua'a surround Pele. ____	337

Figure 6.10: The culmination of Act I concludes with the final showdown between Kamapua‘a (Kuiokalani Lee Gapero) and Pele (Kameha‘ililani Waiiau) supported by their siblings, Lonomakua (Ioane Ho‘omanawanui) and Leialoha (Kahipuanani Brooks-Richards).	339
Figure 6.11: Humuhumunukunukuapua‘a.	340
Figure 6.12: The Kino I‘a of Kamapua‘a portrayed by Ioane Goodhue.	342
Figure 7.1 Featured here are the men of Ke Kai o Kahiki, under the direction of Kumu Hula O‘Brien Eselu, at the 2009 Merrie Monarch performing Tū ‘Oe featuring the hula ‘ōhelo.	373
Figure 7.2: Kumu Hula ‘Auli‘i Mitchell with his ki‘i.	377
Figure 7.3: Pi‘ilani (Gina Malia Nobrega), Kaluaiko‘olau (Braven Kalama Cabigon), and Kaleimanu (Malo Keama).	395
Figure 7.4: Lonoka‘eho (Braven Kalama Cabigon) in battle mode.	407
Figure 7.5: The battle of Kihanuilūlūmoku and Kalāhūmoku.	412
Figure 7.6: The women portraying Kihanuilūlūmoku (Ka‘iu Baker, Raukura Roa, Malanai Kāne Kuahiwinui, and Tyra Mauka‘a Fonseca) listen intently to Kahalaomāpuana’s (Makana Kāne Kuahiwinui) direction.	413
Figure 7.7: Kalāhūmoku (Simeon David and Kapono ‘Aiwohi-Kim) arrive from Kahiki to battle Kihanuilūlūmoku.	414
Figure 8.1: The Polynesian division of the Austronesian language family.	420

Papa Hua‘ōlelo: Glossary

‘Okina

<i>‘aha mele</i>	Concert, song festival.
<i>‘aho</i>	Thatch purlins.
<i>‘aho hui</i>	Thatch purlin supports.
<i>‘aho pueo kuahui</i>	Thatch purlin supports.
<i>‘aho pueo</i>	Main purlins, also known as <i>ke ‘a</i> .
<i>‘ai kapu</i>	To eat under taboo; to observe eating taboos.
<i>‘ai noa</i>	To eat freely, without observance of taboos.
<i>‘āina</i>	Land, earth.
<i>‘āina ho ‘opulapula</i>	Homestead lands.
<i>‘ama ‘uma ‘u</i>	Young Sadleria fern.
<i>‘anakala</i>	Uncle.
<i>‘auamo</i>	To carry on the shoulder.
<i>‘aumakua</i>	Family or personal gods, deified ancestors who might assume the shape of sharks (all islands except Kaua‘i), owls (as at Mānoa, O‘ahu and Ka‘ū and Puna, Hawai‘i), hawks (Hawai‘i), ‘elepaio, ‘iwi, mudhens, octopuses, eels, mice, rats, dogs, caterpillars, rocks, cowries, clouds, or plants. A symbiotic relationship existed; mortals did not harm or eat ‘aumākua (they fed sharks), and ‘aumākua warned and reprimanded mortals in dreams, visions, and calls.
<i>‘auwai</i>	Irrigation routes, ditch, canal.
<i>‘awa</i>	Kava root; ceremonial drink.
<i>‘eha</i>	Hurt, in pain, painful, aching, sore, pained; pain, injury, ailment, suffering, soreness, aching; to hurt, pain, to cause suffering or pang.
<i>‘i ‘i</i>	Admired deep, rasping sound in chanting; tremor; guttural quality of some sounds, as back vowels or strongly aspirated “h”; a trill.
<i>‘i ‘i ‘i</i>	Short ferns.
<i>‘ihi</i>	Sacred, holy, majestic, dignified; treated with reverence or respect.
<i>‘ike</i>	Knowledge, awareness, understanding, recognition, comprehension and hence learning; sense, as of hearing or sight; sensory, perceptive, vision.
<i>‘Ike Hawai ‘i</i>	Hawaiian Knowledge.
<i>‘ike kupuna</i>	Ancestral knowledge and ways of knowing.
<i>‘ili</i>	Smaller sections of land allotted to individuals.
<i>‘ili ‘ili</i>	Handheld stone implements.
<i>‘ilio</i>	Dog.

<i>ʻīlio ʻai kanaka</i>	A man eating dog.
<i>ʻohana</i>	Family.
<i>ʻohe hano ihu</i>	Bamboo nose flute.
<i>ʻoihana</i>	Occupation.
<i>ʻŌlelo Hawai ʻi</i>	Hawaiian language; to speak Hawaiian.
<i>ʻōlelo ho ʻoka ʻau</i>	To create stories or to encourage laughter.
<i>ʻōlelo ho ʻoulu</i>	Taunting.
<i>ʻōlelo huna</i>	Secret and shifty talk.
<i>ʻōlelo kāpekepeke</i>	Secret and shifty talk.
<i>ʻōlena</i>	Turmeric.
<i>ʻōlohe</i>	Master, expert.
<i>ʻolomea</i>	<i>Perrottetia sandwicensis</i> .
<i>ʻōniu</i>	A hula step with hip revolutions in circle eights.
<i>ʻOpela Hawai ʻi</i>	Hawaiian Opera.
<i>ʻuala</i>	Sweet potato.
<i>ʻuhi</i>	Yams.
<i>ʻulu</i>	Breadfruit.

A

<i>a ʻo</i>	To teach and learn.
<i>ahi</i>	Fire.
<i>aho</i>	Line, cord, lashing, fishing line, thong, kite string, breath.
<i>ahupua ʻa</i>	Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (pua ʻa), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as tax to the chief.
<i>akua</i>	God, deity.
<i>alaka ʻi</i>	Leaders.
<i>ali ʻi</i>	Chief, chiefly class, royalty.
<i>ali ʻi ʻaimoku</i>	Paramount chief.
<i>ali ʻi nui</i>	High chief.
<i>aloali ʻi</i>	Royal court.
<i>aloha</i>	Love, affection, compassion, mercy, sympathy, pity, kindness, sentiment, grace, charity; greeting, salutation, regards; sweetheart, lover, loved one; beloved, loving, kind, compassionate, charitable, lovable; to love, be fond of; to show kindness, mercy, pity, charity, affection; to venerate; to remember with affection; to greet, hail.
<i>Aloha ʻĀina</i>	Love for the land, a Kanaka Maoli ideology.
<i>ao</i>	Light, daylight hours, realm.

E

ea

Sovereignty.

H

ha‘a

A dance with bent knees; dancing; called hula after mid 1800’s.

ha‘aha‘a

Humility.

hā‘awe

To carry on one’s back.

ha‘i kupuna

Reciting genealogy.

ha‘i mo‘olelo

Storytelling; to tell a story.

haipule

Religious.

haku hana keaka

Playwright.

haku mele

Composers of poetry and music.

hala ‘uhaloa

Waltheria indica.

halakea

Temporary ridge posts.

halapepe

A species of the pandanus tree.

hālau

Traditional school for learning; long-house, place of entertainment, gathering, and specified work.

hale

House or building.

hale ku‘a

House in the upland area where tapa making was done.

hale kuke

Cooking house.

hale mua

Men’s meeting house.

hale noa

House free from kapu; sleeping quarters.

hale pe‘a

Women’s house during menstruation.

hale pule

Church; house of prayer.

hale wa‘a

A house seaward where canoe carving took place, also known as a hālau wa‘a.

hali

To carry.

hana kapa

Tapa making.

hana keaka

Hawaiian medium theatre.

hana no‘eau

Traditional Hawaiian performance forms, art, skills.

hānau keiki

Childbirth.

haole

Foreigner.

hapa haole hula

A hula danced to a mele hapa haole (a Hawaiian type of song with English words and perhaps a few Hawaiian words).

haumāna

Student.

Hawai‘i ‘oia‘i‘o

True Hawaiian.

he alo a he alo

In one another’s presence; face to face.

he‘e hōlua

To sled, sled racing.

he‘enalu

Surfing, to surf.

<i>hei</i>	Hawaiian string figures.
<i>hemahema</i>	Clumsiness, imperfections.
<i>hewa</i>	Mistake, fault, error, sin, blunder, defect, offense, guilt, crime, vice; wrong, incorrect, wicked, sinful, guilty; to err, miss, mismanage, fail.
<i>hī</i>	To flow, hiss; to purge; dysentery.
<i>hi 'i</i>	To carry in the arms.
<i>hihi 'o</i>	Visions.
<i>hilina 'i</i>	To trust, to have faith in.
<i>hīpu 'u</i>	Tied together as a lei or bond of matrimony.
<i>hō 'ailona</i>	Sign, symbol, representation, insignia, emblem, mark, badge, signal, omen, portent, target, credential, token of recognition.
<i>ho 'oilo</i>	Winter or rainy season.
<i>ho 'okama 'āina</i>	To become familiar.
<i>ho 'okipa</i>	Hospitality; often food and drink accompanied by conversation.
<i>ho 'okuakāhi</i>	To clear the way of any obstacle that may impede, endanger or delay a project or activity.
<i>ho 'okupu</i>	An offering.
<i>ho 'ōla 'ōlelo</i>	Language revitalization.
<i>ho 'olewa</i>	Funeral; gathering to send off or elevate the spirit.
<i>ho 'omāhuahua</i>	To increase.
<i>ho 'omana</i>	Spirituality, religion; to give or create <i>mana</i> .
<i>ho 'omau</i>	To perpetuate.
<i>ho 'ona 'auao</i>	To educate, knowledge transmission.
<i>ho 'opa 'a</i>	Musician who plays the ipu, pahu, and pūniu.
<i>ho 'opa 'a na 'au</i>	To memorize by rote.
<i>ho 'opāpā</i>	Oratory; A debate or contest in wit (such as riddling) or strength.
<i>ho 'opilipili</i>	To imitate as with oral transmission of chant or song.
<i>ho 'oulu</i>	To inspire, inspiration.
<i>ho 'ouwēuwē</i>	Dirge, to chant in a wailing manner.
<i>hoe wa 'a</i>	Paddling.
<i>ho 'omāke 'aka</i>	To be funny, to make one laugh.
<i>holo moana</i>	Sea Faring.
<i>hua 'ōlelo</i>	A word or term.
<i>hui hīmeni</i>	Choral group.
<i>hula</i>	To dance; Indigenous Hawaiian dance driven by lyrics often accompanied by instruments.
<i>hula 'ōhelo</i>	A dance that featured the 'ōhelo movement, the extending of the leg while sitting horizontally and supporting the weight on one hand and the opposite foot while arching your body in a reclining position.

<i>hula ki'i</i>	Dance of the images done by performers or with wooden puppets similar to marionettes; Hawaiian puppetry.
<i>hula ku'i</i>	Influenced by the new musical instruments of the time, the guitar and the 'ukulele, would be the style that ushers in the evolution of hula resulting in the modern day forms of hula.
<i>hula manō</i>	Dances about shark deities, dances dedicated to sharks.
<i>hula noho</i>	Seated hula.
<i>hula pahu</i>	Dances performed with the accompaniment of a shark-skin covered drum.
<i>hulu kupuna</i>	A term to refer to a cherished elder.

I

<i>i'a</i>	General term for fish.
<i>imu</i>	An underground oven.
<i>ipu</i>	A bottle gourd; a receptacle for transporting food, water, etc.; a hula implement.
<i>iwi kupuna</i>	Remains of ancestors.

K

<i>Ka Pae 'Āina o Hawai'i</i>	The Hawaiian archipelago.
<i>Ka Pō Le'a o Halāli'i</i>	Night of entertainment in the name of chief Halāli'i.
<i>ka wā i hala</i>	The past.
<i>ka'ao</i>	Stories and folktales.
<i>kā'eke'eke</i>	Bamboo drums.
<i>ka'ika'i</i>	To carry in the hands.
<i>kahakō</i>	Macron.
<i>kahu</i>	Honored attendant, guardian, nurse, keeper of 'unihipili bones, regent, keeper, administrator, warden, caretaker, master, mistress; pastor, minister, reverend, or preacher of a church; one who has a dog, cat, pig, or other pet.
<i>kahuhu</i>	Ridgepole; also the <i>kaupaku</i> .
<i>kahuna</i>	Priests, sorcerer, magician, wizard, minister, expert in any profession (whether male or female).
<i>kahuna 'anā'anā</i>	Sorcerer.
<i>kahuna kālai wa'a</i>	Engineer of canoe building.
<i>kahuna kuhikuhi pu'uone</i>	Architect.
<i>kahuna lā'au lapa'au</i>	Herbal medicine doctor or healer.
<i>kākā'ōlelo</i>	Oratory, person skilled in use of language;

<i>kākau</i>	counselor, adviser; storyteller; oratory; to orate. To tattoo; <i>kākau</i> and <i>uhi</i> are terms for traditional tattooing.
<i>kake</i>	Chants with mixed or garbled words, for and by chiefs, with inserted syllables and some secret words.
<i>kalā‘au</i>	Hula sticks played together to punctuate the dance.
<i>kālai‘āina</i>	Carving of land.
<i>kalo</i>	Taro.
<i>kamaiki</i>	Baby, toddler.
<i>Kanaka Maoli</i>	Indigenous person of Hawai‘i.
<i>kanaka/kānaka</i>	Person, singular refers to a man/people.
<i>kani‘o</i>	Thatch purlin supports.
<i>kanikau</i>	Lamentations.
<i>kaona</i>	Layers of meaning, hidden or implied meaning.
<i>kapalō</i>	Tableaux performances.
<i>kapu</i>	Taboo, prohibition; special privilege or exemption from ordinary taboo; sacredness; prohibited, forbidden; sacred, holy, consecrated.
<i>kau</i>	A sacred chant, as Hi‘iaka's chants of affectionate greeting to persons, hills, and landmarks; a chant of sacrifice to a deity; to chant thus.
<i>Kau</i>	Summer or dry season.
<i>kauā</i>	Outcast, pariah, slave, untouchable, menial; a caste which lived apart and was drawn on for human sacrifices.
<i>kauālupe</i>	To carry suspended between others.
<i>kaukau ali‘i</i>	Lesser chief.
<i>kaula</i>	Rope or cord.
<i>kāula</i>	A seer, prophet, or magician.
<i>kaupaku ‘iole</i>	Second ridge pole.
<i>Ke Akua</i>	The Lord; God.
<i>Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī</i>	The Monarchy.
<i>Keaka Farani</i>	French theatre.
<i>Keaka Hawai‘i</i>	Hawaiian theatre.
<i>Keaka hololio</i>	Equestrian shows.
<i>Keaka Kepanī</i>	Japanese theatre.
<i>Keaka mele Ikalialia</i>	Italian opera.
<i>Keaka Pākē</i>	Chinese theatre.
<i>keiki</i>	Children.
<i>kī</i>	Ti leaf.
<i>ki‘i</i>	Carved wooden images.

<i>kīhei</i>	Shawl, cape, afghan; rectangular tapa garment worn over one shoulder and tied in a knot; bed covering; to wear a <i>kīhei</i> .
<i>kilo</i>	Stargazer, reader of omens, seer, astrologer, necromancer; kind of looking glass (rare); to watch closely, spy, examine, look around, observe, forecast.
<i>Kilo Hōkū</i>	Astrology; Navigation.
<i>kilu</i>	A small gourd or coconut shell, usually cut lengthwise, as used for storing small, choice objects, or to feed favorite children from. Used also as a quoit in the <i>kilu</i> game: the player chanted as he tossed the <i>kilu</i> towards an object placed in front of one of the opposite sex; if he hit the goal he claimed a kiss; to play this game. A small drum like the <i>pūniu</i> .
<i>kīna 'una 'u</i>	Flaws, blemishes.
<i>kino i 'a</i>	Fish form.
<i>kino pua 'a</i>	Pig form.
<i>kinolau</i>	Physical embodiments on earth; multiple forms.
<i>kīpuka</i>	An opening in the forest, an oasis.
<i>kō</i>	Sugar cane.
<i>kohā</i>	Crack of a whip, slapping sound, report of a pistol.
<i>koho 'ia</i>	To be selected, chosen.
<i>koi</i>	To carry on a stick between two people.
<i>konohiki</i>	Head of a land division.
<i>kū 'auhau</i>	Genealogy.
<i>kuahu</i>	Altar.
<i>kuapā</i>	An enclosed fishpond.
<i>kukui</i>	Candlenut.
<i>kūkulu</i>	Pillars.
<i>kukuna</i>	Gable posts.
<i>Kula Ho 'āmana</i>	Public laboratory charter school.
<i>Kula Kaiapuni</i>	Hawaiian immersion schools.
<i>kulāiwi</i>	Birth land.
<i>kuleana</i>	Responsibility.
<i>kumu</i>	Teacher, source, foundation.
<i>kūpe 'e</i>	Adornments for the wrists and ankles.
<i>Kūpuna</i>	Elder, grandparent.

L

<i>lā 'au lapa 'au</i>	Healing, traditional medicine.
<i>laka</i>	Tame, domesticated, gentle, docile; attracted to, fond of; to tame, domesticate, attract.

<i>lani</i>	Heaven, sky, realms of heaven.
<i>lau</i>	Leaf; many.
<i>lau kapalala</i>	Broad leaf.
<i>lau kapalili</i>	Trembling leaf.
<i>launa</i>	To socialize.
<i>lawai 'a</i>	To fish; a fisher.
<i>lawe lima</i>	To carry in one's hands.
<i>le 'ale 'a</i>	To have fun, to enjoy; entertainment.
<i>lei 'ā ī</i>	A garland for the neck.
<i>lei niho palaoa</i>	A whale's tooth necklace.
<i>lei po 'o</i>	A garland for the head.
<i>leo</i>	Voice.
<i>lipine</i>	Ribbon, tape.
<i>lo 'i kalo</i>	Taro patches.
<i>loea</i>	Expert, skilled.
<i>loea hula</i>	Dance masters/choreographers.
<i>lohelau</i>	Wall plate, also known as the <i>kaola</i> .
<i>loina</i>	Social and cultural values.
<i>lōkahi</i>	Harmony.
<i>loko i 'a</i>	Fishpond.
<i>lua</i>	Hawaiian martial arts.
<i>lū 'au</i>	Young taro leaf. Hawaiian feast, named for the taro tops always served at one; this is not an ancient name, but goes back at least to 1856, when so used by the Pacific Commercial Advertiser; formerly a feast was <i>pā 'ina</i> or <i>'aha 'aina</i> .
<i>luhi</i>	Burden, wearisome or tedious task; labor, work, pains, toil.
<i>lupe</i>	Kite.

M

<i>ma kai</i>	Oceanside or seaward.
<i>ma uka</i>	Mountain side or inland.
<i>mahi 'ai</i>	Farming or cultivating food; farmer.
<i>mai 'a</i>	Banana.
<i>maka 'āinana</i>	Commoners; the eyes of the land.
<i>makani</i>	Wind.
<i>makawalu</i>	Literally means eight eyes. Figuratively meaning numerous, or great quantities of something.
<i>māla 'uala</i>	Sweet potato garden.
<i>māla</i>	Gardens.
<i>malihini</i>	Visitors, tourists, foreigners.
<i>malo</i>	Loin cloth.

<i>mana</i>	Divine power.
<i>mana mo‘olelo</i>	Versions of a story or history.
<i>mānaleo</i>	Native speaker.
<i>maoli</i>	Native, indigenous, genuine, true, and real.
<i>mea hana keaka</i>	Performers; thespians.
<i>mele</i>	Song; to sing.
<i>mele hula</i>	Songs performed with dance choreography, which may have included musical accompaniment.
<i>mele inoa</i>	A song honoring one’s name.
<i>mele kāhea/komo</i>	A sung/chanted request to enter.
<i>mele ko‘ihonua</i>	Genealogical chant.
<i>mele le‘a</i>	Song of Joy, pleasure, happiness, merriment.
<i>mele ma‘i</i>	Song of procreation, performed in honor of the genitals.
<i>mele oli</i>	Compositions chanted without the accompaniment of hula or instrumentation.
<i>mele pana</i>	Song for a special or sacred place.
<i>mele pule</i>	Song of prayer.
<i>mele</i>	Song, anthem, lyrics, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry poetic composition; to sing
<i>mo‘o</i>	A reptilian being.
<i>mo‘okū‘auhau</i>	Genealogy.
<i>mo‘olelo</i>	Traditional stories, histories.
<i>moe‘uhane</i>	Dreams.
<i>mō‘ī</i>	King.
<i>moku</i>	Units of the land division system; also <i>kalana</i> .
<i>mokupuni</i>	Island.
<i>mole</i>	Ancestral root, foundation.

N

<i>na‘au</i>	The mind, heart, affections; of the heart or mind; mood, temper, feelings.
<i>na‘i aupuni</i>	Conqueror.
<i>nāhelehele</i>	Forest regions.
<i>nalu</i>	Reflection or meditation; a wave.
<i>nane</i>	Riddle, puzzle, parable, allegory; to riddle, speak in parables.
<i>nanea</i>	Entertainment; to relax, enjoy.
<i>niu</i>	Coconut.
<i>noa</i>	Secular, free from taboo.
<i>noho</i>	To sit, live, dwell. When a spirit or god dwells within a host, as in a dancer.

O

o'a
oli

oli ho'āla
ouli

Rafters.

Chant that was not danced to, especially with prolonged phrases chanted in one breath, often with a trill ('i'i) at the end of each phrase; to chant thus.

A chant to awaken.

Signs or omens.

P

pā lua
pa'a mo'olelo
pa'ikukui

pā'ū lā'i
pae'āina
paepae

paha

pahu
painu'u
panina
Papa'Ōlelo Hawai'i
Papahānaumoku
pe'a
piko

pili
pilina aloha
pilina
pō

po'e haole
po'e mo'olelo
po'opua'a
pōhaku
pou
pou alo
pou hana
pou kihi
pou kua
pu'ukani

Martial arts school.

Storytellers.

To stain wood with the juice from the kukui bark and root.

Ti leaf skirts.

Archipelago.

Foundation; in the hālau the *paepae* served as the support in a role similar to that of a sergeant of arms.

To improvise a chant; an improvised or conversation chant, as the *kepakepa*.

Shark skin covered drum.

To carry on the hips.

Closing or epilogue.

Hawaiian language class.

Earth mother.

To cross or crossing effect.

Navel, navel string, umbilical cord. Fig., blood relative, genitals. The center.

A type of grass.

Loving relationships.

Relationships, connection.

Darkness, night.

Foreigners.

Historians and genealogists.

The head pupil; literally, pig head.

Stone, rock.

Post, beam.

Wall posts, front row.

Ridge posts.

Corner posts.

Wall posts, back row.

Singer, musician.

<i>pua‘a</i>	Pig, hog.
<i>pule</i>	Incantations, prayers, magic spell, incantation, grace; to pray, worship, to ask for a blessing.
<i>pule ho‘ola‘a</i>	Sacred prayer, prayer of sanctity.
<i>Pūnana Leo</i>	Hawaiian immersion pre-schools.

T

<i>tabalō</i>	Tableaux performances.
---------------	------------------------

U

<i>uahi</i>	Smoke.
-------------	--------

W

<i>wā</i>	Period of time, epoch, era, occasion, season, age.
<i>wa‘a</i>	Canoe.
<i>wahi noho</i>	Place of living.
<i>wahi pana</i>	Sacred places.
<i>wahine</i>	Woman.
<i>Wākea</i>	Sky father.
<i>wala‘au</i>	Small talk, chit chat.
<i>wehena</i>	Opening or prologue.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 ‘Ōlelo Ho‘ākaaka & Ho‘olauna: Introductions

Ka ua kaniko ‘o, ua o ke ko ‘olau,

Ua kaniko ‘o i ke kai ā mālie,

Mālie iho i ke kai, ua la ‘ikū,

Ua ‘āpulepule ke ko ‘a o He ‘eia.

Aia ka piko o ko‘u makuahine, kona māhoe a me ona mau pōki‘i ma He‘eia Kea, kahi o ka ua ‘oki‘oki ko‘a, i Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu nui a Lua. Ma lalo mai o Kaloaloa ko‘u makua kāne a me kona mau pilikana. I ka ‘ōpio ‘ana a‘e, launa pū ku‘u po‘e mākua a ‘o ko lāua nei ne‘e akula nō ia i ka ‘āina kā‘ili lā ‘o Kaua‘i Manokalanipō. Ma uka o Kapa‘a i hānai ‘ia ai nā pua lei kaikamāhine a lāua i Kapahi, kahi o ka makani Naekūlanipūnohu‘ulauakoko. ‘O Kamawaelualani ku‘u ‘āina, ka ‘āina maika‘i wale a hemolele i ka mālie.

Maika ‘i Kaua ‘i, hemolele i ka mālie,

Kupu kelakela ke po ‘o o Wai ‘ale ‘ale kela i ka lani,

Kilakila ‘o Kawaikini kano Kahelekua,

Pa ‘a ka Ipuha ‘a ma uka o Kapa ‘a,

He ākea ma kai o Puna,

‘O ke kahuli mai a ke kalukalu moe ipo o Kēwā.¹

‘O ka lei i wili ‘ia me ka ‘ike o ku‘u po‘e kūpuna a me nā wahi pana o ko‘u mau pilikana ka lei e ‘ohu‘ohu ana i ku‘u wahi ‘ā‘ī. He lei ia e ho‘omana‘o mau ai

¹ Song extracted from *Ka Nūpepa Kū ‘ōko ‘a*, 5 December 1913.

i ko‘u pilina i kēia mau ‘āina a me ko‘u kuleana. I represent He‘eia, Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu and Kapa‘a, Puna, Kaua‘i, these places are the origins of my ancestors. I am honored to carry the adornments of these treasured places with me. As an Indigenous person, native to Hawai‘i, the environments from which I come imprints upon me its *mana* (divine power).² Within that mana there is spirituality and lineal intelligence, which informs my endeavors. This journey to seek a doctoral degree is no different. As I sit here in Aotearoa writing this thesis my home beckons me. The landscape of Kaua‘i and its environment has made me the person I am today. The mele above expresses the *aloha* (love, compassion) that I have for my ‘āina (land). I am a product of this land and my responsibility to my home and people is reflected in the mele above. *Kupu kelakela ke po‘o o Wai‘ale‘ale kela i ka lani* (Wai‘ale‘ale’s mountain peak projects exceedingly high towards heaven),³ this reference to mount Wai‘ale‘ale also reminds me to continually aim for excellence in everything that I do. Although I was born in Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu my parents relocated to Kaua‘i when I was a *kamaiki* (baby). From six months old through my formative years I was raised in Kapa‘a. The line in the mele about Kapa‘a, *Pa‘a ka Ipuha‘a o Kapa‘a, He ākea ma kai o Puna* (Ipuha‘a of Kapa‘a is steadfast, in the wide expanse of Puna), recalls the steadfast hill of Ipuha‘a in the vast district of Puna. This is an important reminder for me to be steadfast as I represent the vast and dynamic practices of my ancestors through my work. The knowledge that I carry with me today is contributed to my elders, family members, and the many

² I want to note that there are a number of Hawaiian language terms that will be used regularly in this thesis. I have included a comprehensive glossary with all terms in the front matter. For immediate access I will italicize and gloss each word when it first appears in the thesis. Consecutive usage of these terms will appear in standard type with the intention to normalize the Hawaiian language as a part of this thesis study.

³ All translations done by the author unless noted otherwise.

kumu (teachers) that have bestowed their *'ike*⁴ upon me. I am eternally grateful to each of them for their kindness and generosity with their time over the years for they have raised and trained me to be the person, artist, and academic that I am today. As they have invested in me I am accountable for the information that they have entrusted me with, and all of the obligations and restrictions that go along with these bodies of knowledge. I also wish to acknowledge those who have come before me to recognize their contributions to the field that I am privileged to steward and perpetuate. I wish to recognize our *pa'a mo'olelo* (storytellers), our *haku mele* (composers of poetry and music), our *loea hula* (dance masters/choreographers), our skilled *kā kā 'ōlelo* (orators), and our *mea hana keaka* (performers) from times past. He mahalo palena 'ole kēia iā lākou āpau loa a e like me ka mea i puana 'ia ma kēlā mele kaulana "ua pau, ua hala lākou, koe nō nā pua." Na mākou, nā pua e koe ana e hāpai a'e nei i ke kuleana e ho'omana'o a e ho'ohanohano nō ho'i i nā kūpuna a me ka 'ike i ho'ōilina 'ia.

1.1.1 Hula & Hana Keaka: Traditional Dance & Theatre

Pa'i ana nā pahu a hula le'a; 'o ka'u hula nō kēia.⁵

Let the better-enjoyed hula chanters beat their own drums; this is the hula chant that I know.

My entry point into the world of Hawaiian performance was through hula as a child. At an early age my mother who was a hula dancer herself⁶ enrolled me into Aunty Lovey Apana's *hālau* (traditional school for learning), Hula Hālau 'o

⁴ Knowledge, awareness, understanding, recognition, comprehension and hence learning; sense, as of hearing or sight; sensory, perceptive, vision.

⁵ This is the first of the 'Ōlelo No'eau (Hawaiian proverbs) that I have selected to ground my introduction. Published in a book in 1983 by Bishop Museum Press the proverbs were gathered by Mary Kawena Pukui and each one has been numbered. This first proverb is 'Ōlelo No'eau # 2571 (Pukui, 1983, p. 283).

⁶ My mom learned hula from Kumu Hula Kau'i Zuttermeister and later danced in Iva Kinimaka's evening show at the International Market Place in Waikī during the 1960's.

Leina‘ala. Traditionally the hālau hula was linked with strict religious protocols and practices (Emerson, 1909, p. 15). Although the practice of hula has evolved many of the fundamental principles and deities associated with hula continue to be patronized (Pukui, 1972, p. 122). The instruction in Aunty Lovey’s hālau would set the tone for my work ethic and life as a performer. Even as children our training was rigorous. She ingrained strict discipline of the body, mind, and spirit in our weekly training. There were times when she would make us duck walk for long periods of time or practice ‘ōniu⁷ and backbends until the muscles in your legs were twitching. This strenuous training was coupled with warm moments of laughter and joking. She watched very carefully for those who were committed to the knowledge that she shared and then she handpicked those who would perform at the Coco Palms.⁸ It was an honor to be selected for these shows and we enjoyed dancing for the *malihini* (foreigners) very much. On that stage I felt a calling at a young age to the world of performance. There was something special about the stories that we told through our dances that resonated with me. Our movements illustrated the stories conveyed in the mele we performed. The act of sharing these stories was invigorating. I absolutely loved being on stage. We reveled in the nervous energy prior to performance. Then Aunty Lovey would call us together to say a little prayer and the show began. Changing costumes between numbers taught us to be well organized and efficient with our time. These performances ingrained certain aesthetics of Hawaiian performance, particularly hula, in me.

This hālau experience with my Kumu Hula Aunty Lovey gave me a *Kanaka Maoli* (Indigenous person of Hawai‘i) foundation for directing a performance. I

⁷ A hula step with hip revolutions in circle eights.

⁸ Iconic hotel in Wailua, Kaua‘i. Elvis Presley filmed Blue Hawai‘i there.

continued with hula training and performance through my primary school years slowly moving into theatre training and productions as I entered high school. I was still active in Hawaiian cultural events dancing at May Day celebrations and occasional hotel gigs, however, when the Kaua‘i Performing Arts Center (KPAC) was established in 1986 my interest and focus shifted to learning the art of theatre. For four years I would train under director Arnold Meister with KPAC performing in musicals and plays. I learned western stage performance, costume and set construction, and the key elements of a production process. My involvement in KPAC also afforded me the opportunity to study for a summer at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa at the age of 16 in the Summer Program for the Enhancement of Basic Education (SPEBE), a partnership with the University of Hawai‘i and the Hawai‘i State Department of Education. Through these programs I learned the collective nature of theatre and the importance of production preparation. Those salient lessons have stayed with me over the years.

1.1.2 Hale Pule: Church

*Ka leo o ke ola.*⁹

The voice of life.

While in high school I was also very involved with the youth ministry program at St. Catherine’s Church. The years of experience with this group also opened my eyes to an alternative form of performance, namely performance for *Ke Akua* (the Lord, God) and the congregation. I should briefly mention that in my youth our family was very active in the Catholic pageantry such as the Holy Ghost parade, Christmas midnight mass, the stages/stations of the cross, and the Easter

⁹ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 1440 (Pukui, 1983, p. 156).

sunrise service. All of these gatherings included the retelling of the holy stories, the singing of hymns, and the re-enactment of significant liturgical events. This involvement strengthened my relationship with Ke Akua and awakened a spiritual self within me. Although I did not realize it then, these performances were training me for my future calling and the work that I would come to do for my community. From the time I was a little girl I trained in the church choir with the talents of Uncle Larry Rivera, Aunty Mary Alfiler, and Mrs. Rene Thronas who would become my choir teacher at Kapa‘a Intermediate and High School. Our repertoire included the typical Catholic hymns and a number of hymns in Hawaiian. Then, under the direction of Uncle Clyde and Aunty Pattie Vegas I would enter a youth ministry band, record an album and tour with the band spreading the good word through popular music of the 1980’s. Uncle Robbie Kaholokua was instrumental in bringing our band to fruition. He and Uncle Clyde taught us the ins and outs of being a *pu‘ukani* (singer). The vocal training and band rehearsals allowed me to deepen my understanding of the voice and commitment to a project. The participation in this realm of performance grounded me spiritually and taught me creativity and adaptability.

1.1.3 Haumāna Kulanui: Becoming a University Student

‘O ke kahua ma mua, ma hope ke kūkulu.¹⁰

The foundation first, then the building.

My education and training in the theatre would continue at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. During my undergraduate studies I trained in three different forms of Asian theatre – Kathakali, Noh, and Kabuki, in addition to the western

¹⁰ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 2459 (Pukui, 1983, p. 268).

theatre practicum. During my undergraduate studies in the theatre program I was also studying ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i learning *mo‘olelo* (traditional stories, histories) and its value for strengthening our foundation of Hawaiian knowledge. In the Department of Theatre and Dance I slowly came to a realization that I was one of two Kānaka Maoli enrolled in the program and there was no representation of Hawai‘i in the curriculum and/or productions. This realization was coupled with my growing interest in directing and play making.

Nearing graduation, I sought out an opportunity to work on a Hawaiian production in my final year. My advisors approved my senior thesis project to direct a Hawaiian medium play. I then turned to the elders in my community and through conversations with them I learned that theatre was practiced in addition to the other Hawaiian performance forms commonly known today such as hula, mele, and *ha‘i mo‘olelo* (story telling). I immediately began searching for a script in the university’s libraries and there was none. I then turned to the archives at the Bishop Museum and the Mission House Museum seeking any Hawaiian language script that maybe available or hanging out in a box. I did my best to exhaust all the resources available at that time. It was a fruitless hunting expedition; no script was to be found. I was quite discouraged. Then a colleague of mine, Raplee Nobori, who was working on an original Hawaiian play for his MFA thesis told me that if I wanted to direct a play in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i then I need to write it. Raplee was working with Kumu Hula John Keola Lake for his production and that opened the door for me to consult with Kumu Lake. I received encouragement from him, my kumu ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i Puakea Nogelmeier, and playwright Victoria Nālani Kneubuhl to write my first play. The subject matter for this play would come from a *mo‘olelo* that we were reading in our fourth year *Papa ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian language

class) with Puakea. The story of Kaluaiko‘olau was a historical memoir about a brave hero from my island home of Kaua‘i that I was familiar with. Ko‘olau was a legend that stood unwavering for Kanaka Maoli rights at the turn of the nineteenth century. It was clear that this mo‘olelo wanted to be shared. I felt it in my *na‘au*¹¹ and the *hō‘ailona*¹² confirmed this mo‘olelo wanted to be shared. In 1995 with the support of my faculty advisors and mentors, Dr. Julie Burk, Dr. Dennis Carroll, and Dr. Puakea Nogelmeier I wrote, directed, and produced *Kaluaiko‘olau: Ke Kā‘e‘a‘e‘a o nā Pali Kalalau* for my senior thesis.

This was the beginning of my journey as a playwright and the development of the modern practice of *hana keaka* (Hawaiian medium theatre). Hana keaka incorporates *hana no‘eau*, traditional Hawaiian performance forms, such as mele, *oli* (chant), hula, and ha‘i mo‘olelo into the theatrical presentation. In addition to storytelling hana keaka is a tool for raising and empowering Kanaka Maoli consciousness. Through the mounting of theatrical productions, we reclaim historical events, contribute to the Hawaiian language revitalization movement, and inspire our fellow Kānaka Maoli. Hana keaka represents the indigenous voice of our Hawaiian archipelago in the domain of theatre.

¹¹ The mind, heart, affections; of the heart or mind; mood, temper, feelings.

¹² Sign, symbol, representation, insignia, emblem, mark, badge, signal, omen, portent, target, credential, token of recognition.

KALUAIKO'OLAU HE HANA KEAKA



na Kaliko Baker

'Ano'ai ke aloha no kākou a pau loa, mai ka wao akua a i ka wao kanaka, mai ke kualono a i kuanalu, mai Kona kai 'ōpua i ka la'i a i Kaua'i o Manokalanipō. Welina!

Aloha mai nō kākou e nā hoa heluhelu o kēia pepa ho'oku'i lono, 'o Kaliko Baker kēia e ho'olaha aku ana i kā kākou hana keaka i nā lā mua o kēia mahina. Aia ana ua hana keaka nei ma ka hale hana keaka 'o Kennedy Lab ma ke Kulanui o Hawai'i ma Mānoa. 'O Kaluaiko'olau ke kanaka nona ka mo'olelo, he kupa 'o ia o Kekaha, Kaua'i.

'O Kaleimanu ke kāne noho iā Kukui, a hānau maila i ke kuakoko mua, 'o Kaluaiko'olau, he kāne, ke kā'e'a'e'a o nā pali Kalalau, ka mea nona ka ma'i ho'oka'awale.

He wahine nō kāna i noho pū 'ia ma ka mo'olelo. 'O Ho'onā ke kāne no Hilo pali kū,

noho iā Kepola, ka wahine no Kekaha a hānau 'o Pi'ilani, ka wahine ho'āo a Kaluaiko'olau, ka wahine kiu 'alo 'ehu pōkā. Noho pū nō lāua a hānau ihola 'o Kaleimanu, kā lāua hi'ialo i ka poli a 'o ka 'ōpio haokila i loko o nā 'inea.

He nui wale nā inoa o ia ma'i 'ino ho'okahilā, 'o ka ma'i pāke, he ma'i ali'i, he ma'i ho'oka'awale a me ka inoa i lawe kahiko 'ia, he ma'i lēpela. I loko nō o nā inoa like 'ole i hā'awi 'ia i ia ma'i, he ma'i 'ino lua 'ole nō ia. A eia nō kekahi 'ōlelo no'eau, "He ma'i makamaka 'ole."

Ua kauoha 'ia 'o Kaluaiko'olau (e kapa ho'opōkole 'ia 'o Ko'olau) e hele ma Kalawao, ma Moloka'i nui a Hina i kahi ho'i i kapa 'ia 'o ka lua kupapa'u kanu'ola. Ua kū'e nō 'o Ko'olau i ke aupuni ma muli o ka hō'ole'ana a ke aupuni i ka lawe pū 'ia 'ana o kona 'ohana. No laila, ua pe'e a'ela

lākou i ke aupuni i uka i Kalalau, kahi ho'i a lākou 'ohana i noho 'inea pū ai. He 'ekolu ko lākou nui, nā mākua i ho'ohiki ka berita hemolele a hiki i ka wā i pā'e ai ka leo kāhea a ka Haku, a me kā lāua keiki hi'ialo i ka poli, 'o Kaleimanu. Ua hala mua 'o Kaleimanu i ke ao polohiwa a Kāne a uhai a'ela 'o Ko'olau ma ka meheu o ke keiki hi'ialo a lāua a 'o ka ho'i ho'okahi ihola nō ia o Pi'ilani i kauhale me ka 'ohana.

He kanaka nui 'o Ko'olau ma ka mo'olelo Hawai'i ma muli o kona kūpa'a 'ana i ka mana o ke aupuni no ke aloha lua 'ole āna, 'o ia ho'i 'o Pi'ilani kāna wahine noho 'inea i loko o ka mokumokuāhua o ka noho kuahiwi 'ana me ka 'ole o ka palekana o kauhale.

Kū mau nō 'o ia i ke 'ano pono o kānaka a kākou e mahalo nui ai i kēia au ho'ihō'i ea nei. 'A'ole 'o ia i 'ae i ka mana o ke aupuni e lawe

Figure 1.1: 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i newsletter, December 1995.

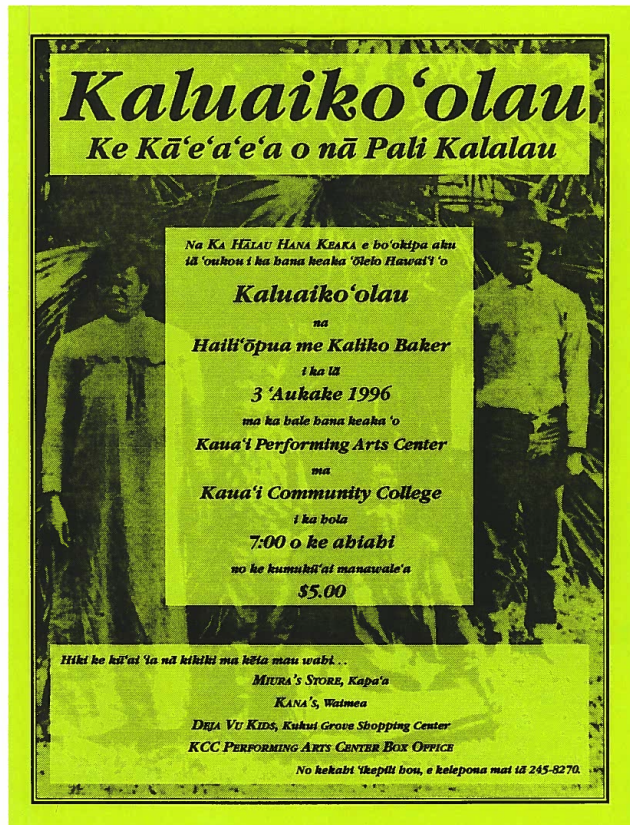


Figure 1.2: Poster for the 1996 Kaluaiko'olau tour to Kaua'i.

1.1.4 Kula Lae O'o: Graduate School

'Eli'eli kūlana o 'Āina'ike.¹³

Profound is the nature of 'Āina'ike, a place on Kaua'i.

Shortly after the premiere of *Kaluaiko'olau: Ke Kā'e'a'e'a o nā Pali Kalalau* in December 1995 Ka Hālau Hanakeaka was formed in January 1996. Originally established as a venue for our cast to convene and fundraise for touring, Ka Hālau Hanakeaka became a *hui* (group, association) of Hawaiian language students who pursued the theatre as a vehicle for language revitalization and social activism. We produced and toured two plays in our first two years; *Kaluaiko'olau: Ke Kā'e'a'e'a o nā Pali Kalalau* and *Māuiiakalana*. *Kaluaiko'olau* would tour to Maui, Hawai'i, twice to Kaua'i, and was remounted on O'ahu in Ke'elikōlani

¹³ 'Ōlelo No'eau # 339 (Pukui, 1983, p. 41).

Auditorium at Kamehameha Schools Kapālama. *Māuiakalana* was originally performed for the ‘Ahahui ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i’s Lā Kūkahekahe event and then toured the various Pūnana Leo (Hawaiian immersion pre-schools) and Kula Kaiapuni (Hawaiian immersion schools) of O‘ahu.

The performance of these hana keaka was gaining momentum, it created a sense of pride amongst our people, and the community wanted more. We packed houses across the *pae ‘āina* (archipelago). The multiple invitations to reprise the production made me realize that creating hana keaka and retelling the stories of our ancestors was my calling. It was clear that Hawaiian-medium theatre had a role to play in the Hawaiian language revitalization movement. We, my peers and I, as Hawaiian language learners experienced first-hand the benefits of the immersion experience during the rehearsal process. Our language acquisition and fluency increased with each and every production. Taking these works into the Hawaiian immersion schools allowed us to inspire the students to hold steadfast to their language of instruction outside of the classroom setting. I eye witnessed the power of the stage and how the *keiki* (children) responded to these stories being told to them in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. That power was undeniable and I felt a calling to continue this work.

In the fall of 1996 I began my graduate work pursuing a Master of Fine Arts (MFA) in directing in the Department of Theatre and Dance at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The success of my senior thesis had propelled me into the MFA program. Over the next three years I would work towards the degree requirements including composing and directing a full-length hana keaka for Māuiakamalo based on the chronology of events in the fifteenth era of the Kumulipo,¹⁴ the Hawaiian

¹⁴ The Kumulipo consists of 16 wā (era) that details the creation of the earth and all living things.

cosmogonic chant, honoring Māuiakamalo. The play *Māuiakamalo: Ka Ho'okala Kupua o ka Moku* would be my MFA thesis production in 1998. My MFA thesis production was the first ever thesis in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

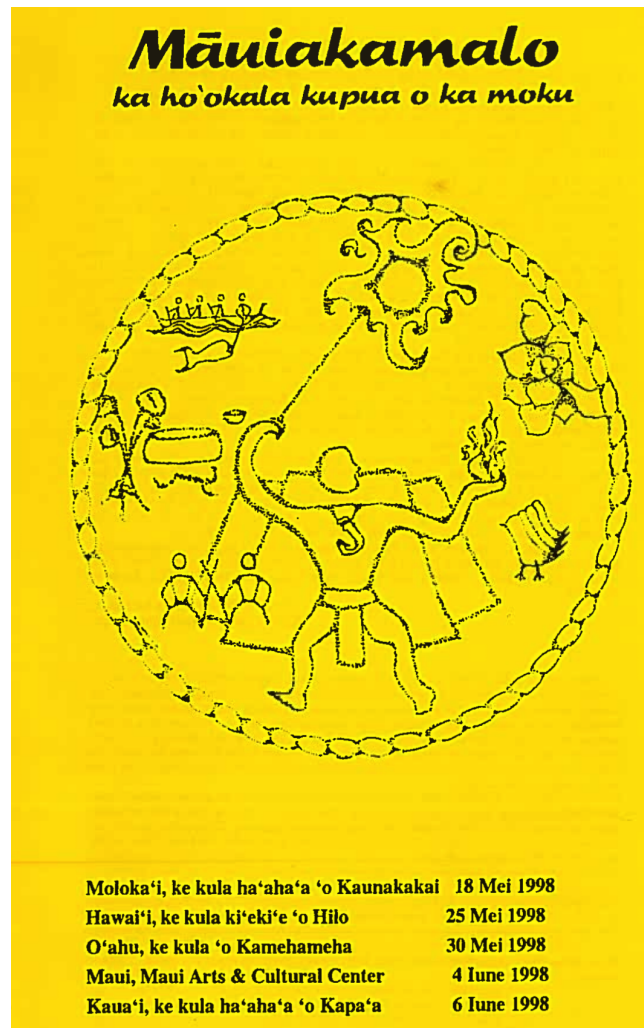


Figure 1.3: Program cover from the 1998 Pae 'Āina tour of Māuiakamalo.

Māuiakamalo eventually toured the entire Pae 'Āina o Hawai'i and to the Festival of Pacific Arts in Noumea, New Caledonia with the Hawai'i delegation in 2000. The production was a major undertaking and I was very fortunate to have a number of skilled mentors that supported me with the development of this play which would manifest into a movement for our Hawaiian language community and people. For the thesis production I was mentored by Kumu Hula John Ka'imikaua

regarding the cultural protocols and religious aspects of the mo‘olelo and the hula that the men performed. Dr. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa supported me in the research of *mo‘okū‘auhau* (genealogy) and the Kumulipo. Kumu hula John Kaha‘iali‘i Topolinski also consulted on chant and poetry. Cultural practitioner and Kanaka Maoli advocate Luana Busby-Neff assisted with the chants and vocal arrangements. Uncle Calvin Hoe was instrumental in creating a soundtrack for the entire production and was the master conductor for the musical accompaniment. *Kūpuna* (elder) and *mānaleo* (native speaker) ‘Anakala Eddie Ka‘anā‘anā was our resident kūpuna and cultural advisor in the production process. Because the mo‘olelo portrayed in these productions encompasses a variety of life’s aspects, hana keaka has brought me to work with many Kānaka Maoli who are respected experts in their fields. These partnerships have assisted me in learning the different cultural practices of my kūpuna. It has been a privilege to work with esteemed elders and skilled practitioners during the development process of each hana keaka. These processes have taught me a great deal and I am forever indebted to those who have been the guiding lights in the creation of every hana keaka.

1.1.5 Ka Lilo ‘ana i Kumu ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: Becoming a Hawaiian language teacher

*He ipu kā‘eo.*¹⁵

A full calabash.

During the second semester of graduate work I began teaching ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. This afforded me the opportunity to create new curriculum for my courses. My appointment there also provided support for the works of Ka Hālau

¹⁵ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 643 (Pukui, 1983, p. 73).

Hanakeeka including a venue for rehearsal space. In regard to curriculum, I relied on my training in the theatre to facilitate language lessons that were enjoyable and meaningful. Over the fifteen-year period that I taught in Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language I regularly introduced students to theatre as part of my Hawaiian language course curricula. Even for non-actors, mounting a one-act Hawaiian-medium play accelerated language acquisition for second-year (fourth semester) language students. Through course and program development I have also been able to create opportunities for students to enroll in upper-division university courses to study theatre in Hawaiian, whether through writing original Hawaiian-medium plays (Hawaiian 485: Haku Hanakeeka (Hawaiian Language Playwriting)) or by participating in the production process (Hawaiian 486: Kahua Hanakeeka (Hawaiian Stage Production)). The latter course guides students through the research process and play development, in preparation for performing an original Hawaiian medium production as the culminating project of the semester. Both courses nurture Hawaiian speakers and also help to create a pool of actors and theatre practitioners who are fluent in the language. Most recently, institutional support for developing Hawaiian-medium theatre has led to the creation of a Hawaiian Theatre Program in the Department of Theatre and Dance at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

In the fall of 2012 after teaching ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i for 15 years in Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge I acquired a new position in the Department of Theatre and Dance. This position was a part of Chancellor Virginia Hinshaw’s strategic hiring initiative to increase the number of Native Hawaiian scholars in the various disciplines across the UH Mānoa campus. The intentions of these hires were to develop Hawaiian

areas of study, to foster Hawaiian focused scholarship, and to encourage interdisciplinary practices. The interdisciplinary aspect of these strategic hires has allowed me to maintain a relationship with my former department. I continue to teach the theatre focused ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i courses that I previously developed. In addition to teaching, 25% of my workload is dedicated to developing and fostering community and campus partnering activities, the development of cross-disciplinary courses, and facilitating educational and/or artistic partnerships with the Native Hawaiian community. Our new Hawaiian Theatre program currently collaborates with two major Native Hawaiian community artistic partners, Halele‘a Arts Foundation and Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

Over the past four years I have worked diligently to further develop the curriculum and infrastructure to implement the Hawaiian Theatre Master of Fine Arts (MFA) degree, which was approved by the University Graduate Council in fall 2014. In collaboration with my senior colleagues I was able to establish our new MFA track in Hawaiian Theatre, which is the only indigenous theatre graduate degree of its kind in the world. The degree curriculum bridges programs across the Mānoa campus. Students may enroll in Hawaiian performance courses in the Department of Music, Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, and Kanakamakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies to fulfill degree requirements. The launch of the new MFA degree coincided with the inaugural Hawaiian-medium theatrical production *Lā‘ieikawai*¹⁶ appeared on the Kennedy Theatre main stage in February 2015. There is great potential for this program to train a number of individuals creating practitioners of indigenous Hawaiian theatre and to inspire the

¹⁶ The productions of *Lā‘ieikawai* (2015) and *Nā Kau A Hi‘iaka* (2017) produced under the Hawaiian Theatre Program of the Department of Theatre & Dance at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa were both recorded by ‘ŌIWI Television and are available for viewing with or without subtitles either online at the ‘ŌIWI TV website or on-demand at channel 326.

creation of indigenous theatre programs at other universities around the world. I am proud to be the director of this new and innovative program.

1.1.5.1 Ua ao Hawai‘i ke ‘ōlinolino nei mālamalama.¹⁷

Hawai‘i is enlightened, for the brightness of day is here.

The foundation of the Hawaiian Theatre program is now in place. The program, the recent inaugural Hawaiian theatre production, *Lā‘ieikawai*, in February 2015, and the first Hawaiian Theatre MFA thesis production, *Nā Kau a Hi‘iaka*, in March 2017, have captured the interest of current students and the community. My present focus is to ensure the success of the Hawaiian Theatre program and to elevate the study of Hawaiian and indigenous performance practices in academia. There are two courses that I plan to develop in the near future. One course aims to complement the existing graduate course offerings. It is a graduate seminar in indigenous theatre. The seminar will focus on indigenous theatre movements around the world. There will be in-depth study of the methodology employed by the various indigenous theatre companies and the impact these works have had in their communities. The other graduate-level course is a seminar on hula origins, genealogies, practice, and theory. Both seminars will offer our students the opportunity to critically analyze Hawaiian, Pacific, and other indigenous forms of theatre. The Department of Theatre and Dance at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa has the potential to be the fulcrum of Hawaiian, Pacific, and Indigenous theatre studies.

The ability to share the stories of my people is a privilege. My role as a playwright/director is similar to the role of the *pa‘a mo‘olelo* or storyteller in

¹⁷ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 2773 (Pukui, 1983, p. 305).

traditional Hawaiian society. Pa‘a mo‘olelo are the conduit for communicating the history, values, and teachings from one generation to the next. I am honored to carry this *kuleana* (responsibility) as a playwright utilizing the stage as a platform for conveying our mo‘olelo in today’s modern world. I believe it is vital for our stories to be (re)told so that our challenges and triumphs are recognized and celebrated. The plays that I write are also a means to honor our ancestors, cultural practices, and language. Therefore, the production of this doctoral thesis is a means for me to record the knowledge that has been passed down over the years with the practice led/based research and productions that I have cultivated over the past twenty years. The material presented here comes from a Kanaka Maoli perspective defining a culturally appropriate foundation for the development and practice of hana keaka. As a culturally aware *wahine* (woman) ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i active in the *ho‘ōla ‘ōlelo* (Hawaiian language revitalization) process, the practice of hana keaka is an extension of this movement.

1.1.6 Ki‘ina Hana A‘o: Teaching Philosophy

*E lawe i ke a‘o a mālama a e ‘oi mau ka na‘auao.*¹⁸

One who takes his/her teachings and applies them increases their knowledge.

The following are a series of proverbial sayings that underpin my teaching approach. This philosophy guides the manner in which my work is done in the classroom and the space of theatre making. In ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i the term *a‘o* refers to teaching and learning. The concept of *a‘o* is based on reciprocity where both student and teacher engage in the process. The ‘Ōlelo No‘eau or Hawaiian Proverb listed above points to the responsibility of the *haumāna* (student) to care for the

¹⁸ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 328 (Pukui, 1983, p. 40).

knowledge that they have acquired from their *kumu* (teacher) (Pukui, 1983). I am a steward of the knowledge that my kumu have passed down to me. *He lālā au no ku 'u kumu*; I am an extension of my kumu and my responsibility is to maintain and increase that continuum of knowledge. The development of the new Hawaiian Theatre Program in the Department of Theatre and Dance is the platform for me to fulfill that responsibility; *e ho 'omau* (to perpetuate), *e ho 'oulu* (to inspire), and *e ho 'omāhuahua i ka 'ike* (to increase the knowledge).

1.1.6.1 *Kūkulu ka 'ike i ka 'ōpua.*¹⁹

Knowledge is set up in the clouds.

The practice of *kilo* (observation) and *nalu* (reflection/meditation) are highly regarded practices in Hawaiian society (Meyer, 2003, p. 95). Through these practices we find clarity and guidance. Reflecting on one's choices and the outcomes of those choices are key to a comprehensive understanding of self and an improvement of one's circumstances. From a very young age I had an affinity for maintaining a journal. After school I would jot down events of the day, the highs and lows, not realizing at that time that the journal was a means for me to critically analyze and engage in deep reflection. This writing practice naturally found its place in my teaching. As an instructor I write out my lesson plans prior to class and then make notes after each class evaluating the lesson. I note ideas for improving the lesson the next time around to create better learning outcomes and ways to follow up or build on the material covered in class. My course journals are an invaluable tool for teaching preparation and curriculum development. I would not be able to do the work that I do without these journals. Reflective teaching is a focus

¹⁹ 'Ōlelo No'eau # 1907 (Pukui, 1983, p. 205).

area of my current scholarship. I have recently co-authored an article on reflective critical approach based on my teaching pedagogy (Henry & Baker, 2015). The publication focuses on a course that I taught in spring 2013, Theatre 490: Experimental Theatre Studio, a writing intensive and oral focus course that utilized writing to learn course material and to master disciplinary conventions. Reflection papers and/or journals are a common requirement in the courses I teach. I do my best to instill the value of self-reflection in the learning process as a tool to enrich my students' academic journey.

As an Indigenous language educator, I am consciously aware of the perilous state of our language and the crucial need to develop Hawaiian language speakers (NeSmith, 2005). Pure theoretical knowledge of grammar is not enough. It is imperative for the students to be proficient in the application of the knowledge and the actual speaking of the language. By utilizing the natural communicative approach and creating hands-on activities that are enjoyable and applicable to my students' daily lives, i.e., role play, I encourage the production of language that has a connection to them. My intention is to inspire the desire to speak Hawaiian beyond the four walls of the classroom. I create opportunities such as the staging of Hawaiian-medium theatrical productions for students to engage in Hawaiian language communities outside the university classroom. This provides students a venue to further their language fluency while building a bridge through community engagement.

1.1.6.2 *E kuhikuhi pono i nā au iki a me nā au nui o ka 'ike.*²⁰

Instruct well in the little and the large currents of knowledge.

²⁰ 'Ōlelo No'eau # 325 (Pukui, 1983, p. 40).

In hiring me, the Department of Theatre and Dance sought to establish an academic foundation for the scholarship and practice of Native Hawaiian theatre. This endeavor supports the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa's mission to be a Hawaiian place of learning. The instruction of Hawaiian-medium theatre integrates Hawaiian performance genres (Oli, Mele, Ha'i Mo'olelo, Hana Keaka, and Hula) and reflects the language, traditions, legends, history and values of the Hawaiian community. In order to create a Hawaiian sense of place in the theatre I employ Hawaiian pedagogy and culturally based learning in my classroom. The lessons that I teach in my courses intergrate Hawaiian perspectives, values, and practices with the collaborative art form of theatre. In my Hawaiian acting workshop I use the traditional practice of *ho'opili* and *ho'opa'a na'au* or oral transmission of chant or song. Learning by rote is a traditional Hawaiian teaching method that I pass on to my students. This type of teaching also maintains a relatively high level of engagement that increases the successful transference of knowledge from teacher to student. Many of my lessons are grounded in Hawaiian epistemology and methodology expanding the current department offerings to include Hawaiian pedagogy and practice in the field of drama and theatre. For example, I draw upon the traditional practice of ha'i mo'olelo at the beginning of the semester to open up a space for sharing in my classroom. Students are encouraged to share their own personal stories as a means to create community and foster an environment where all participants are engaged, welcomed, and valued. Community building is key to the creation and success of the Hawaiian Theatre program.

Hawaiian worldview is encased in our language. The pedagogy for teaching cultural values and the proper socialization of Kānaka Maoli are contained in the layers of meaning or *kaona* in the proverbial sayings of our elders. Such as the

concept of a‘o that clearly indicates that a‘o is a process that requires the engagement of both parties. These cultural philosophies are vital to how I teach the practice and art form of hana keaka. It is imperative that the teaching of hana keaka is done with Hawaiian methodology in a manner that Kānaka Maoli understand to be culturally appropriate. Teaching and directing hana keaka must be more than just teaching the form of performance. The work must embrace the very essence of Kanaka Maoli existence, behaviors, and practices. I believe this can be achieved with ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i as our foundation.

1.1.7 *Ua lehulehu a manomano ka ‘ike a ka Hawai‘i.*²¹

Great and numerous is the knowledge of the Hawaiians.

For the purpose of this thesis I will be highlighting the productions of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka mentioned earlier in this chapter and the most recent play that I have authored, *Lā‘ieikawai*, the inaugural Hawaiian theatre production on Kennedy Theatre mainstage in the spring of 2015. The story of *Lā‘ieikawai* is a well-known treasured story in Hawaiian tradition. The play chronicles the life of *Lā‘ieikawai* and her adopted sisters from the island of Kaua‘i. This story teaches us about family obligations, our relationship to the environment and the gods. I was very fortunate to be able to assemble an artistic team that consisted of two award-winning Kumu Hula and composers, a Kumu ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i whose area of research is Hawaiian mo‘olelo and *ka‘ao* (stories and folktales) and the perpetuation thereof, and myself who served as playwright and director for the production. This collaboration aligns directly with my strategic hire with regard to creating partnerships and forging

²¹ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 2814 (Pukui, 1983, p. 309).

Hawaiian crosswalks across campus and community. Our collective contributions and leadership was the reason for the enormous success of *Lā'ieikawai*.



Figure 1.4: Lā'ieikawai advertisement postcard.

To illustrate the success of *Lā'ieikawai* six of the eight performances were completely sold-out. The opening night and first Sunday performance were at 80% capacity. More than 4,300 people attended the performances, which does not include the preview performance that was at 70% capacity (Kennedy Theatre,

2015). Each performance received standing ovations. Our audience members praised many of the performances with impromptu chants and song, tokens of true Hawaiian gratitude. Following the success on O‘ahu, Chancellor David Straney of UH Hilo invited us on an all-expense paid tour of the production to his campus in April 2015. This was an unprecedented honor for a Kennedy Theatre production. We were also invited to tour an abridged version of the production to Aotearoa/New Zealand for the opening ceremonies of He Manawa Whenua Indigenous Research Conference in June 2015. *Lā‘ieikawai* was well received by the Māori and other Indigenous peoples in attendance. Under the auspices of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka and Halele‘a Arts Foundation, a non-profit Hawaiian arts organization, we toured the production to Kaua‘i and Moloka‘i in spring 2016. The tour was made possible through support from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Kawaikini Laboratory Public Charter School on Kaua‘i, and The Cultural Conservancy. Finally, *Lā‘ieikawai* was selected to open the 48th annual Region Eight Kennedy Center American College Theatre Festival in February 2016. The many phases of this production and the productions of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka are explored in detail in this doctoral thesis.

1.2 Kūkulu Kumuhana: Rationale

*‘Ike i ke au nui me ke au iki.*²²

Knowing the big currents and the little currents.

Ho‘onanana ke po‘i ‘ana o ka nalu,

‘O ka nalu kākala mai Kahiki,

Ho‘onanana ke kai huhū, kai make loa,

O o‘u kūpuna i ka po‘ina o ka nalu lā,

‘O Hā‘uke‘uke, ‘o ‘Uhalula, Halimoa, Wananui, Po‘ohina ē,

‘O Hāwa‘e nui, noho koke,

²² ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 1209 (Pukui, 1983, p. 131).

*‘O ‘Inauli mā lāua ‘o ‘Inakea ē,
Na lākou e ko ‘o ka nalu,
A hālana mālie ke kai e pae ai
‘o Māui mā, A kau i uka o Kaulanawa ‘a ē.²³*

Calling upon our ancestors to guide our *wa‘a* or canoe through rough seas is a common traditional practice amongst the Kānaka Maoli. The chant above calls to various ancestral ocean deities to help steer our *wa‘a*, and to calm the waves so that we may navigate through tranquil waters and successfully reach our destination. But our language also steers that vessel, guides us through uncharted waters, and encourages us in times of despair to achieve our goals, and find our way to shore.

1.2.1 No ka Hana Keaka Hawai‘i: Hawaiian Medium Theatre

Twenty two years ago, Ka Hālau Hanakeaka was established as a Hawaiian-medium theatre troupe that would expand the domain of the Hawaiian language into the realm of theatre. Hawaiian-medium theatre combines indigenous Kanaka Maoli performance aesthetics with the western stage. Drawing from the wealth of traditional performance forms such as hula, oli, mele, and ha‘i mo‘olelo, Ka Hālau Hanakeaka brings traditional stories to the stage, fostering Hawaiian expression, voice, and identity in the venue of theatre. The troupe’s original plays focus primarily on historical Hawaiian figures and folklore, depicting the social and cultural values found in traditional storytelling. In 2000, theatre scholar Dennis

²³ This traditional chant comes from a lineage of fishermen and navigators in the Māui genealogy. In the play *Māuiakamalo* (Māui-of-the-loincloth) produced by Ka Hālau Hanakeaka, the chant was used during times of ocean travel by the Māui brothers. The actors’ chanting complimented their paddling of the canoe as the characters headed to the ocean to fish, and also made the audience aware of the transition from land to sea.

Carroll wrote that the performances of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka were “a most significant development” in Hawai‘i’s local theatre scene (p. 147). Since its inception, Ka Hālau Hanakeeka has produced eight plays completely in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: *Kaluaiko‘olau: Ke kā‘e‘a‘e‘a o nā pali Kalalau* (1995-1996), *Māuiakalana* (1997), *Māuiakamalo: Ka ho‘okala kupua o ka moku* (1998-2000), *Nāwahī: A hero remembered* (2001), *Akahikuleanaakapiko* (2003), *Kamapua‘a* (2004-2007), *Hawai‘inuiākea* (2008) a collaborative production with Ka Pā Hula o Ka Lei Lehua, and *He Mo‘olelo Hana Keaka no ‘Elua Mau Me‘e Hawai‘i* (2013). Five of the eight plays have toured the Hawaiian archipelago and three of the plays have toured internationally. The development of Hawaiian-medium theatre demonstrated in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka contributes significantly to the Hawaiian language revitalization movement and the perpetuation of traditions and ancestral knowledge. Such efforts are tied to the larger efforts of decolonization and indigenizing various fields of study currently engaging many native peoples around the world. Ka Hālau Hanakeeka moves toward these goals through the pedagogy of Kanaka Maoli theatre.

Until now all research and publications pertaining to theatre in Hawai‘i have been based on English language resources. The wealth of knowledge printed in the Hawaiian language newspapers from 1834 - 1948 is virtually unexplored in connection to researching hana keaka. In this time period there were over one hundred different newspapers in print (Baker, 2015; Nogelmeier, 2010). Hana keaka advertisements, programs, and reviews exist in the Hawaiian language newspaper archive. My research draws from these resources to provide a chronology of hana keaka created and produced by Kānaka Maoli. I also explore the evolution of this art form into a modern-day context. The dearth of research and

scholarship in this area is a driving motivation for me. There is one text²⁴ that briefly covers the work of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka in a chapter on the drama and theatre of Oceania written by Dr. Diana Looser, published in 2014, for which I was the primary resource. There is, therefore, a lack of research in this space. This thesis seeks to substantiate a knowledge base within the space and practice of hana keaka.

This thesis explores how Ka Hālau Hanakeeka has created and developed a Hawaiian-medium theatre that employs a Kanaka Maoli framework for staging traditional mo‘olelo. The field of indigenous theatre studies is quite new (Looser, 2014, p. 28). The scholarship is limited, and Hawaiian-medium theatre is virtually unexplored. By sharing my personal involvement with these productions, I endeavor to document and share our experience in developing a Hawaiian- medium theatre. It is my hope that by documenting the history and methods of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka, our work will inspire and provide advice for other indigenous peoples as they build their own theatre companies and draw from their own traditional performance forms and stories to empower their voices and cultural identity through the medium of the stage.

This thesis is another brick in the wall of Kanaka Maoli solidarity of identity, culture, and language. Hence it draws on Mo‘olelo as a base for knowledge, Kū‘auhau as our connection to our ancestors, ‘āina, and akua, the creative artistic expression of Hana No‘eau as a means for celebrating our history, and ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, the language of our ancestors. Engaging these four elements awakens Kanaka Maoli consciousness. As a speaker of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i who uses language as a projection of my identity, I have consciously privileged Kanaka Maoli

²⁴ *Remembering Pacific Pasts: History, Memory and Identity in Contemporary Theater from Oceania* is to date the most comprehensive study on theatrical performance forms in the Pacific.

academic scholarship in my research and this doctoral thesis. I use non-Kanaka Maoli publications sparingly when Kanaka Maoli written works are not available. Often I rely on original source materials in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and translate those materials myself. This thesis is framed and rounded in my culturally biased Kanaka Maoli-centric point of view and no apologies will be made for this perspective. As the author of this thesis and a mother of one of the Kanaka Maoli students who took a stance at his high school graduation ceremony to sit for the *Star Spangled Banner*,²⁵ well before Colin Kaepernick took a knee on the NFL football field, I write from a keen sense of political consciousness. This thesis is founded on the history of my people and an awareness of Kanaka Maoli identity, culture, language, and consciousness. I offer this thesis in support of the legacy of Kanaka Maoli resistance and the fight for self-determination.

1.2.2 Kumuhana Noi‘i: Research Questions

Ke ka kaha nalu o Makaiwa.²⁶

The surfing waves of Makaiwa.

Like the famous surfing spot of Makaiwa in Wailua on the island of Kaua‘i, a doctoral thesis has distinguished components to its form. Research questions delve into the vast ocean of currents and waves identifying a surf-able wave with potential longevity to be ridden to shore. I have selected a set of waves to ride for this research process, each wave connected to the other with the main question setting the journey in motion. The main question leading this thesis is, “What is Hana Keaka and how can Hana Keaka be used as a tool for empowering Kanaka Maoli consciousness?” Additional questions to be answered include:

²⁵ This is the United States of America’s anthem, the patriotic anthem of the country that stole our nation and nearly obliterated our people.

²⁶ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 1724 (Pukui, 1983, p. 185).

“What is the history of Hawaiian performance?”

“What has been the development of Hana Keaka?”

“What is Kanaka Maoli consciousness?” and,

“What is the future of Hana Keaka?”

1.3 Kēlā Mokuna, Kēia Mokuna: Chapter Breakdown

*Ho‘onohonoho i Waineki kauhale o Limaloa.*²⁷

Set in order at Waineki are the houses of Limaloa.

The proverb above applies to the development of ideas, the setting of plans, or the arranging of things in order. Limaloa, the akua of mirages, was known for making houses appear and disappear at Waineki near the plains of Mānā on the west side of Kaua‘i. I draw inspiration from this proverb that represents the process of ideas and plans that are eventually realized. The nine chapters that formulate this thesis have materialized over time, which occasionally seemed to be a mirage during the process. I acknowledge Limaloa for his ability to inspire the realization of kauhale in the midst of a mirage. Chapters one and two frame the research and study followed by the major content chapters (three and four) that establish a historical context for the study. This is succeeded by chapters five through eight that breakdown the pillars of hana keaka.

Serving as an introduction for this thesis, chapter one positions myself in this research, the practice of hana keaka, and my role as a Kanaka Maoli educator and theatre artist. This chapter also speaks to the rationale of the study, the research questions, outcomes, and limitations of this study.

²⁷ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 1104 (Pukui, 1983, p. 118).

Chapter two presents my methodology for this thesis drawing upon the structure of a traditional longhouse or *hālau*. The concept and practice of *hālau* as a school for traditional learning is also utilized to connect the contemporary practices of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka to the development of hana keaka.

Chapter three provides a historical perspective of Kānaka Maoli beginning with our origin stories. The chapter covers traditional society, contact with haole,²⁸ colonization, the cultural renaissance and political revolution of the 1970's, and concludes with the current status of Kānaka Maoli.

Chapter four establishes a comprehensive analysis of the origins and development of hana keaka. Four *kūkulu* or pillars that constitute the form known as hana keaka are proposed here identifying the characteristics of hana keaka. This chapter concludes with a detailed timeline of Kanaka Maoli initiated performances from 1800 to 2018.

Chapters five, six, seven, and eight examine the four *kūkulu* of hana keaka. Chapter five explores the concept of mo'olelo, the ways in which mo'olelo influences Kanaka Maoli consciousness, and analyzes the portrayal of mo'olelo in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. Chapter six investigates *kū'auhau*, its impact on Kanaka Maoli consciousness, and the use of *kū'auhau* in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. Chapter seven surveys hana no'eau discussing the major genres that appear in hana keaka, the effects of hana no'eau on Kanaka Maoli consciousness,

²⁸ My academic position has forced me to consider the most appropriate terminology when discussing non-Kanaka Maoli, I reviewed terms such as white, western, European and to some extent all of these terms are applicable, but the terms also have their limitations. Therefore, I decided to apply the Hawaiian term haole, which means "White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; American, English; formerly, any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign origin, as plants, pigs, chickens; entirely white, of pigs" (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). The term haole is used to refer to a stranger or foreigner and is not a racial term in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. The term pre-existed prior to contact with the early Europeans who made their way to Hawai'i. This term from my perspective, from a Kanaka Maoli 'Ōlelo Hawai'i speaking perspective, is the most appropriate term within the context of this study.

and its portrayal in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. Chapter eight probes into ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, the impact speaking ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i has on Kanaka Maoli consciousness, and its depiction in the productions of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

Chapter nine is the concluding chapter of this thesis. This chapter considers the overall impact of hana keaka on Kanaka Maoli identity and consciousness. Tying the entire study together the chapter also looks to the future of hana keaka.

1.4 Nā Hopena: Outcomes

*Ka wai hālau o Wailua.*²⁹

The expansive waters of Wailua.

The outcomes of this study will document the origins of Hawaiian performing arts focusing on hana keaka. I will establish the four pillars or kūkulu that constitute the performance genre of hana keaka indicating how each pillar plays a role in the awakening of Kanaka Maoli consciousness. The four kūkulu will be analyzed in relation to the portrayal of each kūkulu in the creative works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. My intention in documenting the history and development of hana keaka in this thesis is to further decolonize the white/euro dominated space of academia in the field of performing arts.

This thesis like all theses has its limitations. One such limitation is the materials that are available to me. When researching the ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i newspaper archives, I accessed the newspapers that were archived as microfiche in the libraries and digitized on the *Ulukau* and *Papakilo* online databases on or before the fall of 2017. In time as more newspapers are digitized there will likely be more information available on hana keaka. This should be taken up for future study.

²⁹ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 1648 (Pukui, 1983, p. 178).

Another limitation I have instituted myself is the scope of this study. For this study I focus exclusively on hana keaka performed in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. Therefore Hawaiian theatre performed predominantly in English will not be studied here. There are many opportunities for the future study of Hawaiian theatre as this thesis is the first of its kind to my knowledge. Finally, I must recognize my limitations as a kanaka. We have a customary saying in Hawaiian literature in which an author mentions that any *hemahema* (clumsiness, imperfections) or *kīna‘una‘u* (flaws, blemishes) found in their work is solely the authors. I put that forth here recognizing my limitations and take full responsibility for the material that I have written.

The research conducted for this thesis brings Hawaiian language resources from the 1800’s and early 1900’s to light revealing the thoughts, writings, beliefs, and practices of Kānaka Maoli. These findings are synthesized with modern day Kanaka Maoli scholarship creating a study that weaves generations of Kanaka Maoli literature and performance. This study of hana keaka will benefit those who are interested in this form of creative expression, the community of Kanaka Maoli and Indigenous scholars aiming to decolonize the academic space, and the broad community of lifelong learners who have a passion for education. As the proverb selected for this section suggests this thesis has the potential to reach an extensive audience like the expansive waters of Wailua on the island of Kaua‘i. It is my hope that this study will inspire future research of hana keaka, performing arts, and creative expression in Hawai‘i and other Indigenous communities around the world.

1.5 Panina: Chapter Conclusion

*E kaupē aku nō i ka hoe a kō mai.*³⁰

Put forward the paddle and draw it back.

³⁰ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 319 (Pukui, 1983, p. 39).

This chapter has demonstrated the foundational knowledge for this thesis, namely my background and kuleana in the practice of hana keaka today. I have explained the scope and goals of this thesis clarifying my conscious intention to privilege Kanaka Maoli scholarship in the selection of resources and references for this study. Chapter one is the *paepae*, the foundation, from which all subsequent chapters will be built upon. This introductory chapter frames the succeeding chapters of this thesis as each chapter contributes to the construction of a *hālau* (longhouse), which will be discussed in-depth in my methodology chapter (chapter two). In closing this chapter, I put my paddle into the water and draw it back moving us into the body of this thesis across the Moana nui ākea a Kanaloa.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Wehena: Chapter Introduction

*Na wai ho'i ka 'ole o ke akamai, he alanui i ma'a i ka hele 'ia e o'u mau mākuā?*³¹

Who would deny intelligence, for it is a road frequently traveled by my ancestors?

As a Kanaka Maoli I want to preface this chapter on methodology with the following statements. For the purpose of this thesis I will draw from the ways of knowing and practices of my ancestors. There is no need to employ non-Kanaka Maoli methods or theories to describe my world and work. My world is Hawai'i, I speak 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, I am culturally active and aware, and I stand on the foundation that my ancestors established. Therefore, my theoretical and methodological approach to this study is Hawaiian/Kanaka Maoli/Maoli. I will not justify the context of this work by comparing it to western approaches or methods. Over the past forty years an increasing number of Kanaka Maoli academics have put forth a variety of Kanaka Maoli methodologies for their research that is grounded in Kanaka Maoli epistemology and ontology. I follow in the steps of these brilliant kānaka who have continued to pave the way for the rise of Kanaka Maoli scholars.

³¹ 'Ōlelo No'eau #2301 (Pukui, 1983, p.399).

2.2 No Ke Ki'ina Hana Kanaka Maoli: Kanaka Maoli Methodologies

In the 1970's George Hū'eu Sanford Kanahale celebrated the Hawaiian renaissance and the reawakening of Kanaka Maoli consciousness through his early scholarship. He later challenged Kanaka Maoli in the 1980's to Kū Kanaka, stand proud, embody ourselves and literally be Kanaka (Kanahale, 1986). *Kū Kanaka*, the title of one of his books, was a methodological approach for the empowerment of Kānaka Maoli in a time of rebirth and recognition of our history and mana. The 1990's brought forth a number of the premiere Kanaka Maoli scholars of today who were the firsts in their respective disciplines to pave the path of Kanaka Maoli driven methodology, research, and scholarship. That group included the likes of Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, Haunani Kay Trask, Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, George Terry Kanalu Young, Manu Aluli Meyer, Daviana Pōmaika'i McGregor, and Noenoe Silva. The 2000's produced vigorous scholarship from our Kanaka Maoli community. The 2018-2019 academic year at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa accounts for 681 Kānaka Maoli in pursuit of advanced degrees with 350 masters-level students, 137 doctoral-level students, and 127 students in professional practice programs. The graphs below created by Native Hawaiian Students Services illustrates the enrollment trends of Kānaka Maoli since 2009 at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.³²

³² Information gather from the Native Hawaiian Students Services newsletter for the month of October 2018. Data tabulated by Research and Assessment Specialist Brandi Nālani Balutski.

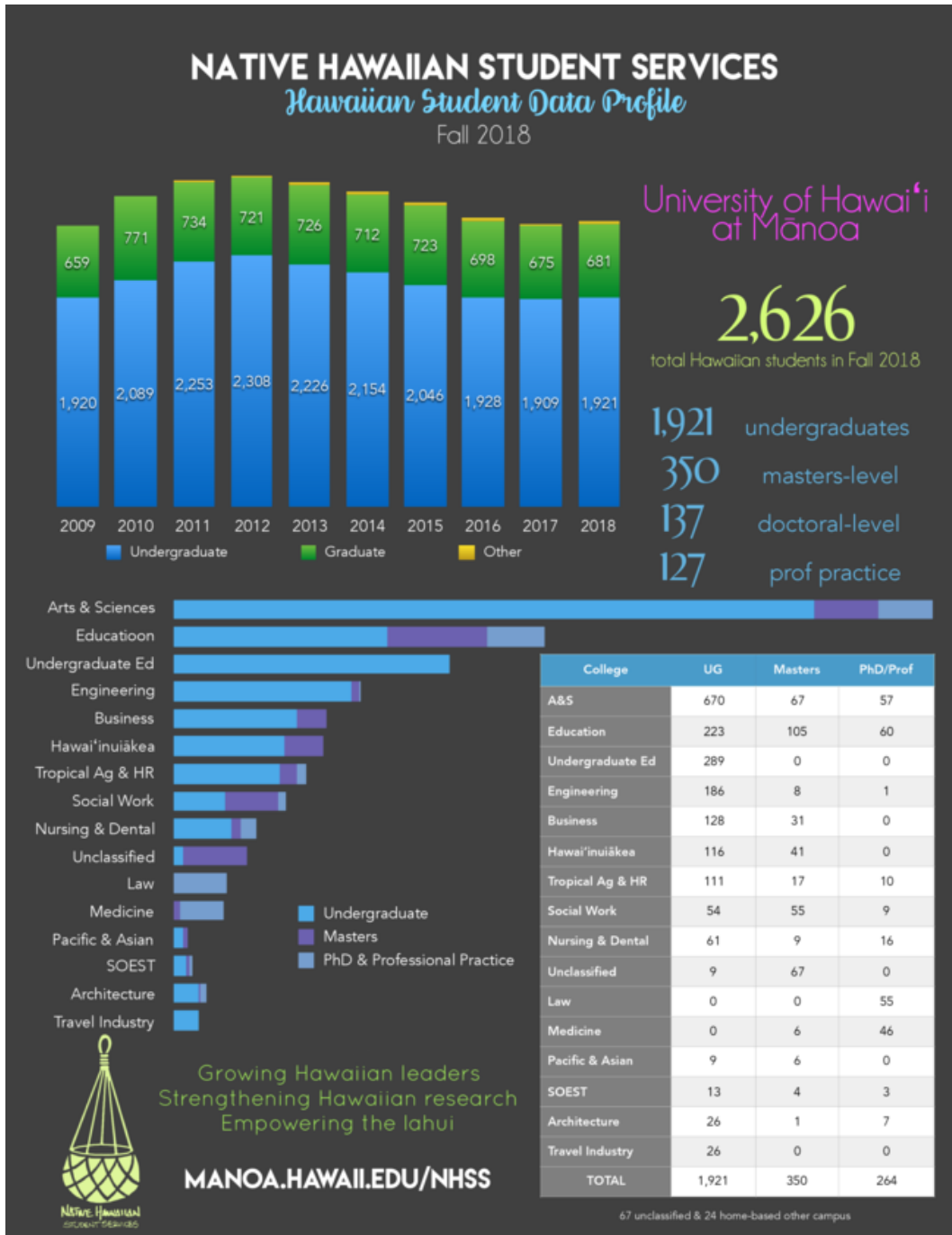


Figure 2.1: Kānaka Maoli enrollment data.³³

Kānaka Maoli have garnered doctoral degrees from institutions of higher learning around the world. It is also important to mention that in 2015 the Hawai'i inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge in collaboration with the University of Hawai'i Press, published a book entitled *Kanaka 'Ōiwi*

³³ Source: Native Hawaiian Students Services newsletter for the month of October 2018.

Methodologies: Mo'olelo and Metaphor. Written by upcoming Kanaka Maoli scholars the text featured a collection of essays focused on current Kanaka Maoli methodologies across academic disciplines. These scholars, my contemporaries, have utilized poetry, farming, and political resistance as their methodologies. For example, in 2010 Robert Keawe Lopes, Jr., Associate Professor of Hawaiian at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, used the concept of *Ua noho au ā kupa i kō alo* (I sat until I've become accustomed to your presence) as his methodology in his research of poetry. *Ua noho au ā kupa i kō alo* is a famous line from a mele written by King Kalākaua that describes his intimate relationship with his significant other. Lopes applied the concept to his relationship with his kumu hula and music teacher, bringing forth the intimate relationship that develops between a student and master in the mentoring process and proper protocol in a Kanaka Maoli research process. For Lopes the learning of dance and poetry over many years of continuous study and contact together with his kumu was the foundation and method of his doctoral research in the College of Education. Lopes uses this methodology in his mele and hula courses at the university and also in the hālau or hula school that he and his wife preside over. Another recent example is Jamaica Heolimaikalani Osorio, a 2018 Kanaka Maoli doctoral graduate in English at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, who developed a methodology based on Kanaka Maoli relationships entitled *(Re)membering 'Upena of intimacy: a Kanaka Maoli mo'olelo beyond queer theory* (J.H. Osorio 2018). Osorio utilized the construct of *pilina* or relationships and kinship to analyze the story of *Hi'ikaikapoliopole* and the female relationships in the epic saga. The image of *upena* (a net) was used to connect all of the ancestors in the story noting that there were levels of intimacy in the variety of relationships from siblings to friends to potential lovers. The use of this

methodology allowed Osorio to reject mainstream western methods like queer theory to analyze *Hi 'iakaikapoliopole* ultimately stating that Kānaka Maoli did not define aloha by gender, nor were there terms that distinctly specified sexual intimacies. Both Lopes and Osorio rely on the teaching and practice of our ancestors as the foundation for their academic scholarship. Their work is testament to the magnitude of intellectual prowess of Kānaka Maoli from times past into the modern era. We, Kānaka Maoli, are a robust culture with a deep understanding of our place, practice, and interconnectedness with everything; e.g., kanaka, 'āina, spirituality, and so forth. It is with this context that my theory and method is based.

2.3 No Ka'u Ki'ina Hana: My Methodology

*Ua nāki'i 'ia i ke olonā o Honopū.*³⁴

Tied fast with olonā cord of Honopū, Kaua'i.

My methodology for this thesis is the construction of a *hālau* (longhouse). In his life's work *Mo'olelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian Antiquities)* written prior to his death in 1853, Kanaka Maoli scholar David Malo devotes a chapter to "No na Hale me na mea e ae me ka hoomana" (Concerning Houses and other things and religion) in which he states:

He nui nae ke ano o na hale, he mua, no ke kane ia, he hale noa, no ka wahine ia, he halau he hale ia no na mea loloa, he nui no na hale e ae i hana ia e kanaka. (1987, p. 59)

[*There are many types of houses, the mua, was for the men, the noa house, for the women, the longhouse was a structure for extended things, there was a multitude of houses built by man.*]

³⁴ 'Ōlelo No'eau #2833 (Pukui, 1983, p. 489).

The idea of extended things refers to a structure for the construction of wa‘a, the hālau wa‘a was a house for carving and storing canoes, or a hālau hula as a place for dance instruction, or a mere longhouse that served as a meeting house. We also know that, “Hālau also can function as a venue for storytelling”³⁵ and that the performance of mo‘olelo is a means to “bring our stories to life.”³⁶ It is believed that certain mo‘olelo “live on only through the mele hula”³⁷ and other mo‘olelo are encapsulated in chant or oratory that were only shared in the hālau setting. The hālau then represents a place for the transference of language and culture.

Former curator of the Bishop Museum Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter H. Buck) devoted a chapter on houses in his book *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*. Hiroa analyzed previously written accounts by Kānaka Maoli and malihini to discuss the common structures built by Kānaka Maoli. He references Reverend William Ellis who classified mainly two kinds of structures in 1839, “the hale noho (dwelling house) and halau (long house)” (1957, p. 77). The latter of the two was “nearly open at one end” (1957, p. 77). Hiroa then counters Ellis’s classification with photos of structure variation and written descriptions of houses with specific functions. Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau wrote in a newspaper series now known as *Na Hana a ka Po‘e Kahiko (The Works of the People of Old)* in the newspaper *Ke Au ‘Oko‘a* from 14th October 1869 through 3rd November 1870, which included a section on house building. There he discusses the evolution of houses, the construction and spiritual aspects of erecting a building, and the variation of houses and their function. Kamakau also makes us aware of Kapounuikua‘olohe, who innovated structures to be built with “rows of posts and with ridge posts (*he pae pou, a pou hana*)”

³⁵ (http://www.kumukahi.org/units/ke_ao_akua/mana/hula) -retrieved on 20 June 1918.

³⁶ (http://www.kumukahi.org/units/ke_ao_akua/mana/hula) -retrieved on 20 June 1918.

³⁷ (http://www.kumukahi.org/units/ke_ao_akua/mana/hula) -retrieved on 20 June 1918.

(Kamakau, 1976, p. 95). In 1838 Malo writes that the *pou kihi* (corner posts) are the first *pou* (post) to be erected in the construction process.

E kukulu mua ia na pou kihi, a paa ia mau pou, alaila, kau ia ke kaula mai kela pou, a keia pou maluna kahi kaula malalo, kahi kaula, kahi kaula a ike ia ke kulike o na pou, kela pou, keia pou. (Malo, 1987, p. 82)

[*The corner posts are erected first, once these posts are set, then, a rope is place on that post, and this post with the rope on top and on the below, rope to rope is nudged until the posts are even, that post, this post.*]

The *pou kihi* are followed by the *pou kua* (wall posts, back row), the *pou alo* (wall posts, front row), and the *lohelau* or *kaola* (wall plate). These are followed by the *pou hana* (ridge posts), the *halakea* (temporary ridge posts), the *kahuhu* or *kaupaku* (ridgepole), the *o'a* (rafters), and *kaupaku 'iole* (second ridge pole). In the construction of a hale there would be an end wall called a *kukuna* (gable posts) followed by *'aho pueo* or *ke'a* (main purlins), the *'aho* (thatch purlins), and the *'aho hui*, *'aho pueo kuahui* or *kani'o* (thatch purlin supports) (Hiroa, 1957; Kamakau, 1869; Malo, 1838). Occasionally these structures were built on a platform or *paepae* made of *pōhaku* (stones, rock). The houses were thatched with *pili* grass with a technique that “differed from that of central and western Polynesia” (1957, p. 102) according to Hiroa who notes that “New Zealand follows a method similar to that used in the Hawaiian Islands” (1957, p. 102). Hiroa provides a comprehensive narrative on the construction process amalgamating all the materials that were available to him at the Bishop Museum.

There were formal ceremonies for the consecration of the house that was led by a kahuna to ensure the prosperity of the house and everlasting life for those

who dwelled there. The main ceremony was to “cut the navel” *‘oki ka piko* (Kamakau, 1976, p. 104). Kamakau details the furnishing of the house done by women, the valuables or gifts displayed at the entrance of the house, and the mats and forest greens that would decorate the inside of the house (1976, pp. 105-107). Malo’s account reinforces the compulsory practice to consecrate the house. He writes:

He hana mau no ka pule ana o ke kahuna ma na hale o ka poe noho pono, a pau, a me kona alii, a me ka poe hanohano, a me ka poe koikoi a me ka poe noho kuonoono a pau. (1987, p. 83)

[It is a common practice for kahuna to pray/bleed the houses that people dwell in, all/everyone, and the chiefs, and the honorable ones, and the important people and the common folk as well.]

There are a number of *pule* (incantations, prayers) in the Kanaka Maoli repertoire for the blessing and consecration of new structures. Most of the *pule* have similar content and format that consists of cutting the *piko* of the house, dedicating the house to the gods, and asking for protection, prosperity, and everlasting life. Here is one of those incantations published in a text devoted to traditional incantations curated by June Gutamanis and entitled, *Nā Pule Kahiko (Ancient Hawaiian Prayers)*.

E ‘oki i ka piko o ka hale	<i>Cut the umbilical cord of the house</i>
He hale ku i ka ‘ele-ua, i ka ‘ele ao	<i>A house that resists the rains and stormy elements.</i>
He hale noho ho‘i no ke kanaka.	<i>A house for man to dwell in.</i>
E Lono e, eia ka hale la,	<i>O Lono, behold the house,</i>
Ua ku i Maui-ola.	<i>A house in the presence of the giver of life</i>
E ola i ka noho hale,	<i>Grant life to those who dwell therein,</i>
E ola i ke kanaka kipa mai	<i>Grant life to the visitors that come,</i>
E ola i ka haku-‘aina	<i>Grant life to the landlord</i>

E ola i na ‘li‘i	<i>Grant life to the chiefs</i>
Oia ke ola o kauhale e Maui-ola,	<i>Let that be the life from the life-giver,</i>
Ola a kolo-pupu, a haumaka ‘iole	<i>Life until one creeps and is weak-eyed with age</i>
A pala lauhala, a ka i koko	<i>Until one sprawls like a withered hala leaf,</i>
A kau i ka puaneane.	<i>Until one reaches the very extremity of life.</i>
Oia ke ola au e ke akua-	<i>Let this be the life granted to us by the gods.</i>
Amama ua noa.	
E Ku, e Kane, e Lono	<i>O Ku, O Kane, O Lono,</i>
Ku‘ua mai i ke ola,	<i>Let down the gift of life,</i>
I na pomaikai,	<i>And all the blessings with it.</i>
A e aka lani, ka honua	<i>Till the heavens and earth be heaped,</i>
Ea ia Kane-i-ka-wai-ola	<i>Let them be raised up by Kane of the living</i>
	<i>waters.</i>
E ola mai kahi pae a kahi pae,	<i>May there be life from one boundary to the other</i>
E ola mai luna a lalo,	<i>From above to below</i>
Mai kaupoku a ke kahua—	<i>From roof to foundation,</i>
E ola—a ola loa no.	<i>May there be life—everlasting life. (1983, p. 59)</i>

Today when a *hale* or *hālau* is consecrated the following phrase is expressed by those in attendance “*Ua kū ka hale, ua pa‘a ka hale*” [The house is erected, the house is solid.]. This is an affirmation that the house stands on a proper foundation and is solid to support the people and activities that will fill the house. To conceptualize my methodology for this research on hana keaka and the writing of my thesis, I have distilled the parts involved in the construction of a *hālau*³⁸ to align with each chapter especially highlighting the four *kūkulu* (pillars) that make up the composition of the art form known as hana keaka.

³⁸ The use of a hale as methodology is not unique to hana keaka. Others have utilized this method in different forms of research and teaching pedagogy.

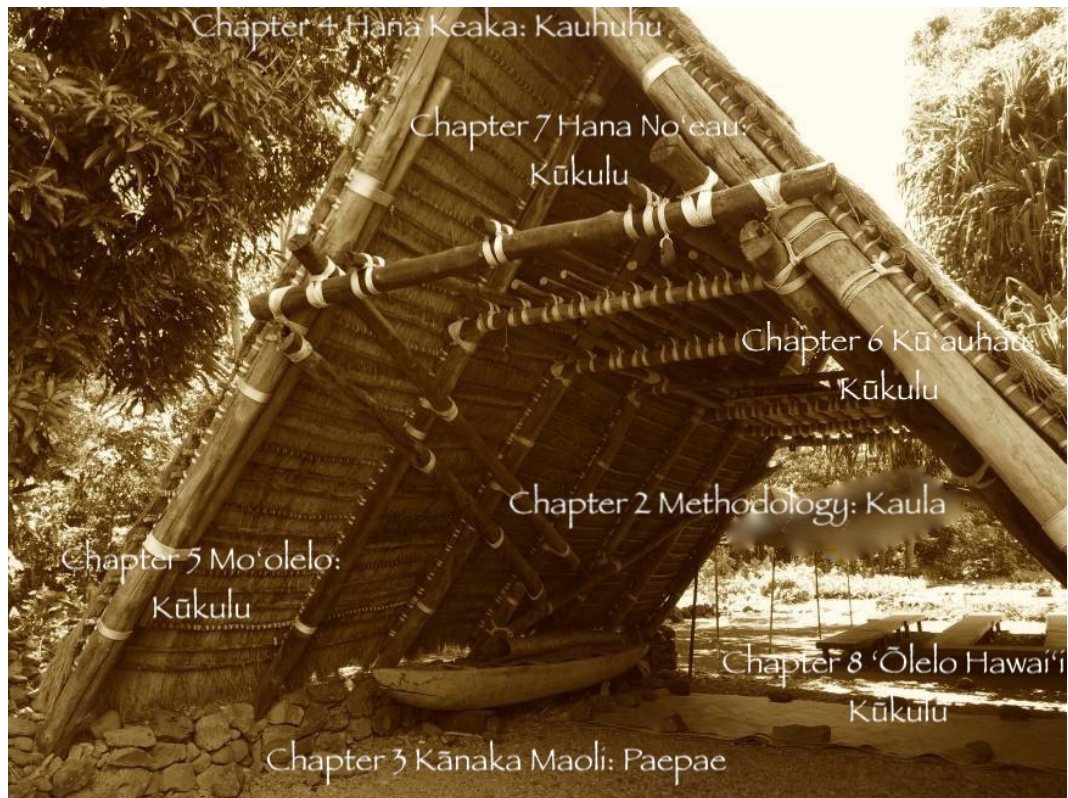


Figure 2.2: *Hālau or traditional long-house.*³⁹

For chapter one of this thesis I refer to a proverbial saying that we have, “*O ke kahua ma mua, ma hope ke kūkulu*” (Foundation first, then the building.). The ‘āina must be prepared prior to the construction of a hale or hālau. Chapter one aligns with the necessary preparation, protocol, and framing that is executed in order to have a proper foundation on which the structure, in this case my thesis is built upon. Chapter two, the methodology, is the *kaula* (rope or cord) that binds the work together. The *kaula* is used throughout the construction process from start to finish in order to secure each post and pole of the house. The *paepae* represents chapter three, The Origins and History of Kānaka Maoli. The *paepae* is the house platform often laid with *pōhaku* on the prepared ‘āina and foundation. The *paepae*

³⁹ Photo of hālau located at Ka Papa Lo‘i o Kānewai on the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa campus, photographed and labeled by author.

covers the entire foundation and establishes the infrastructure for the house construction. Since this thesis concerns itself with a particular art form that was created by Kānaka Maoli, I have selected the paepae to situate the research and be the base from which hana keaka evolves. Like Malo explained the first posts to be erected are the pou kihi. For this thesis there are four pou kihi that frame the hālau, that is chapters five, six, seven, and eight. These four pou kihi constitute the four kūkulu of hana keaka discussed in these chapters as the necessary elements for the practice of hana keaka. The kūkulu are chapter five Mo'olelo (Story, History), chapter six Kū'auhau (Genealogy), chapter seven Hana No'eau (Traditional Performing Arts), and chapter eight 'Ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian Language). Each of these chapters deal with specific pillars of hana keaka, the impact of each pillar on Kanaka Maoli consciousness, and the way in which each pillar is featured in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. Upon erecting the four pou kihi the kaupaku or kauhuhu is connected to those pou kihi securing the top of the house. Chapter four covers the history and development of hana keaka. The content of chapter four is similar to the kauhuhu in that hana keaka is the result of combining and fastening the four pou kihi that the kauhuhu is placed upon. The thatching of the house with pili grass is the final step to complete the house. I view chapter nine as the pili grass concluding this thesis and presenting the complete house, an inviting and inhabitable place, these are my findings. The consecration ceremony for the house aligns with the conferring of the doctoral degree upon fulfillment of all the requirements of this study.

This distilled version of a longhouse highlights the essential components for constructing a hālau serving as the theoretical framework for this thesis. The hālau for us today is not only a physical house where meetings, instruction, and

entertainment happen; it is also an entity of itself. Ka Hālau Hanakeeka, the Hawaiian-medium theatre troupe that is the case study of this thesis, is a hālau entity with members who create and perform hana keaka. Our work aims to serve a similar purpose to that of the traditional hālau, the creation of a space and a means for the transference of mo‘olelo and cultural knowledge to entertain our people in our language. My theory for this thesis is the structure of the hālau, however, re-conceptualizing the structure of the hālau as a means for the creation of hana keaka serves as a metaphor for the actual Kanaka Maoli theatre making process. This indigenous creative process is the approach that I use in this thesis to document and analyze the Kanaka Maoli theatre making process as practiced by Ka Hālau Hanakeeka, which typifies the metaphor of the hālau. With the process of Kanaka Maoli theatre making as my approach, the phases of that process will guide my exploration of the development and practice of hana keaka as a cultural art form and tool for Kanaka Maoli consciousness. Each phase of our theatre making process is grounded in Kanaka Maoli epistemology and/or ontology. These phases consist of inspiration, research, composition, rehearsal, and performance. I will speak to the specifics of these phases in each of the four kūkulu⁴⁰ chapters, the pou kihi of the hālau, that detail how Mo‘olelo (*chapter 5*), Kū‘auhau (*chapter 6*), Hana No‘eau (*chapter 7*), and ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (*chapter 8*) are featured in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka. For example, Hana No‘eau (Traditional Performance Forms) are based in ritual ceremony and celebration, and sets the parameters for the aesthetics of Hana Keaka while providing a foundation for an innately Kanaka Maoli aesthetic, that is realized in Ka Hālau Hanakeeka’s productions. Furthermore, the use of

⁴⁰ From here on out I will use the term kūkulu for these four pillars of hana keaka to stay in a Kanaka Maoli mindset.

complimentary Hana No‘eau as foundational components of Hana Keaka allows Ka Hālau Hanakeaka to create seamless transitions from one mode of expression to another as in dialogue to chant or dialogue to hula. As I have proposed above, the four kūkulu are the fundamental principles of hana keaka and the chapters covering these kūkulu will host the core examples for illustrating the phases of our theatre making process based on this foundation.

2.4 No ke Ki‘ina Hana Haku Hana Keaka: Methodology for Play Development

When Ka Hālau Hanakeaka adopts traditional Hawaiian folklore for the stage, its methods find their foundation in the Hawaiian cultural belief of *koho ‘ia*, which translates as “to be selected or chosen.” *Koho ‘ia* aligns with many indigenous belief systems that embrace the mystic functioning of the world. As makers of theatre, we surrender ourselves to the desires of our elders and gods to guide us on the path that they have planned for us. We do this knowing full well that the path leads us to lessons we must learn and to life-defining experiences. This method of *koho ‘ia* also includes the concept of *hilina‘i* (trust, to have faith in). *Hilina‘i* is intrinsically spiritual. Those who follow this doctrine find it most efficacious (Bray & Low, 1960; Pukui, Heartig & Lee, 1972). Through the practice of *hilina‘i* the playwright is guided through the entire process of play making knowing that the development will unfold in that manner in which it is meant to be.

In the beginning of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka’s development process, stories tend to select themselves, appearing before the artistic staff – (Playwright, Artistic Director, Kumu Hula, and Dramaturge) – through visions and dreams. Our elders have always been devoted believers in communication from the spiritual realm, a conviction that shapes the practices of many hālau today. This interchange is often

genealogical. As Hawaiian scholar Mary Kawena Pukui explains, “The Hawaiian vision experience seems to be the slight parting of an already insubstantial curtain between the world of the living and the world of the spirits. And just behind that curtain, waiting his cue to appear with direct or disguised counsel or a message of love, is almost certainly a member of the family!” (Pukui et al., p. 22). Other scholars and practitioners of *ho‘omana Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian spirituality) express similar concepts to that of Pukui. For example, Moke Kupihea an elder of Kaua‘i talks about ancestors from beyond guiding their descendants presently living on earth through light and memory in his book, *The Seven Dawns of the Aumakua*. He writes:

As Living human beings, we exist within a body of light...our light can live on in our progeny, both in memory and in the flesh, for our ancestors do indeed inhabit our present bodies. It is their blood and their DNA that formed us. Our bodies are the living memories of our ancient ancestors, and only we, the living, can awaken our forebears to the ao. For Hawaiians of previous generations, this ancestral connection was synonymous with spirituality. (2001, 2004, pp. 22-23)

The concepts of koho ‘ia and hilina‘i are reinforced here in Kupihea’s statement understanding that our spirituality is based on our ancestral connections to our kūpuna, who guide us from beyond and are awakened in our very being. Kanaka Maoli spirituality welcomes a communion with one’s ancestors strengthening the bond with the spiritual realm, which in turn strengthens one’s foundation and self.

2.4.1 No ke Ka'ina Hana Noi'i: Research Process

Upon receiving a mo'olelo or *ka'ao* (folklore, legends) in the koho 'ia fashion, the research process begins. Like most arduous tasks, this typically begins with pule, a standard protocol to ensure safety and success. The pule displays our gratitude, states our intention, and calls upon the elders for support and guidance. It is important to note that when we delve into extensive research, the primary source materials are always Hawaiian language resources. These include 19th century Hawaiian language newspapers, ethnographic notes, diaries, letters, and journals, early Hawaiian language texts, mele, oli, recorded audio interviews with native speakers, and personal interviews with elders conducted by members of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. Those conducting the research must therefore have a high level of Hawaiian language fluency to explore the depths of knowledge available in the sources, often enfolded within multiple linguistic layers. Like many other indigenous languages, Hawaiian is rich in imagery and metaphor, and especially in *kaona*, or underlying, sometimes hidden meanings. Subtle nuances in the language will be missed if the researcher does not recognize the presence of kaona, and can only develop a literal or surface interpretation of the words. On the other hand, being able to conduct the necessary research in Hawaiian language primary resources can create a solid foundation for the work, by insuring the play will be grounded in Hawaiian language and indigenous perspectives. The playwright must also seek to reproduce Native speaker language, as part of the goal to increase second language learner fluency, ideally over time elevating the speakers' Hawaiian to Native speaker proficiency. I will touch on this goal further when describing the rehearsal process.

The research may take months, or even a year or two to gather, organize, process, and digest the primary resource material. For personal interviews, the

production team members seek out elders whom they already have relationships with, and arrange time to meet *he alo a he alo*, in one another's presence. It is an honor to be in the presence of your elders. Such visits open with *ho'okipa* (hospitality)—often food and drink accompanied by *wala'au* (small talk) that reconnects the participants with one another and their families. The first order of business when moving into the more formal discussion is to ask permission to enquire about the specific mo'olelo. If it pleases the elders, they will share some of their personal experience with the subject matter and the rendition of the story they were told as children. Based on their understanding of the individual's intentions, elders may or may not divulge certain information. While talking to the elders, a consensus is usually reached as to whether further research on the mo'olelo should be pursued or not. For our early productions, the *hulu kupuna* or cherished elder who graciously agreed to preside over our work was *mānaleo* (native speaker) 'Anakala (uncle) Eddie Ka'anā'anā from Miloli'i, Hawai'i. He helped us to understand how to introduce cultural knowledge into the theatrical space while still maintaining the integrity of our mo'olelo. At various stages in the early rehearsal and later production process, 'Anakala Eddie came in to consult, and also to approve our work. When we were developing *Māuiakamalo: Ka ho'okala kupua o ka moku* he shared his knowledge of fishing and ocean travel with the cast and artistic team. A life-long fisherman, 'Anakala Eddie was one of the very few *loea lawai'a* (fishing experts) remaining in the early 2000's. By clarifying traditional concepts steeped in kaona and also by actually making props, i.e., traditional fish hooks, 'Anakala supported us through the production process. In 2006, in the midst of touring our next production, *Kamapua'a*, 'Anakala Eddie moved on to be with his kūpuna in the next realm. We recognized immediately the great loss of our hulu

kupuna and all of the knowledge that he could still have imparted to us. With every new production, we continue to honor him.

2.4.2 No ka Haku Hana Keaka a me ka Hō‘ano Hou ‘ana i ka Mo‘olelo no ke Kahua: Play Development and Adapting Mo‘olelo for the Stage

Following the research is the development, a synergetic process. All of the elements from the rigorous research are methodically processed to create a coherent script for retelling the mo‘olelo on the stage. There is still a sense of organic development to this method. The collection of parts making up the complete story are allowed to gel naturally together, harmoniously complimenting each other to create a complete play. Although individual sources (i.e. texts, elders, mele, etc.) are pursued in the research process, only if the elements reveal themselves as a unity can a play be constructed.

Composing a detailed synopsis or scene chart begins the work. While assembling this scene chart, the *haku hana keaka* (playwright) aims to honor all of the resources gathered. When details are placed next to each other, they often complement each other well, and cohere. Occasionally an overwhelming amount of information, or conflicting details, make it necessary to set boundaries for clarity. For example, at an early stage of the scripting of the play for *Māuiakamalo*, the artistic team chose to stay with the O‘ahu rendition of the story of Māui’s feats. Because each island in the Hawaiian archipelago has preserved its own localized versions of the Māui stories (Beckwith, 1970, p. 226), several accounts of the same story will be set on different islands. Deciding therefore to follow the O‘ahu versions was necessary and optimal choice for this production. For one, Māuiakamalo and his brothers were born in Wai‘anae in their mother’s birth sands. Second, the snaring of the sun happened at the mountain peak of Heleakalā (the

path of the sun) in Nānākuli. Third, a number of existing land formations or *wahi pana* (sacred places) on O‘ahu validated Māui’s achievements during his lifetime. Three elders consulted during the research and scripting process supported this choice, and one of them took us to these wahi pana. But the thorough research into the differing locales for the mo‘olelo later allowed the troupe to tailor its performances when on tour, replacing certain locales to honor the island being visited. For example, on the island of Maui the snaring of the sun took place at Haleakalā (the house of the sun). Such customizing, still firmly grounded in research, increased the relevance of the story for each island community. More discussion on the production of *Māuiakamalo: Ka ho‘okala kupua o ka moku* will follow in the four kūkulu chapters mentioned earlier.

Playwriting is the next step in the development process. For many playwrights, writing the characters' dialogue is the most important skill to hone, because dialogue, both exterior and interior, is the driving force behind a play. Exterior is what the characters choose to say, but the interior is the subtext, or what they refrain from saying, is just as important (Nepris, 2005, p. 43). The Kanaka playwright carefully writes dialogue as well but must also draw upon traditional means of expression such as song and chant, because many of our stories are encapsulated and best expressed in the poetry that our ancestors performed. Poetry is often the ultimate and exemplary means of communication amongst our people, and in certain instances the most socially acceptable. For example, the traditional protocol for greeting visitors is to offer a chant of welcome. In most Hawaiian social gatherings, this practice is still commonplace. We greet *malihini* (visitors) by offering our voice, calling out to welcome them to our home or event. Chant and song is obligatory in certain contexts. In the hālau hula all students perform a *mele*

kāhea/komo (a request to enter) before entering the space. If the kumu feels they are ready to learn, a responding chant allows them in. With regard to mele komo, Kumu Hula and esteemed elder Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahale writes in her book *Ka Honua Ola* that “These cultural practices and protocols were--and are--in place to make a person aware of one’s environment and one’s place in the environment” (2011, p. 57). Especially important for the playwright's purposes, traditional storytelling (ha‘i mo‘olelo) often uses song or chant in place of words or dialogue as way to animate and illustrate the story, pulling the audience into that world.⁴¹ Chant is often considered an elevated form of communication that weaves together poetic expression and cultural values to articulate our thoughts and feelings. The texture of voice also adds layers of meaning to the words uttered during chant and song, since the performer’s manipulation of vocal qualities often communicates emotion, intention, and motivation.⁴² Our elders honed their skills in poetic expression, and this art form continues today. Therefore, chant and song are not only culturally appropriate, but essential means of communication for the characters in a Hawaiian theatrical context, and especially in historical plays. When scripting Hawaiian-medium plays, chant and song primarily merge with dialogue when it is culturally appropriate given the social context of the scene. But the playwright may also use chant or song to:

- 1) transport the audience to a particular time or place;
- 2) summarize an event; or
- 3) heighten a moment in the play.

⁴¹ The form of ha‘i mo‘olelo has influenced the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka in other ways as well. Because theatre is a means of storytelling, we draw on traditional storytelling techniques and a presentational directing approach when producing plays.

⁴² Certain types of chant demand particular vocalizations. These requirements are often genre specific.

Although dialogue or the text provide the foundation, the list above suggests how chant and song are employed by Ka Hālau Hanakeeka to authenticate and enhance the intellectual and emotional world of the play.

As for the dramatic structure, each play opens with a *wehena* or prologue, and closes with a *panina* or epilogue. Both contain mele. This is a cultural script to consecrate an event. A mele opens up the space and honors the ancestors for whom the story will be shared. The mele in the epilogue also aligns with the standard cultural protocol when concluding any significant event. Traditional practices are therefore infused in both our approach to the material, and in the playwriting conventions we use.

Another traditional performance form incorporated into the scripts of Hawaiian-medium plays is hula. Certain genres of dance speak to the human spirit and soul through body movement and expression. Hula, a form that is also lyric driven, can actually transcend the theatrical stage experience. Every hula depends on a story told through the lyrics, because the choreographed movements illustrate and comment upon the story encased in the song. For Ka Hālau Hanakeeka, this phase of incorporating hula into the theatrical script always involves a collaboration with a kumu hula. When working through the scripting process, the playwright will note specific moments that are ideal for a hula to be integrated into the text. Frequently historical figures and deities have particular hula associated with them. The playwright will then consult with the kumu hula working on the production to determine whether a hula is appropriate, and if so, which one. Hula functions in a fashion similar to the chant and song that accompany them. They can illustrate the story, reveal character, transport the audience in space and time, or propel the narrative forward. For instance, in Ka Hālau Hanakeeka's production of

Kamapua‘a, the title character encounters Pele, the goddess of volcanism. Pele is a highly revered deity in hula, and the play had to acknowledge and honor this. The opportunity presented itself to include a hula for Pele as the means for transporting the story to the island of Hawai‘i. Our resident Kumu Hula, Snowbird Puananiopaoakalani Bento, suggested the mele “Halema‘uma‘u,” which would indicate where Kamapua‘a had traveled to prior to the entrance of the character Pele. The hula was performed by the *kaikaina* (younger sisters) of Pele in tribute to her. When they finished, Kamapua‘a called out to Pele through chant to make his presence known. Here hula conveyed travel and established the new location and environment. Kumu Hula Snowbird therefore drew on her hula genealogy, and selected a highly effective and appropriate hula that not only enhanced the production, but honored her own ancestors. For all of these reasons, Kumu Hula Snowbird plays a vital role in the creation of Hawaiian medium theatre, and in perpetuating hula traditions.

The first draft of a Hawaiian medium play is therefore drafted after extensive research and consultations with kupuna, kumu hula and *haku mele* (composers). As the haku hana keaka for Ka Hālau Hanakeaka, I first examine the larger mo‘olelo for engaging and necessary content, lessons, and cultural knowledge. But dramatic structure and stage ability are also primary considerations. For example, many mo‘olelo are full of beautiful language communicated through lengthy passages of dialogue that ultimately would not be sustainable in a theatrical performance. Simply to take these words and perform them would be an arduous task for an actor, and an unsatisfying experience for an audience. The haku hana keaka must therefore always be aware of the medium. Writing for the stage is different from writing a novel, or a long prose narrative, so when adapting a literary

work like the traditional mo‘olelo recorded in the 19th century Hawaiian language newspapers, understanding playwriting conventions, and especially the art of crafting good dialogue that drives the play forward, is essential. The time must be taken to digest all of the research material, and then to allow the core of the story to surface, a theme, perhaps, or a lesson, a message, or a particular character's voice. For all of our productions the story that has wanted to be told has eventually come forth. When it has, I then expand the play synopsis, and compose a more detailed scene chart that maps out the various plots and key character relationships. Playwrights have their own methods of writing. Some like to draft the end or closing scene first, and then write their play. I tend to work from beginning to end. Although several of our productions have dealt with epic stories that were more event driven, I still like to work in a linear fashion, building the play scene by scene, working towards the highest point, the climax. Pulling from all of the research resources, I will write in long blocks, four to ten hours a day, over one to two months to create a full-length first draft of the play. I frequent share early drafts of scenes with the resident dramaturg of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka, C.M. Kaliko Baker for review and feedback. Kaliko brings both his linguistic knowledge and expertise in traditional storytelling to the table. If necessary, he can also conduct further research, often serving as a perpetual liaison to the kupuna. The kuleana, or responsibility, of our dramaturge has cultural facets not felt by your typical western theatre dramaturge. Kaliko and I therefore work closely and collaboratively to prepare a complete draft of the play. He has been an invaluable resource for every play that Ka Hālau Hanakeeka has produced.

When this full draft is complete the troupe embarks on the workshop process. The artistic team of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka seeks to make this process an

organic one that will allow the draft to evolve and almost mold itself into the final production script. In the workshop, company actors fluent in Hawaiian read the play out loud to test the viability of the dialogue, the credibility and authenticity of characters and the story, and the overall sense of movement as the events unfold. Invited elders, advisors, and other company actors are also present, and an extensive discussion follows. This time of honest sharing leads to revisions in the script. It allows the artistic team to see the beginnings of their work in a supportive environment, but also to receive constructive criticism and suggestions about the handling of various cultural aspects. After the workshop, the artistic team rehails or fine tunes the script, eventually arriving at a final draft or production script. In original productions like these, it is also common for more revisions to happen during the rehearsal process. Our artistic team practices this approach.

2.4.3 No ke Anaina: Target Audience

Hawaiian-medium theatre makes the stage a vehicle for both knowledge transmission and entertainment. A major goal of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka is to take its productions into the Hawaiian community, and primarily the schools of the Hawaiian speaking community. Plays are performed for *Kula Kaiapuni* (Hawaiian immersion schools), *Pūnana Leo* (Hawaiian immersion preschools), and the broader community. The Hawaiian-focused *Kula Ho‘āmana*, or public laboratory charter schools, are also a target audience because of their culture-based education initiatives and philosophy. For example, the production of *Kamapua‘a* (2004-2007) toured the five major islands in the Hawaiian archipelago, performing two to eight times on each island. Kaua‘i was the first location for the inter-island tour in 2004, hosting one school performance and two evening performances for the general public at the Kaua‘i Community College Performing Arts Center. Nine hundred

people saw the play. On Hawai‘i Island two performances were held at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo’s Performing Arts Center, one school performance during the day, and another in the evening for the general public. More than 1,000 spectators experienced *Kamapua‘a* there. In 2005 the production went to the island of Maui. The Maui Arts and Cultural Center’s Castle Theatre also held two performances for schools and the general public. An estimated 1,500 spectators filled the theatre. This hana keaka was shared with the O‘ahu community in both 2004 and 2007. *Kamapua‘a* premiered at Palikū Theatre on the Windward Community College campus, offering five filled-to-capacity school performances for nearly 1,600 students from various Kula Kaiapuni, Pūnana Leo and Kula Ho‘āmana. Three more public evening performances were also filled to capacity, drawing in another 960 spectators. In 2007 a single O‘ahu evening performance at the Hawai‘i Theatre filled 1,300 seats. The final destination for the 2007 tour was the island of Moloka‘i. A performance at Kualapu‘u Elementary School entertained and instructed approximately 120 students, while the public performance at Kulana ‘Ōiwi enjoyed a standing room only audience of more than 200. *Kamapua‘a* has touched thousands in our island chain. Most recently the troupe’s affiliation with the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa has allowed it to reach another target audience of college-level Hawaiian language learners. Instruction in Hawaiian-medium theatre has been institutionalized through a performing arts focus available for the Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language undergraduate degree, and even more recently through the establishment of a new Hawaiian theatre program and Masters of Fine Arts degree in the Department of Theatre and Dance.

Taking productions to the neighbor islands is usually made possible through grants and in-kind donations. Each production is a tool for retelling traditional

stories and reclaiming our history. The actual reenactment of events in our native tongue breathes life into the narratives, struggles, and victories of our ancestors. Through the act of performing, both the actors and the audience can reconnect to these stories rooted in traditional practices and beliefs. Writing about African theatre in the 1960's, novelist and playwright Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o observes that it is "rooted in ritual and ceremonial practices" and that its "real language . . . could only be found among the people . . . in their life, history, and struggles" (1986, p. 41). Hawaiian theatre has consciously paralleled the African theatre movement, such as the Gikuyu language theatre documented by Ngũgĩ in his homeland of Kenya. Ka Hālau Hanakeeka seeks to perform stories by and for Kānaka Maoli, and especially by and for Hawaiian language speakers.

Theatre is famously a holistic experience that engages the mind, soul, body, sight, sound, smell, and occasionally touch. Plays tap into spectators' intellectual and emotional natures (Catron, 1993). However, when a Hawaiian play is performed in the Hawaiian language for a young Hawaiian audience, the performance also validates their language, their values, and their beliefs as Kānaka Maoli. Such validation raises self-esteem and inspires the *keiki* (children). When working with students from a non-dominant language group, reaffirming and celebrating their voices helps to build self-confidence and direct them toward success. Theatre's visceral experience affects audiences powerfully, but when the content is closely connected to one's specific language and culture, the impact is potentially much greater because of the special nature of the content. *Protocols for Producing Indigenous Australian Performing Arts*, a guide published by the Australian Government and the Australian Council for the Arts, puts it this way:

For Indigenous cultures, drama and performance are central to identity, place and belonging and are an expression of a unique and

continuing tradition. . . . Indigenous performance has an important place in the transmission of Indigenous culture. The Indigenous performing arts are an important means of expressing Indigenous heritage – past, present and future. (2007, pp. 6-7)

In Aotearoa, Taki Rua is a successful example of an indigenous theatre company providing annual touring productions in the medium of Te Reo Māori. Their indigenous language theatre aims to, “encourage community engagement and participation in the arts while increasing audience awareness and exposure to Māori language and tikanga.”⁴³ The work of Taki Rua is similar to that of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka producing plays to entertain and educate the kamali‘i via the mother tongue.

2.4.4 No ka Ho‘onoho Hāme‘e ‘ana: Auditions and Casting

Ka Hālau Hanakeeka’s method for auditions contrasts with the typical western theatre process. In that format, actors often arrive at a theatre with a glossy 8x10 headshot, a resume, and two memorized monologues that they perform for the director. This method forces the actor to stress individual ability and self-promotion, and for potential Kanaka Maoli actors, this is extremely uncomfortable, since self-promotion is generally frowned upon. Simply stated, it is a cultural faux pas; *Ha‘aha‘a*, or humility, is a guiding principle for us (Pukui et al., 1972). For this reason, when a call goes out for casting a new production, the term “audition” is not even used. Instead, potential cast members (actor, musicians, and dancers) are invited to a talk-story session that begins with *ho‘okipa* or standard hospitality, including food and drink and a time for *launa* or socializing. This first hour and a half becomes a time to get acquainted or to reconnect with one another. Then comes

⁴³ (takirua.co.nz/te-reo).

a time of sharing. The artistic team describes the project to everyone, and indicates how many cast members the production will require. At this point the director leads a number of games that everyone participates in. Certain games call for group chemistry and creative abilities. Other games display language fluency, vocal range, and improvisational skills. Reading a selection of scenes from the play, and a segment of dance movement follows. At the end comes a talk-story session about the evening, where all present share their thoughts about the play to be produced, the participation exercises completed during the session, and their sense of how they would like to contribute to the production. Casting process may happen at this time, or at a future gathering, but the important point here is that much of the casting is agreed upon by the group, with suggestions, of course, by the director.

2.4.5 No ke Alaka'i 'ana a me ka Ho'oma'ama'a: Directing and the Rehearsal Process

Once the play is cast the troupe moves immediately into rehearsal. Directing a Hawaiian-medium play requires a longer rehearsal period than the standard six-week block, because of the different forms of training that must occur during our process—in dance, chanting, singing, martial arts, and above all language. I serve as the principal director, but I am always working with a collective of co-directors—the kupuna, the kumu hula, the kumu 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, and the haku mele. Each one takes on the role of director in his or her areas of expertise. This training requires a certain amount of time above and beyond the conventional rehearsal schedule. The overall rehearsal schedule must be negotiated by, and apportioned out among the various kumu, who then work with the cast members involved. Over the years we have spent anywhere from two months to a year in rehearsal for a production.

The praxis of theatre is often a collaborative convention, for our process we employ the Hawaiian proverbial saying, “Ma ka hana ka ‘ike”⁴⁴ as our approach for the rehearsal phase of the production. Cast members are completely immersed into the entire Kanaka Maoli theatre making process, participating in a variety of theatre making processes including rehearsals. In addition to the conventional rehearsal activities of character development, blocking, choreography, and technical rehearsals, we must add language learning and performance for the cast and crew. I ground the phases of rehearsal in traditional values and practices to create a rehearsal process that is welcoming and encourages collaboration, leading to successful outcomes as we move forward together as one. The first set of rehearsals generally begin with a read through of the script to lay the foundation for the actors. During these sessions the cast must already have begun working toward familiarity with the relevant Hawaiian literature and fluency in the presentation of the language. The kumu ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i work closely with each actor to perfect enunciation, intonation, and cadence, in addition to how emotions are conveyed through the language. These one-on-one meetings involve not only language work, but further discussion and analysis of the text and subtext. In this way, the cast and crew become intimate with the script, spending months with the content, as they deepen their understanding of cultural contexts, history, and rhetorical nuances in the language. For the actors, repeating the lines of the text constantly until they are memorized aids in developing their own language proficiency. In fact, second language speakers of Hawaiian often raise their language proficiency approximating Native speaker language through rehearsing and repeatedly performing the Hawaiian text. Since use of metaphor, proverbs, and poetic expression is another

⁴⁴ By doing we learn, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau #2088 (Pukui, 1986, p. 362).

way of gauging language proficiency for second language speakers, it is gratifying to note that after exposure through rehearsal to the intricacies of the Hawaiian language and imagery, cast and crew members begin to employ such tools in their daily communication. A marked improvement in language fluency therefore appears on and off the stage, and these results within Ka Hālau Hanakeeka have led participants to employ theatre as a tool for language learning in their university classroom.

Another dimension of the rehearsal process is the actual visiting of the wahi pana and ‘āina that are the origins of the story featured in the theatrical production. This method engages all senses preparing each and every performer for the staging of the play. The kumu, cast, and crew do a circuit of wahi pana in a ritualistic fashion making offering to each location and to the deities that dwell on that ‘āina. This practice is based in the traditional belief of honoring the mana of your surrounding (Gutmanis, 1983; Veary, 1989). As a part of the ritual, pule, oli, and mele for the wahi pana and the kupuna of that wahi pana are performed. The goal of this practice is to connect with the ‘āina and to be able to visualize and ultimately project that relationship with the natural elements into one’s language and performance. By honoring the realm of the ancestors and akua prior to performance, the performers ground themselves spiritually which provides focus and gives them strength for the duration of the production’s run.

2.4.6 No ka Lawelawe ‘ana: Performance

The culmination of the entire process is the performance. The audience is the final element necessary for theatre to occur, as the cast and crew share publicly the fruits of their labor. However, our performances of the stories of our ancestors are primarily designed to raise consciousness about Hawaiian epistemology, and

specifically the cultural values embedded in the mo‘olelo. Lessons, morals, and proper protocol are recalled and communicated through the dramatic retelling of these mo‘olelo, since they are stories of socialization and the values our elders upheld in times past. Revisiting the ways of our ancestors can inform us about the appropriate protocol for current practices such as farming and child rearing. Poignant lessons from the mo‘olelo can also be applied to our daily lives, granting us a valuable understanding of the world from the perspective of our elders. For example, the relationship of Kamapua‘a and his grandmother Kamaunuanoho underscores the significant role that grandparents play in the rearing of children. Kamapua‘a was stillborn at birth. Kamaunuanoho immediately takes him to the *kuahu* (altar) where she prays over and breathes life into her grandson by calling upon her ancestors. Kamaunuanoho becomes Kamapua‘a’s primary caregiver, teaching him proper protocols, and instilling in him the practice of prayer and of healing by summoning the power of the ancestors. Our dramatized stories also offer insight into handling interpersonal relationships, intergenerational responsibilities in a community, and the relationship between the kānaka, the ‘āina, and the akua.⁴⁵

Performing these mo‘olelo on stage also entertains our people in our language. Breaking from mainstream popular entertainment, it creates opportunities for Hawaiian expression in the theatrical arts. Staging productions in Hawaiian empowers the Kanaka Maoli voice and cultural identity. Key contributors to the health of any language or culture are the arts. People need to create in their own language to express themselves, to hear their voices, and to tell their stories. Artistic expression results in joy. In our case, it can also reconnect us to our ancestors,

⁴⁵ Kānaka (people) are genealogically connected to the ‘āina (land) and to the akua (gods/deities) who have come before us. See the story of Hāloa and the story of Papa and Wākea.

grounding and healing mind, body, and spirit while entertaining us through the language as well. The arts are important components in language revitalization efforts and play vital roles in educating and empowering our people (Silva, 2004). With these convictions guiding our work, Ka Hālau Hanakeaka will continue to take our productions into the schools and communities, sharing stories that will validate and inspire our keiki and our kānaka to hold steadfast to our culture and language, and ultimately, to inspire and encourage the creation of new works, that the next generation of Kānaka Maoli will flourish.

2.5 Panina: Chapter Conclusion

*‘O ke kahua ma mua, ma hope ke kūkulu.*⁴⁶

Set the foundation first, then the building after.

This chapter opened with discussion on the current Kanaka Maoli methodologies and the rise of Kanaka Maoli scholars over the past forty years in the academy. The chapter has established the hālau as my primary methodology for this thesis. In distilling the construction of the hālau to key features of the longhouse structure, I have correlated the nine chapters of my thesis with those key features of the hālau. Lashed together by the kaula, my methodology, each chapter of the thesis contributes to the assembly of a traditional longhouse that hosts gathering and forms of entertainment. Taking the structure of the hālau, I have also looked at the metaphor of hālau as the practice of Kanaka Maoli theatre making, which serves as my theoretical framework and approach for analyzing hana keaka throughout the thesis. The major analysis of hana keaka is demonstrated in the four kūkulu chapters that make up the four pillars of hana keaka: Mo‘olelo (*Chapter 5*), Kū‘auhau

⁴⁶ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau #2459 (Pukui, 1983, p. 426).

(*Chapter 6*), Hana No‘eau (*Chapter 7*), and ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (*Chapter 8*). The kūkulu chapters are the pou kihi of the hālau that are interdependent securing the structure of the hālau, which cohesively creates hana keaka. The hālau metaphor is carried throughout this thesis as I examine the creative works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka and its contribution to the Hawaiian language revitalization movement and the empowerment of Kanaka Maoli consciousness.

Chapter 3

The History of Kānaka Maoli

3.1 Wehena: Chapter Introduction

This chapter is designed to illustrate the history of Kānaka Maoli⁴⁷ in terms of indigenous origin stories that explain the dawning of the native people of Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i⁴⁸ from times immemorial. The chapter also covers pre-European/western contact and the Kanaka Maoli world prior to 1778. The chapter discusses chronologically western contact, colonization, and the effects of colonization on the Kanaka Maoli society. *Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī* (The Monarchy) will be given special attention as it relates to the affairs and status of Kānaka Maoli in the changing social, political, and economic environment of Hawai‘i. Then I will look at four key movements in the cultural renaissance of the 1970’s that reasserts Kanaka Maoli consciousness in the American dominated landscape. Those key movements are the occupation of Kaho‘olawe, the first sail of the Hōkūle‘a, the resurgence of hula, and the ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i language revitalization movement. The chapter concludes with a brief survey on the current status of Kānaka Maoli and the efforts to reclaim and reinvigorate Kanaka Maoli identity. In this section I map cultural, religious, and language practices that empower Kanaka Maoli identity.

⁴⁷ When pluralized the singular noun Kanaka Maoli is marked with a macron, Kānaka Maoli, referring to the indigenous people of Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. Kanaka Maoli is also used as an adjective such as Kanaka Maoli consciousness or Kanaka Maoli artists. The adjective form is not marked with a macron.

⁴⁸ Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i refers to the archipelago of Hawaiian Islands. The term Hawai‘i that is often used to refer to the entire island chain is the name of the largest island at the south west of the chain. For this thesis I will use Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i or the Pae ‘Āina to refer to our archipelago of islands and reserve the names of particular islands to reference them individually.

3.2 He aha ia mea he Kanaka Maoli?: What is a Kanaka Maoli?

The terms Kanaka Maoli and Kanaka ‘Ōiwi has replaced the term Native Hawaiian in current academic scholarship primarily produced by Kanaka Maoli scholars. According to Pukui and Elbert’s Hawaiian Dictionary, *maoli* means native, indigenous, genuine, true, and real. In a recent publication on the history of Native Hawaiian governance, Kanaka Maoli Professors Davianna McGregor and Melody MacKenzie write, “**Kanaka Maoli** has been popularized as the appropriate indigenous term for Native Hawaiian by advocates of Native Hawaiian sovereignty and independence” (2014, p. 1). The United States Government continues to use the term Native Hawaiian to refer to, “a member or descendant of the aboriginal people who, before 1778, occupied and exercised sovereignty in the area that now comprises the State of Hawaii.”⁴⁹ For the purposes of this thesis I will use the term Kānaka Maoli exclusively to refer to Native Hawaiians, Hawaiians, Kānaka ‘Ōiwi, and the descendants or native peoples of Hawai‘i. Kānaka Maoli are the aboriginal people of the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i that includes the ten Northwest Hawaiian Islands⁵⁰ as well as the eight major islands that most are familiar with; Ni‘ihau, Kaua‘i, O‘ahu, Maui, Moloka‘i, Kaho‘olawe, Lāna‘i, and Hawai‘i Island.

⁴⁹ 20 USCS § 80q-14 -<https://definitions.uslegal.com/n/native-hawaiian/> -retrieved on 19 Oct 2017.

⁵⁰ “The Northwest Hawaiian Islands consist of ten main atoll systems, each of which has one or more islands. The total number of islands varies as storms and climate change affect the presence of some small, sandy islands. These islands and atolls are remnants of earlier volcanic high islands in the Hawaiian chain that pre-date the Main Hawaiian Islands (MHI) in the southeast” (Hawaii’s Comprehensive Wildlife Conservation Strategy, DLNR, 2005, p. 93).

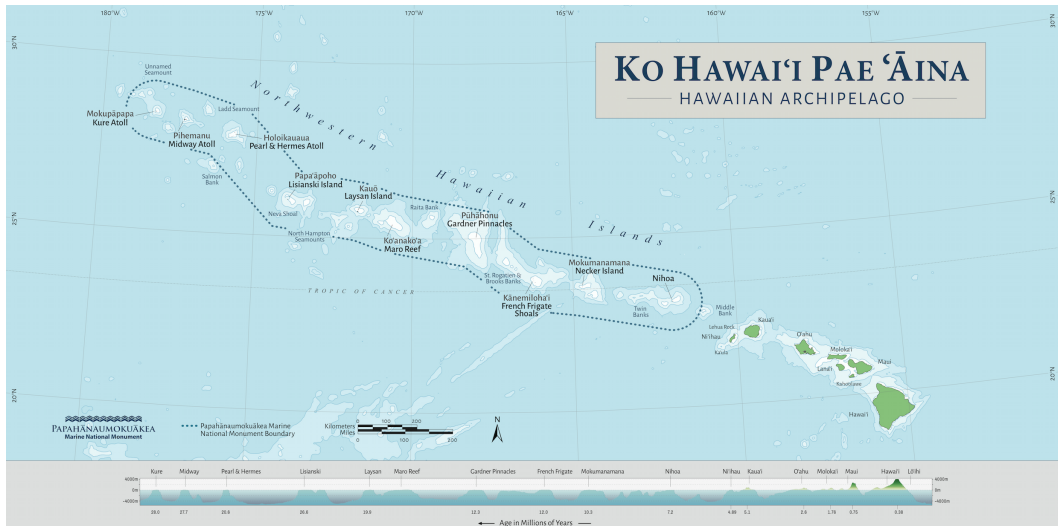


Figure 3.1: The Hawaiian Archipelago.⁵¹

3.2.1 Ke ēwe hānau o ka ‘āina:⁵² Origin stories

Kānaka Maoli are genealogically connected to these islands. The origins of Kānaka Maoli are recorded in our genesis stories that illustrate this intrinsic connection to our ‘āina. The story of *Papahānaumoku*, earth mother, and *Wākea*, sky father, encapsulated in the *mele ko‘ihonua* (genealogical chant), ‘*O Wākea Noho iā Papa*, expresses the spiritual connection that exists from primordial time for kānaka. There are two renditions of this origin story that explains the cosmic beginnings of the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. The story featured in Abraham Fornander’s book *An Account of the Polynesian*, speaks not only to the birth of our islands but also to the birth of the first kanaka. The chant below extracted from *The Story of the Formation of These Islands and the Origin of This Race* recounts the unions of Wākea and Papa, Wākea and Kaulawahine, and Wākea and Hina to create the Pae ‘Āina. The early unions of Papa and Wākea give life to the *akua* (gods) Kāne and Kanaloa. Papa returns to Tahiti and Wākea mates with the other two female entities,

⁵¹ Map courtesy of NOAA, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Retrieved from <https://www.papahānaumokuākea.gov/>

⁵² A lineage born of the land, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau #1619, (Pukui, 1986, p. 280).

often referred to as earth mothers for specific islands. The chant recounts these unions and their offspring.

Haalele o Papa hoi i Tahiti	<i>Papa departs and returns to Tahiti,</i>
Hoi a Kahiki Kapakapakaua	<i>Return to Kapakapakaua</i>
Moe Wakea moe ia Kaulawahine,	<i>Wakea copulates with Kaulawahine,</i>
Hanau Lanai a Kaula	<i>Lanai of Kaula is born,</i>
He makahiapo na ia wahine.	<i>The eldest child of this woman.</i>
Hoi ae o Wakea loa o Hina,	<i>Wakea returns and locates,</i>
Hanau Molokai he moku,	<i>Molokai is born, an island,</i>
O Molokai a Hina he keiki moku,	<i>Molokai of Hina an island child,</i>
Haina e ke kolea Laukaula	<i>Declared by the golden plover Laukaula</i>
Ua moe Wakea i ka wahine,	<i>Wakea slept with the woman,</i>
Ena ka lani, ku kahaulili o Papa.	<i>Heavens raged, Papa is filled with anger.</i>
Hoi mai o Papa mai loko o Tahiti;	<i>Papa returns from Tahiti;</i>
Inaina lili i ka punalua;	<i>Jealous of her rivals;</i>
Hai manawa ino i ke kane, o Wakea,	<i>Furious with her husband, Wakea,</i>
Moe ia Lua he kane hou ia,	<i>She sleeps with a new man, Lua,</i>
Hanau Oahualua, he moku ia,	<i>Oahualua is born, an island,</i>
He keiki makanalau na Lua.	<i>The many offspring of Lua.</i>
Hoi hou aku no noho me Wakea,	<i>Papa returns to Wakea,</i>
Naku Papa i ka iloli,	<i>Papa was restless with the unpleasant sensations of pregnancy,</i>
Hoohapuu Papa i ka moku o Kauai	<i>Papa conceived the island of Kauai</i>
Hanau Kamawaeluanimoku.	<i>The island of Kamawaeluani was born.</i>
He eweewe Niihau,	<i>Niihau is lineage,</i>
He palena o Lehua,	<i>Lehua is a border,</i>
He panina o Kaula.	<i>Kaula is the final one.</i>

(Fornander, 1878 & 1916, p. 19)

The other version of this ko‘ihonua below, frequently performed today by Kānaka Maoli, recounts the union of Wākea and Papa and the union of Wākea and his daughter Ho‘ohōkūkalani from whence we have the first kanaka.

‘O Wākea noho iā Papa, hānau moku	<i>Wākea copulates with Papa, an island is born</i>
Hānau ‘o Hawai‘i he moku	<i>Hawai‘i is born, an island</i>
Hānau ‘o Maui he moku	<i>Maui is born, an island</i>
Ho‘i a‘e o Wākea noho iā Ho‘ohōkūkalani	<i>Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani copulate</i>
Hānau ‘o Moloka‘i he moku	<i>Moloka‘i is born, an island</i>
Hānau ‘o Lāna‘ika‘ula he moku	<i>Lāna‘ika‘ula is born, an island</i>
Liliopu punalua ‘o Papa iā Ho‘ohōkūkalani	<i>Papa is jealous of Ho‘ohōkūkalani</i>
Ho‘i hou ‘o Papa noho iā Wākea	<i>Papa returns to mate with Wākea</i>
Hānau ‘o O‘ahu he moku	<i>O‘ahu is born, an island</i>
Hānau ‘o Kaua‘i he moku	<i>Kaua‘i is born, an island</i>
Hānau ‘o Ni‘ihau he moku	<i>Ni‘ihau is born, an island</i>
He ‘ula a‘o Kaho‘olawe	<i>Kaho‘olawe is sacred</i>
Pa‘a ka moku!	<i>The islands are established!</i>

It is from this rendition above that the story of Hāloa originates. The union of Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani is considered to be a nī‘aupi‘o mating.⁵³ Ho‘ohōkūkalani’s first child is stillborn. She and Wākea plant the unborn fetus, Hāloanakalaukapalili, on the eastern side of their house where the sun rises. The fetus grows into a thriving plant with a *lau kapalili* (trembling leaf) and a *lau kapalala* (broad leaf). This plant is *kalo* (taro), the ancestor of kānaka. Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani mate again and she gives birth to a healthy boy named Hāloakanaka. He is the first Kanaka Maoli. As stated on the Kumukahi educational

⁵³ Offspring of the marriage of a high-born brother and sister, or half-brother and half-sister. Lit., bent coconut midrib, i.e., of the same stalk.

website “Through our relationship to Hāloakanaka we are related to the kalo, the ‘āina, and the rest of the natural world.”⁵⁴ These mo‘olelo instill the values of place, cultural perspective, cultural identity, personal identity, and relationships. As Kānaka Maoli we are reminded of our familial connection to the natural environment ingrained in these chants. We are *mamo na Hāloa* (descendants of Hāloa). The mo‘olelo provides a strong understanding of place and appreciation of the environment, it strengthens and sustains Kanaka Maoli cultural identity and the spiritual genealogical connection that exists between kānaka and the ‘āina. The mo‘olelo also reminds us of our place in the world, the powerful forces of nature, and the delicate balance that must be found to maintain harmony and to prosper in our environment.

The Kumuhonua origin story also testifies to the genealogical connection of kanaka to the akua and ‘āina. Kumuhonua is the first man on earth who descends from Papahānaumoku through Kāne and Laka or *Koloikeao* (creeping toward the light) (Beckwith, 1940, p. 307). One version of this creation story tends to have Christian connotations as it describes Kumuhonua and his wife Lalohonua driven out of the garden because of their disobedience to the laws of Kāne. Three versions of this creation story were published in the 1800’s, the first by Kepelino who likely reinterpreted the story for his Catholic fathers and newfound faith. Fornander penned the second, and finally, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau records the third version of the story in the newspapers. In addition to the *Kumuhonua* origin story there are a few others that connect specific islands and the gods to the chiefs. For instance, the ‘Ōpu‘ukahonua genealogy from Hawai‘i Island connects to the

⁵⁴ Kumukahi, retrieved from http://www.kumukahi.org/units/ka_hikina/haloo on 13 November 2017.

Kamehameha line. And for O‘ahu and Kaua‘i the Kumuuli or Kānehulihonua origins are followed (Beckwith, 1951). Each of these origin stories serve as evidence recorded in chants that prove the lineage of the ali‘i to the akua. Most of the origin stories listed above can be traced to the epic cosmogonic creation chant, the *Kumulipo*.⁵⁵

Through oral tradition recorded in epic chants like the *Kumulipo*, Kānaka Maoli trace, “100 generations of Hawaiian rulers over 20 and perhaps as many as 23 centuries prior to 1778” (McGregor & MacKenzie, 2014, p. 23), the year noted for initial European contact with Kānaka Maoli. Kanaka Maoli scholar George Hu‘eu Sanford Kanahale explains that the *Kumulipo* was classified as a *pule ho‘ola‘a* (sacred prayer) that detailed six phenomena of the ancient world. He writes:

⁵⁵ Hawaiian creation chant (the origin/evolution of the universe) has 16 eras (*wā*) with multiple verses. The following is an overview of these *wā*. In the first *wā*, the sea urchins and *limu* (seaweed) were born. The *limu* was connected through its name to the land ferns. Some of these *limu* and fern pairs include: ‘Ekaha and ‘Ekahakaha, *Limu ‘A‘ala‘ula* and ‘Ala‘alawainui mint, *Limu Manauēa* and *Kalo Manauēa* upland taro, *Limu Kala* and ‘Akala strawberry. These plants were born to protect their sea cousins. In the second *wā*, 73 types of fish are born. Some deep sea fish include *Nai‘a* (porpoise) and the *Manō* (shark). Also reef fish, including *Moi* and *Weke*. Certain plants that have similar names are related to these fish and are born as protectors of the fish. In the third *wā*, 52 types of flying creatures, which include birds of the sea such as *Iwa* (frigate or man-of-war bird), the *Lupe*, and the *Noio* (Hawaiian noddly tern). These sea birds have land relatives, such as *‘Io* (hawk), *Nene* (goose), and *Pueo* (owl). In this *wā*, insects were also born, such as *Pe‘elua* (caterpillar) and the *Pulelehua* (butterfly). In the fourth *wā*, the creepy and crawly creatures are born. These include *Honu* (sea turtle), *Ula* (lobster), *Mo‘o* (lizards), and *Opeopeo* (jellyfish). Their cousins on land include *Kuhonua* (maile vine) and ‘*Ohe‘ohe* (bamboo). In the fifth *wā*, *Kalo* (taro) is born. In the sixth *wā*, ‘*Uku* (flea) and the ‘*Tole* (rat) are born. In the seventh *wā*, ‘*Īlio* (dog) and the *Pe‘ape‘a* (bat) are born. In the eighth *wā*, the four divinities are born: *La‘ila‘i* (Female), *Ki‘i* (Male), *Kāne* (God), *Kanaloa* (Octopus), respectively. In the ninth *wā*, *La‘ila‘i* takes her eldest brother *Ki‘i* as a mate and the first humans are born from her brain. In the tenth *wā*, *La‘ila‘i* takes her next brother *Kāne* as a mate after losing interest in *Ki‘i*, she then had four of Kane's children: *La‘i‘olo‘olo*, *Kamaha‘ina* (Male), *Kamamule* (Male), *Kamakalua* (Female). *La‘ila‘i* soon returned to *Ki‘i* and three children are born: *Ha‘i* (Female), *Hali‘a* (Female), and *Hākea* (Male). Having been born during their mothers being with two men they become “*Po‘olua*” and claim the lineage of both fathers. The eleventh *wā* pays homage to the *Moa*. The twelfth *wā* is very important to Hawaiians because it honors the lineage of *Wākea*, whose son *Hāloa* is the ancestor of all people. The thirteenth *wā* is also very important to Hawaiians because it honors the lineage of *Hāloa*’s mother *Papa*. In the fourteenth *wā* *La‘ikūhonua* copulates with *Keakahulihonua*, and have their child *Laka*. The fifteenth *wā* refers to *Haumeanui‘āiwaiwa* and her lineage, it also explains *Māui*’s adventures and siblings. The sixteenth *wā* recounts all of *Māui*’s lineage for forty-four generations, all the way down to the *Mō‘ī* (king) of *Maui*, *Pi‘ilani*.

The *Kumulipo* tells of: (1) the deeds of the akua, or “supernaturals”; (2) the creation and hence beginnings of primordial time; (3) the origins of things in nature; (4) historical personages of chiefly rank; (5) their genealogical links with the gods; and (6) some of the values that supported the existing socioreligious order. (G.H.S. Kanahele, 1986, p. 53)

As listed above the *Kumulipo* serves as the genealogical record or mo‘okū‘auhau of our ali‘i who connected to the akua. This chant was utilized to prove their worthiness of leadership. Similar to the Papa and Wākea origin story, the Hāloa origin story, and other creation stories shared earlier in this segment, the *Kumulipo* is a blueprint that reveals the interconnectedness of Kānaka Maoli and their environment. Proverbs such as “Nā ali‘i o ke kuamo‘o o Hāloa” [chiefs of the lineage of Hāloa], also validate that we are descended from the akua. Our traditional cosmology and language explain who we are. This pule ho‘ola‘a is representative of traditional Kanaka Maoli society prior to European/western contact.

Archeological evidence suggests that waves of settlement from the South Pacific to the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i began around 300 AD – 600 AD from Nuku Hiwa (the Marquesas) (Kawaharada, 1999). Recent carbon dating suggests that complex civilization was established prior to the migration waves from the South Pacific (Dye, 1994). That being said the earliest peoples to inhabit Hawai‘i were the Nawao, the Mū, and the Wā, who lived in the *nāhelehele* (forest regions) on the islands of Kaua‘i and O‘ahu (Beckwith, 1940; Fornander, 1878; Wichman, 2003). The Mū and the Menehune of Kaua‘i link their genealogy to both the Kumuhonua and Kumulipo origin stories. A number of heiau, fishponds, and other stonework on the island of Kaua‘i are attributed to the Menehune (Beckwith, 1940; Wichman, 2003). Following the *Kumulipo*, the Ulu and Naulu lines would have been born

around 365 AD (Beckwith, 1951). Māuiakalana who was born in the 15th era of the Kumulipo roamed the Pae ‘Āina around 565 AD. The second wave of migration from the South Pacific was circa 1000 AD to 1200 AD with voyages traveling back and forth between Rarotonga mā, Tahiti, and Hawai‘i. It is believed that this is the time of the high priest Pa‘ao and that Pele and her clan arrived in Hawai‘i prior to Pa‘ao (Malo, 1903). Archeological and linguistic evidence confirm the migration patterns that contributed to the Pacific inhabitants who joined the original people in the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i which constitute the lāhui of Kānaka Maoli we know today.

3.3 Ka wā i o Kikilo mā: Traditional Society

Traditional society in the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i was based on religion. Religion pervaded every aspect of life from composing poetry to farming and was “the central authority of early Hawaiian society” (G.H.S. Kanahale, 1986, p. 32). Although there was no word in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i for the term religion, Kanaka Maoli society revolved around the concept of sacredness. There were *kapu*, sacred reverence for times, places, acts, or individuals, and restrictions or prohibitions also known as kapu to protect or guard those things. The kapu system, based on religious beliefs and nature, developed a very well ordered, efficient, and practical world. The kapu system created a codified social order, provisions on food consumption, fishing seasons, farming practices, ceremony, rituals, and performance. For example, the observation of kapu regulated fishing seasons and fishing processes that ensured adequate fish year-round. Kānaka Maoli survival was based on the resources available on each island therefore; the environment was treated with reverence. The common term today used for spirituality or religion is *ho‘omana*,

which literally means to give, to create, and/or to increase *mana*.⁵⁶ This sort of spirituality encompasses the worship of all the elements of nature; air, wind, rain, rivers, springs, ocean, sun, mountains, flora and fauna, trees, fire, volcano, and so forth. Each element of nature was attributed to an akua. The pantheon of akua was diverse and included of a multitude of akua that served very specific functions. It is very common in pule to mention all akua so not to offend any with the phrase, “Invoke we now the 40,000 gods, the 400,000 gods, and the 4,000 gods -- *E ho‘oulu ana i kini o ke akua, ka lehu o ke akua, ka mano o ke akua*”(G.H.S. Kanahale, 1986, p. 70). Four major gods oversaw the pantheon; Kāne- the supreme god, his domain is the sun, life, and fresh water; Kū- the god of political strategy, warfare, and the forest; Lono- he controlled the weather, agriculture, rains, fertility, and music; and Kanaloa- associated with the depths of the ocean, sea life, and a common companion of Kāne in our stories.

The *ali‘i* (chiefly class/royalty) were also *ho‘omana ‘ia* because of their direct lineage to the akua. The highest-ranking chiefs ruled the individual Hawaiian Islands. There were multiple levels of chiefs and a clear stratification of rights and responsibilities; i.e., *ali‘i nui* (high chief), *ali‘i* (chief), *kaukau ali‘i* (lesser chief), and *konohiki* (head of a land division). The *kahuna* (priests and skilled professionals) were also highly regarded individuals who advised the ali‘i. There were numerous kahuna in traditional society, such as a *kahuna ‘anā‘anā* (sorcerer), *kahuna kālai wa‘a* (engineer of canoe building), *kahuna kuhikuhi pu‘uone* (architect), and a *kahuna lā‘au lapa‘au* (herbal medicine doctor). The larger strata of the traditional social structure were the *maka‘āinana* or commoners, literally

⁵⁶ Supernatural or divine power, mana, miraculous power; a powerful nation, authority; to give mana to, to make powerful; to have mana, power, authority; authorization, privilege; miraculous, divinely powerful, spiritual; possessed of mana, power.

translated as “the eyes of the land.” Majority of the maka‘āinana were farmers. There was also a smaller group of people that were called *kauā* which up until recently were understood to be outcasts. In recent conversation circles in my community it has come to light that the *kauā* may have fulfilled a specific *kuleana*⁵⁷ in their community serving the ali‘i in a very different capacity than previously understood. To recapitulate, at the apex of the social structure was the akua and ‘āina, then the ali‘i was next in rank supported by the kahuna, and at the base was the maka‘āinana. All the sectors of traditional society worked together in unison with nature towards achieving *lōkahi* (harmony) with the land, the gods (spirituality), and *kānaka*.

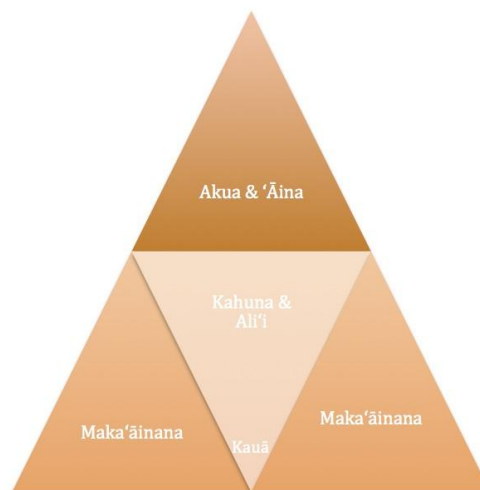


Figure 3.2: *Stratification in traditional society.*

The hierarchy described above was reflective of each island and not a single dominion that ruled over the entire Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. Most islands had its own *Ali‘i ‘Aimoku* or paramount chief up until 1810 when Kamehameha, the *na‘i aupuni* (conqueror), brought the majority of the archipelago under a singular ruling chief with the exception of Kaua‘i and Ni‘iahu. Each island commonly recognizes and

⁵⁷ Responsibility, right, privilege.

honors their exceptional ali‘i ‘aimoku with proverbial sayings. In honorific phrases and poetry Ni‘iahu is associated with Kahelelani. Of the twenty-three ali‘i ‘aimoku that reigned over the island of Kaua‘i a number of them continue to receive accolades in the modern era; Mo‘ikeha (1st ali‘i ‘aimoku of Kaua‘i, a descendant in the fourteenth generation of Papa and Wākea); La‘amaikahiki (3rd); Manokalanipō (8th); the Kawelo dynasty (16th through 19th); Kamakahele‘i (22nd and queen regent of Kaua‘i, 1770-1794); and Kaumuali‘i (23rd and final ali‘i ‘aimoku of Kaua‘i, 1794-1810) (Wichman 2003). O‘ahu is often known as O‘ahu of Kākuhihewa and Kūali‘i. Maui is frequently associated with Pi‘ilani, Kamalalawalu, Kahēkilinui‘ahumanu, and Kalanikūpule who also ruled O‘ahu. Moloka‘i is connected to Hina and Lāna‘i to Ka‘ululā‘āu. Hawai‘i Island is often referred to as Ka Moku o Keawe (the island of Keawe) for Keaweikekahiali‘iokamoku who co-ruled the island with his half sister Kalanikauleleiaiwi from 1695 to 1725. Other Hawai‘i Island ali‘i recognized are ‘Umialīloa, his father Līloa, Alapa‘inui, Kalani‘ōpu‘u, and Kamehameha. Just as there were unions established between ali‘i lineages that spanned districts and even islands, there were also disputes and warfare to settle the conflict. The history of ‘Umialīloa and Kamehameha are very similar in that their half-brothers, Hākau and Kīwala‘ō inherited their father’s land and kinship when each ali‘i ‘aimoku passed. ‘Umi and Kamehameha inherited the war god Kūkā‘ilimoku. In both cases through the patronage their akua of war and political strategy, ‘Umialīloa and Kamehameha would become the ali‘i ‘aimoku of their respective eras (Kamakau, 1992). Historically, spirituality and ritual practice prevails, which also determined the successful leadership of the ali‘i.

Ritual and prayer guided everyday life for Kānaka Maoli. In his text, *Ka Po‘e Kahiko*, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau speaks to the frequent practice of

pule throughout the day in traditional society. Kānaka prayed, “in the morning, at midday, in the evening, in the middle of the night,” (quoted in Kanahale, 1986, p. 123). This mindfulness about one’s actions and all entities surrounding them is the embodiment of the value *ha’aha’a* or humility where one has a heightened awareness of their place or role in the larger ecosystem that they dwell in including the cosmos. Another relevant concept applicable here is the interdependent nature of members in an *‘ohana* (family). The term *‘ohana* comes from the word *‘oha* which are the offshoots of the taro plant. Each generation of taro has new *‘oha*, new progeny that is still connected to the original taro. Within a family unit there are specific roles and responsibilities for individuals. There were rules of conduct, such as the honoring of elders, or the maintenance of family member relationships, which are more important than individual needs or accomplishment. The interdependence in an *‘ohana* provides a sense of unity and purpose while also defining the individual, based on their role in the unit. In simple terms, you are your *‘ohana* and your *‘ohana* is you. Today we may apply this concept to a nuclear family unit, however in traditional times of communal living the *‘ohana* expanded beyond the mother, father, and children. An *‘ohana* of times past would encompass one’s ancestral connection to the land, the ali’i, the akua, and kānaka. Respect and acknowledgement of this holistic world through prayer and ritual was the key to sustainability and the well being of traditional society. This respect was reciprocal whereas the akua and *‘āina* had a shared obligation with kānaka. If one party failed or was inconsistent the other is undoubtedly affected (G.H.S. Kanahale, 1986). This symbiotic relationship was honored through ritual worship and ceremony.

Kānaka Maoli established a complex and sophisticated society with an intricate system of governance, a high sense of political engagement, a heiau

complex for ritual practices emphasizing the spiritual connection to the ‘āina and akua, and laws related to resource management based on land systems. As descendants of the akua, the ali‘i presided over their *mokupuni* (island) distributing parcels of land to their district chiefs (*konohiki*) to manage these divisions of land (Kamehameha Schools, 1987, p. 1).⁵⁸ The units of the land division system consisted of *moku* or *kalana*, which were districts or sections of the island containing smaller parcels called *ahupua‘a*.



Figure 3.3: *A traditional ahupua‘a.*⁵⁹

The ahupua‘a borders extended from the highlands to the sea containing forest resources, cultivation areas, and shore and ocean sectors. The ahupua‘a

⁵⁸ From the Hawaiian Studies Institute’s curriculum on O‘ahu Land Divisions created by the Extension Education Division of Kamehameha Schools Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estates, 1987, p. 1.

⁵⁹ Image courtesy of Kamehameha Schools.

system was a self-sustaining land division from *ma uka* (mountain) to *ma kai* (ocean) managed by konohiki who also handled yearly collection of tribute or products of the land inside the ahupua‘a. Within the ahupua‘a there were even smaller sections of land allotted to individuals called *‘ili*. Tributes of produce and/or labor were paid to both the konohiki and the paramount chief of the island for use of these resource-rich lands.



*Figure 3.4: Ahupua ‘a of O ‘ahu.*⁶⁰

The Kanaka Maoli civilization of times past managed technologically advanced aquaculture complexes called *loko i ‘a* (fishpond) that sustained an entire moku and in some cases the whole mukupuni (Kelly, 1975). The loko i ‘a cultivated baby fish to maturity providing a regular supply of fish for when unfavorable

⁶⁰ Map courtesy of Island Breath retrieved from www.ahamoku.org on 12 July 2018.

weather or ocean conditions would prevent fishing practices.⁶¹ Kānaka Maoli developed elaborate agricultural methods included extensive irrigation systems for growing kalo, the staple food of Kānaka Maoli, a myriad of *māla* (gardens) of *‘uala* (sweet potato), *‘uhi* (yams), *‘ulu* (breadfruit), *mai‘a* (banana), *kō* (sugar cane), *‘ōlena* (turmeric), *kī* (ti leaf), *niu* (coconut), *ipu* (gourds), and many other plants that made up the traditional diet that were also used for herbal medicinal healing purposes. Both the agriculture and aquaculture practices were guided by the phases of the moon that were linked to the kapu system and religious practices mentioned earlier. The expert farmers and fishermen, “had an intricate knowledge of the lunar cycles and this knowledge assisted them in predicting the comings and goings of many of the creatures of the sea”⁶² and ideal times for planting and harvesting. Reaping the bounty of the land and sea was done with reverence. When a fishing expedition was complete an offering or *ho‘okupu* of *i‘a* (fish) was made to the fishing altar built in honor of Kū‘ulakai and Hinapukui‘a, the male and female deities associated with the cultivation and harvesting of the treasures of the sea. Kānaka Maoli observed this kapu as a means of respecting the akua who provided sustenance and to properly manage those resources in their district.

Within the bounds of each ahupua‘a or ‘ili division of land the *kauhale*⁶³ system defined the boundaries of the Kanaka Maoli community living and working spaces. There were specific *hale* (houses/buildings) for tasks, times, and gender specific activities according to the kapu system. For example, the *‘ai kapu* prohibited men and women from eating together. The kauhale system further

⁶¹ <http://paepaeoheeia.org/thefishpond/> retrieved on 14 November 2017.

⁶² <http://www.hawaiilive.org/topics.php?sub=Early+Hawaiian+Society&Subtopic=119> retrieved on 14 November 2017.

⁶³ A group of hale or a homestead community.

testifies to the intricate complexities of early Kanaka Maoli society. The common hale were the *hale noa* (house free from kapu) where everyone slept together, the *hale mua* (men's meeting house), the *hale pe'a* (women's house during menstruation), and the *hale kuke* (cooking house). Other hale based on the location of an 'ili were also a part of the kauhale as in the *hale ku'a* in the upland area where tapa making was done, or the *hale wa'a*⁶⁴ seaward where canoe carving took place.

Seafaring and navigation played a predominant role in traditional society. Inter-island travel was a frequent occurrence for the canoe culture of Kānaka Maoli. There were several types of *wa'a* (canoe) that the kahuna kālai wa'a designed for different purposes. The wa'a was a fundamental part of Kanaka Maoli life. It was not uncommon for kānaka to travel via canoe to neighboring islands in the Pae 'Āina o Hawai'i to deliver a message, to visit one another, for trade, or for battle. Long voyages to the South Pacific were also a common occurrence as substantiated in our oral tradition through chants and stories. The ocean was a super highway that Kānaka Maoli traversed on a regular basis. As Tongan scholar Epeli Hau'ofa explains, the vast Pacific Ocean did not separate us as Pacific peoples rather it connected us (Hau'ofa, 2008).

3.3.1 Eia ke kānaenae a ka mea hele; he leo, he leo wale nō:⁶⁵ Oral Tradition

Like many indigenous peoples in the Pacific, Kānaka Maoli come from an oral society. Knowledge was fortified, preserved, and perpetuated through the rich legacy of oral tradition. Specifically in Hawai'i,

... all information was passed orally through the use of songs, chants, and poems. Hawaiians devised various methods of recording

⁶⁴ May also be known as a hālau wa'a.

⁶⁵ Here's an offering from the traveler, a voice in greeting, simply a voice, 'Ōlelo No'eau #305 (Pukui, 1986, p. 58).

information for the purpose of passing it on from one generation to the next. The oli was one such method. Elaborate chants were composed to record important information, e.g. births, deaths, triumphs, losses, good times and bad. (Lenchanko, 2014)

Chant was essential to fortify, preserve and perpetuate knowledge. Oli was also the primary means for the delivery of ritual prayer. Kahuna, one or several, would lead ritual ceremonies reciting pule. The general assembly of worshipers in certain circumstances would repeat prayers in unison. Kanahale has written in depth on the practice of ritual and non-ritual prayer practiced by Kānaka Maoli in traditional times, explaining that ritual worship was often a communal practice that brought the community together (1986). The kahuna also served as the historians or pa‘a mo‘olelo who were tasked with the kuleana to record magnificent and catastrophic events woven into oli to be passed down into perpetuity (P. Kanahale, 2012). Kumu Hula and Kanaka Maoli scholar Kalani Akana discusses the use of mnemonic devices to aid the memorization of epic chants and to stave off the effects of transience (Akana, 2012). In an article on the practice of *hei* (Hawaiian string figures) Akana explains the cultural principles of mnemonics.

In traditional Hawaiian society, Hawaiian memory culture was highly developed by the kāhuna—knowledge keepers often referred to as priests, ministers, physicians, or professional experts. The mnemonics they developed were performative—ritual, gesture, music and dance performance—and based on cultural principles of memory development such as *kūpīna‘i* (repetition), *ka‘ina* (order), *pilina* (association), *paukū* (segmentation), *ka pāna na‘au* (emotional affect), and *ho‘omakakū* (visualization). (Akana, 2012, p. 48)

The practice of memory development was also supported by the use of onomatopoeia that engaged nature in the poetry that Kānaka Maoli created

according to John Charlot in his book, *Chanting the Universe*. There are many words in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i that sound like what they are. Words like kohā (crack of a whip, slapping sound, report of a pistol) and hī (to flow, hiss; to purge; dysentery) reflect their meaning in their sound. When coupled with kaona the poetry in a chant creates a stimulating intellectual, physical, and spiritual experience for both the chanter and the observer. Charlot (2005) points out that Kānaka Maoli were keen observers of nature and developed a comprehensive vocabulary to express the intricate details. He notes that, “Vocabulary was a treasure to be valued and transmitted for future generations” (Charlot, 2005, p. 14). In an article entitled *E Lawe i ke Ō: An Analysis Of Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe's Account Of Pele Calling The Winds*, Noenoe Silva speaks to the importance of literary devices and the depth of knowledge maintained in chants, specific to this analysis are the wind names from Kaua‘i in Poepoe’s rendition of *Ka Mo‘olelo Ka‘ao ‘o Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*. She notes that wind calling is a literary device for dramatizing emotion. Silva states that when we study oli like this found in mo‘olelo it opens the door to the worldview and value systems of our ancestor, which in turn restores the well being of Kānaka Maoli (Silva, 2010). In times past oli and mele composition was practiced on a regular basis. Esteemed scholar and hulu kupuna Mary Kawena Pukui noted that Kānaka Maoli from all walks of life were composers (Pukui, 1999). It was common practice to employ poetic compositions in the secular world in addition to the ritual or sacred realms. Mundane tasks like the beating of tapa cloth were often accompanied by an oli or mele. This means that most if not all Kānaka Maoli across the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i were active composers and performers of poetic expression. In this thriving oral society, oli was a dynamic thread of personal express in the tapestry of the Kanaka Maoli world.

Scientists and academics have long debated the population statistics for the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i prior to western contact. In his book *Before the Horror*, scholar David Stannard, destroys the previously low population estimates and constructs his own with evidence from travelers’ journals and archeological evidence. Stannard projects the population numbers for Hawai‘i around 800,000 to one million Kānaka Maoli in the late 1700’s (Stannard, 1989). Kanaka Maoli society was at its zenith prior to European contact with formal stratified political, social, and religious structures. A thriving culture, language, and people inhabited the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. Kānaka Maoli managed their resources through innovative conservation strategies and elaborate agricultural and aquaculture methods linked to the kapu system. Exquisite arts, crafts, games, intellectual debate, and performances were produced for seasonal celebrations. Ritual practices and ceremonies honored the akua from whence the ali‘i descended. The resource-rich ‘āina sustained the massive population of Kānaka Maoli across the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. Arguably this was the pinnacle of Kanaka Maoli society.

3.4 Ka i‘a ‘awa‘awa a ka haole:⁶⁶ Haole contact and colonization

While there is evidence that there may have been smaller waves of contact to the Hawaiian archipelago from Asia and Spain (see Dye, 1994), it is generally accepted that the major catalyst for societal change and the decline of the Kanaka Maoli world was the initial contact with the infamous British explorer Captain James Cook beginning in 1778. This year marks the onset of colonization, for Cook’s arrival preempts the succeeding influx of *po‘e haole* (foreigners). At the time of his arrival Kānaka Maoli were the lords of the archipelago, everything

⁶⁶ The sour fish of the foreigner, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau 1326 (Pukui, 1983, p. 230).

connected to the islands, and the surrounding oceans were intrinsically intertwined with the people, their culture, and their language. Over the span of one year Cook would travel to the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i three times. The first encounter was on the islands of Kaua‘i and Ni‘iahu in January 1778 (Chang, 2016). The second landing was initially in Hāna, Maui the following year with two vessels, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*.⁶⁷ Kanaka Maoli chiefs then guided him and his crew to Kealahou Bay on Hawai‘i Island. It is believed that paramount chief Kalani‘ōpu‘u’s kahuna associated the white mast of the ship with the *hō‘ailona* (representations or symbols) of Lono, especially since the arrival was during the time of Makahiki and Lono ceremonies, and treated Cook and his companions with reverence (Dibble, 1843). Some theorize that Kānaka Maoli called out “E lono” to get people to pay attention or to listen and not to address Cook as Lono the akua (Fullard-Leo, 2006). High seas and massive winds at the time of their departure from Kealahou would wreck the main mast of the *Resolution* sending them back to Hawai‘i Island a week later. Travel journals recorded a confrontation over a pair of Blacksmith’s tongs taken from the ship by a Kanaka Maoli and a struggle ensued. Cook’s crew members tried to confiscate the wa‘a of that Kanaka Maoli to make him return the tongs. According to Kanaka Maoli oral tradition, Cook and his crew over indulged in their consumption of food, drink, women, and many other resources from our ‘āina. Kānaka Maoli were hospitable through it all. However on the 14th of February 1779 when a fight broke out over the wa‘a and tongs, Cook’s crew loaded their cannons and fired towards the village of Kealahou. They attempted to take Ali‘i ‘Aimoku Kalani‘ōpu‘u hostage on their ship and a war broke out between Kānaka Maoli and the British. Cook fired his musket and was immediately knocked in the

⁶⁷ <http://www.coffeetimes.com/cook.htm> retrieved on 15 November 2017.

head by a war club. He was killed, baked in an *imu* (underground oven), and fed to the dogs (Dibble, 1843). The British defended their ship firing cannonballs killing approximately twenty Kānaka Maoli. British men died as well in the war on the water proceeding Cook's death. Fleets of canoes filled with warriors defended their 'āina and their ali'i. Three days later some of the bones from Cook's hand were given to Captain Clerke and the British left Kealakekua. The final encounter with Cook came to a fatalistic ending that left an indelible imprint on Kānaka Maoli and the young ali'i Kamehameha who had fought alongside of his uncle Kalani'ōpu'u during these final encounters with the foreigners.

When Kalani'ōpu'u passed away in 1782, Kamehameha ascended to the rank of paramount chief of Hawai'i Island after battling his cousin Kīwala'ō and his supporters. Oral history tells of the many prophetic signs in nature⁶⁸ that ushered in Kamehameha's birth considered to portend the future of a great leader. In 1790 two ships the *Elenora* and the *Fair American* entered Kealakekua Bay. A confrontation with the ali'i escalated into a war. Gunshots from the ships killed around 100 Kānaka Maoli. The warriors of Hawai'i Island attacked the *Fair American* and executed everyone aboard except Isaac Davis who was seriously wounded.⁶⁹ Boatswain John Young was sent ashore to assess the situation. Young was taken prisoner. His captain and the *Eleanor* would eventually leave Kealakekua without Young. As Ali'i 'Aimoku Kamehameha's ambition to expand his rule across the Pae 'Āina o Hawai'i began to take shape. Under the guidance of his kahuna, a massive heiau complex, Pu'u Koholā, was built in honor of

⁶⁸ Kamehameha was born around the time that Halley's Comet lit up the Hawaiian night skies in 1758. Warring clans saw him as a potential threat, however, and he was hidden away for years to keep him safe.

⁶⁹<http://www.oldsaltblog.com/2012/06/happy-kamehameha-day-king-kamehameha-isaac-davis-john-young-and-the-fair-american/> retrieved on 15 November 2017.

Kūkā‘ilimoku. Following the consecration of the new temple Kamehameha proceeded to conquer Maui with the support of two foreign allies, John Young and Isaac Davis who supplied an armory of western weapons. This was the battle of Kepaniwai and according to *‘ōlohe* (master) Jerry Walker the takeover of Maui was almost a five year process.⁷⁰ In 1795 following the death of Kahekilinui‘ahumanu, Ali‘i ‘Aimoku of Maui and father of one of Kamehameha’s wives Ka‘ahumanu, Kamehameha took control over Maui, Moloka‘i, and Lāna‘i.

Davis and Young would serve Kamehameha as advisors for years to come in military strategy, foreign affairs, and trade, namely Hawai‘i’s coveted sandalwood. Young and Davis facilitated Kamehameha’s plans to take over the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i fighting alongside the many warriors that the great chief assembled. *Ka Lele a ka ‘Anae* was the next battle that concluded at Nu‘uanu Pali on the island of O‘ahu. In late 1795 Kamehameha with more than 10,000 warriors sailed on a massive fleet of war canoes from Hawai‘i Island to O‘ahu. This was indeed the bloodiest battle in our history. Kamehameha defeated his rivals from O‘ahu, the Ali‘i Kalanikūpule and Ka‘iana would fall to their deaths with their warriors. Kamehameha soon made attempts to conquer Kaua‘i but to no avail, weather would prevent the landing of their wa‘a on Kaua‘i. Over the next five years Kamehameha and his warriors made three total attempts to battle Kaua‘i and insisted on a sit down with Kaumuali‘i. In 1810 Kaumuali‘i finally agreed to travel to O‘ahu and meet with Kamehameha. While there Isaac Davis conspired to poison the Ali‘i ‘Aimoku of Kaua‘i according to certain historical accounts. Other accounts claim that Davis learned of the plan and prevented it from reaching fruition

⁷⁰ <http://www.pacificworlds.com/nuuanu/native/native2.cfm> retrieved on 18 November 2017.

(Joesting, 1988, p. 67). Kaumuali‘i caught word of this plan to have him murdered and fled back to Kaua‘i. Shortly after the incident Davis was poisoned in April 1810. It is generally agreed upon that Kamehameha amalgamated the islands under one rule, known as the Na‘i Aupuni, and he reigned as King until his death in May of 1819. The following is a genealogy chart of the Kamehameha dynasty.

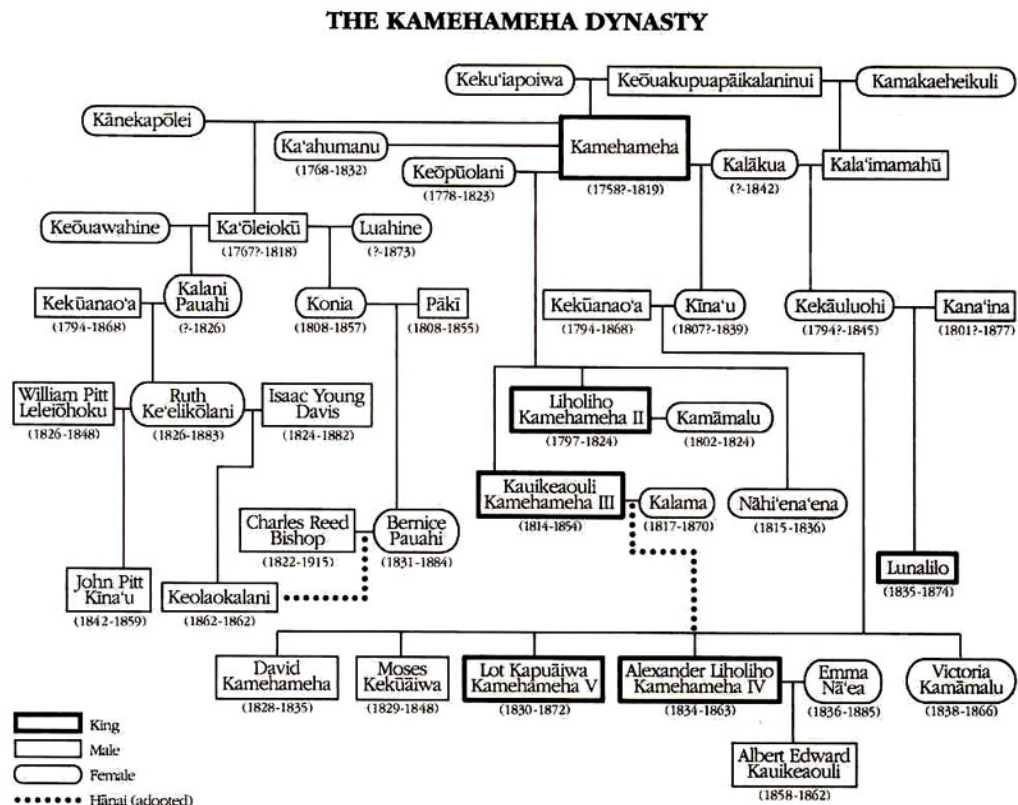


Figure 3.5: The Kamehameha lineage.

Upon the passing of ka Mō‘ī Kamehameha his son Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and nephew Kekuāokalani inherited the mana of Kamehameha’s leadership. Liholiho received the lands and throne. The war god Kūkā‘ilimoku and the religious kuleana were bestowed upon Kekuāokalani. Liholiho and Ka‘ahumanu, Kamehameha’s favorite wife, were to govern the islands together. Both Ka‘ahumanu and Keōpūlani, biological mother of the Kamehameha offspring, influenced Liholiho greatly. It was recorded that Keōpūlani was the first to break

the 'ai kapu in private when she sat with her younger son Kauikeaouli for a meal in the fall of 1819. However it was the public breaking of the 'ai kapu in December of 1819 between Ka'ahumanu, now High Regent or Kuhina Nui, and Liholiho that spurred a major disturbance in the society. The event was declared as *'ai noa* (free eating) by Ka'ahumanu who some theorize was seeking political power through establishing her mana as Kuhina Nui (see Silva, 2004). Kekuaokalani along with the kahunas who had served his uncle, and the steadfast traditionalist reacted to this overturning of the 'ai kapu which had a devastating impact on the entire kapu system that was the very essence and foundation of the Kanaka Maoli world. Kekuaokalani folks fought to uphold the traditional kapu system and the mana of Kūkā'ilimoku opposing the iconoclasts, which resulted in two anti-'ainoa uprisings. The battle of Kuamo'o was indeed the more significant of the two. Kekuaokalani, his wife Manono, and their troops were driven to the coast by Kalanimoku's army where they were met by a fleet of double hauled canoes armed with a swivel gun and a small cannon. Although equipped with a musket Kekuaokalani was not capable of overcoming the arsenal that Kalanimoku had assembled. In recounting this epic battle King Kalākaua wrote,

No characters in Hawaiian history stand forth with a sudden prominence, or add a richer tint to the vanishing chivalry of the race, than Kekuaokalani and his courageous and devoted wife, Manono, the last defenders in arms of the Hawaiian gods. (HRM Kalākaua, 1888)

Kekuaokalani was shot in his leg and while continuing to fight he received a cannon ball in his chest according to missionary William Ellis (Ellis, 1823). Manono called out to her half-brother Kalanimoku for mercy. She was shot in her

left temple and her last words were, “Mālama i kō aloha” a plea of love and mercy to end the warring. In his book *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past*, Kanalu Young posits that Kānaka Maoli were experiencing serious societal change after the battle of Kuamo‘o. The ‘ainoa had replaced the former ‘aikapu as “a symbol of order and mandate for peace” (Young, 1999, p. 133). Young states that the arrival of the missionaries a couple of months after this shift interrupted something that was in process in Kanaka Maoli society, and “did not just fill a religious void as is typically claimed” (Young, 1999, p. 133). Director of Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies Professor Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa considers Kekuaokalani’s death as, “a death blow for the sanctity of tradition” (quoted in Silva, 2004).

3.4.1 “He aupuni palapala ko‘u.”:⁷¹ Christianity and Literacy

The Protestant missionaries arrived on the shores of Hawai‘i to spread the message of their Christian god to the “uncivilized natives” in March of 1820. Young writes that the ali‘i “were receptive to the missionary desire to remain and teach the religion, but this decision was made from a position of political strength not spiritual weakness” (Young, 1999, p. 133). Kame‘eleihiwa explains that Kānaka Maoli did not truly convert to Christianity rather they included the new god to their pantheon (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992). Ritual practices continued for they would not abandon their pantheon of 400,000 akua for one akua malihini. Soon thereafter the Christian missionaries accused Kānaka Maoli of idolatry and heathenism because of their ritual practices and prayers. Traditional performance forms, such as oli and hula, and cultural practices were likened to dark pagan worship to a pantheon of gods. In 1834 James Jackson Jarves in his book *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich*

⁷¹ “My nation is a literate one” (Kauikeaouli, 1837).

Islands writes:

Savage rites and blood-loving deities, a cruel priesthood and rapacious governments, inhuman faiths and absurd superstitions, were the burden which the people were required to believe and sustain. From the perusal of the stories of this dark era, as gathered from their own lips, it would seem as if human depravity had reached its limits. (Jarves, 1834, p. 41)

Most accounts from westerners echoed the same sentiment as the quote above classifying Kānaka Maoli as inept ignorant uncivilized monsters. In early mission letters and documents, kānaka are labeled as savages whose lascivious behavior must be shunned upon. The author Jarves in a later chapter regarding performance states, “The dances...consisted in a variety of uncouth motions and twisting of the body, of too lascivious a nature to bear description” (Jarves, 1843, p. 72). The missionaries quickly learned how influential and well-rooted traditional dance, chant, song and prayer were in traditional Hawaiian society. These practices were inseparable from Hawaiian religion. Nathaniel B. Emerson, a descendant of the missionary families whose writings justified the missionary project in Hawai‘i, referred to the hula as a “religious service” in his text *Unwritten Literature of Hawai‘i* (1909, p. 11). Missionaries demanded a complete ban of chant and dance as a means to dismantle Kanaka Maoli religious practices. This was coupled with massive efforts to empower the Christian church and ways of white enlightenment. This attempt to overturn traditional Kanaka Maoli performance was motivated by religious supremacy, which was synonymous with political power. To aid their efforts missionaries also pushed for a literary society. First translating the bible and then teaching Kānaka Maoli to read and write. The missionaries

established schools such as Lāhainaluna⁷² to educate the ali‘i in their religious beliefs, history, worldview, and western/European literature. Notable Kānaka Maoli who were educated at this institution include Kauikeaouli, Malo, Kamakau, and ‘Ī‘ī.

Kānaka Maoli embraced and excelled in the new technology of print. Kauikeaouli, King Kamehameha III, proudly declared, “*He aupuni palapala ko ‘u*” (“My kingdom is literate”). His declaration drove his people to rapidly acquire written literacy. In February 1834, the initial edition of *Ka Lama Hawaii* was the first newspaper to be printed west of the Rocky Mountains. Within two generations from the establishment of a written language, Hawai‘i had the highest literacy rate of any country in the world with over 90% of the population able to read and write (Nogelmeier, 2010). Eventually, there were over 100 different Hawaiian-language newspapers in print. These newspapers continued to be printed well into the early 1900’s. Many of the early newspapers were designed to spread the Christian gospel and teachings of the Christian god to Kānaka Maoli. The Hawaiian-medium newspapers were used as an avenue to further missionary proselytism (C.M.K. Baker, 2015, p. 132).

3.4.2 Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī: The monarchy and foreign politics

With the establishment of Christian schools and the growth of trading in the islands the haole settler community increased across the island chain. Soon those haole settlers would enter the political scene attempting to influence new legislation

⁷² Lāhainaluna was founded in 1831 as a Protestant missionary school, originally named Lāhainaluna Seminary. The early missionaries who arrived in Lāhaina in 1823 explained to the Hawaiian Royalty the importance of an educational institution in the American style. Lāhainaluna also establishes the first printing press in Hawai‘i.

and policies in the kingdom. During Kamehameha I's reign the Kānaka Maoli advisors in the king's council on numerous occasions expressed their concerns of the haole infiltration of the government. Osorio writes extensively on this subject in his book *Dismembering Lāhui* revealing the misgivings that Kānaka Maoli had about "haole participation in government, especially their overwhelming presence as cabinet heads. The Kānaka Maoli expressed their dissatisfaction with these appointments in an extraordinary outpouring of petitions warning the Mō'ī and the legislature against giving the foreigners positions in the government and ownership of land" (Osorio, 2002, pp. 26-27). Osorio states that there is no written documentation on whether these petitions from the Kānaka Maoli were supported by their elected legislators. Kānaka Maoli dissent of missionary and foreign representation in the kingdom government was apparent and the 1840 constitution, heavily influenced by missionary advisors to the Mō'ī Kamehameha I, disenfranchised Kānaka Maoli from participation in lawmaking. According to Osorio this constitutional law would forever change the relationships between the ali'i and the Kānaka Maoli (2002). He writes that the Kānaka Maoli was first to observe, "that foreigners were replacing the chiefs as the principal authorities in the government" (Osorio, 2002, p. 29).

After a couple of decades in the islands it was clear that not all missionaries held steadfast to the goals of the church. Many saw other profitable possibilities in the islands. They would initiate the development of western commerce in Hawai'i. Land is a key factor to further the interests of the foreigners. The acquisition of land and private land ownership in a western perspective is pursued. This type of land ownership was a foreign concept to Kānaka Maoli. For example, the western concept of land has an owner presiding over the land. Land is acquired through

purchase and the owner does what they want to the land. Whereas, Kānaka Maoli are genealogically connected to the land. Kanaka Maoli historian Carlos Andrade, Ph.D. speaks to this familial relationship.

It would be impossible to have a Hawaiian geography that is not intimately linked to the genealogical connection between kanaka and ‘āina. The story of Papa and Wākea, the mating of Earth Mother and Sky Father; the birth, not creation, of ‘āina, elder sibling; and the birth of Hāloanakalaukapalili, kalo, elder as well to kānaka, and Hāloakanaka, ancestor of humanity - these all establish the familial relationships that reside in the cosmos. In these stories, humanity is in a subservient role, not a dominant one. (Andrade, 2014, p. 8)

The land is our ancestor; we are its offspring, not landowners. The value of *Aloha ‘Āina*⁷³ expresses our love and responsibility to care for the land. Just as we care for our elders we take care of and love the land and it in turn takes care of us. Our ancestors were environmentally conscious people. Foreign exploitation forced Kānaka Maoli to radically alter their spiritual and societal relationships. It challenged their traditional customs, beliefs, and practices, and led to the dislocation of the people from the land that had sustained their ancestors from the time of origin.

In the Hawaiian Kingdom land was allocated through the *kālai‘āina* (carving of land) process from the king to the chiefs to their people who cultivated the lands. Associate Professor of Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Kamanaokalani Beamer’s book *Ko Mākou Mana- Liberating the Nation*, provides an in-depth analysis of the ‘Aha Ali‘i, the Hawaiian Kingdom, and ali‘i

⁷³ Aloha ‘Āina is a concept based on the genealogical connection Kānaka Maoli have with the land. The concept is based in stewardship and aloha for the land that we dwell upon.

lands. The Māhele in 1848 was an effort to westernize the land tenure system in the kingdom. Beamer explains the difference between the traditional kālai‘āina process and the new Māhele. He writes:

Perhaps the biggest difference is that the Māhele was to be the final kālai‘āina. ‘Āina conveyed through the Māhele allowed a chief to take the award to the Land Commission, where the title would be validated. These awards enabled chiefs to gain allodial or fee-simple title upon payment of a commutation, which extinguished the government’s interest in those lands. Once the government’s interest in ‘āina was removed, chiefs could then receive a Royal Patent that confirmed fee-simple ownership of the ‘āina. (Beamer, 2014, p. 144)

Two years later Kamehameha III, signed the Kuleana Act into law, which established a land commission to investigate land titles prior to 1845. The Kuleana Act also provided the opportunity for maka‘āinana to acquire fee-simple title to their lands (Beamer, 2014, p. 151). The results of the Māhele (1848) and the Kuleana Act (1850) were; 40% of the land was received to the chiefs and some foreigners, the king received 23% of the land, and the Hawaiian government had 37% of the land. These lands received to the king and Hawaiian government are what is known today as crown lands⁷⁴ that for decades the State of Hawai‘i has occupied and developed with no compensation to Kānaka Maoli. Kanaka Maoli scholar Keanu Sai, Ph.D. through his research has illustrated that there is no legal document for the ceding of Hawaiian lands to the United States of America (D.K. Sai, 2008). He further proves that the Hawaiian Kingdom government and crown lands did not have a proper chain of title or conveyance.

⁷⁴ The State of Hawai‘i termed these crown lands as “ceded” lands. All state, government, and county buildings, public schools, universities, and parks are located on crown lands.

It is very clear that the American missionary efforts were tied to politics and the advancement of American businessmen in Hawai‘i. The political strategies of ali‘i Alexander Liholiho, Kamehameha IV (1853-1863), reveals that he was a cognizant political leader who desired to distance the Hawaiian Kingdom from the American Protestants, who had educated him and his predecessor Kauikeaouli (Beamer, 2014). In 1854 Liholiho nullified a proposed treaty of annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the U.S. Then in 1859 he reached out to Queen Victoria of Britain to introduce the Anglican Episcopal Church of England to Hawai‘i. Beamer writes that this move was Liholiho’s way of demonstrating that, “they were not under the authority of American missionaries. They ruled their own minds and made use of what they knew to secure their people’s independence” (Beamer, 2014, p. 173).

Kamehameha V, Lot Kapuāiwa (1863-1872) continued the work of his brother Liholiho following his passing. Both of them chose to separate from the American religious sector and supported the Church of England. Early in his rule he signed a new constitution in 1864 that both he and his brother Liholiho felt was problematic. Lot Kapuāiwa was instrumental in the mapping of Hawai‘i with the intention of preserving wahi pana. He was also known for his revival of traditional practices and customs such as that of the kahuna and hula and the construction of new government buildings on O‘ahu (Beamer, 2014, p. 175). Lot Kapuāiwa passed away in 1872 without naming a successor to the throne.

Kamehameha VI, William Charles Lunalilo (1873-1874), would be elected as King in January 1873. This was the first time the Hawaiian Kingdom held an election for the successor of the throne because of the 1864 constitutional mandate. Lunalilo would reign for thirteen months falling to tuberculosis and alcoholism.

Lunalilo was known as the People's King, he was very much loved by his people and believed in democratic processes. Unfortunately, he had signed a treaty with the U.S. to share Pearl Harbor during his one year of reign.

The Kingdom's second election would pit Lunalilo's running opponent Kalākaua against Queen Emma Kalanikaumaka'āmano Kaleleonālani Na'ea Rooke, queen consort of Kamehameha IV. Kalākaua, who was not of the Kamehameha mo'okū'auhau, won the majority vote, but a riot of Queen Emma supporters broke out when the election results were revealed. According to Emma, Lunalilo wanted her to succeed him but passed on before an official proclamation could be made. Animosity between the Kamehameha descendants and Kalākaua surfaced into the public sphere exposed in the newspapers.

King David La'amea Kalākaua's reign (1874-1891) ushered in a new era of assertive leadership and a true revival of traditional practices. Kalākaua had a heightened awareness of the decline of the Kanaka Maoli population due to the influx of immigration and foreign diseases that had reached Hawai'i's shores. At his first address to the Hawaiian Legislative Assembly he declared, "The subject, however, that awakens my greatest solicitude is to increase my people" (quoted in Kuykendall, 1967, p. 117). In the following chapter I discuss Kalākaua's contributions to reinvigorate the kingdom through honoring traditional beliefs and practices while embracing the innovations of his time. His worldwide travels likely influenced his leadership. Beamer writes that Kalākaua was a different kind of *Mō'ī* (king) who through his reign, "heightened the nation's cultural consciousness while pushing to insure a new level of Hawaiian independence" (Beamer, 2014, p. 176).

One of the most detrimental moments in the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom is the signing of the Bayonet Constitution in 1887. This constitution was

written by the haole sector of the legislature who had economic interests in Hawai‘i’s land and future. King Kalākaua was forced at gunpoint to sign the constitution that would undermine his authority as reigning monarch. The constitution deprived Chinese, Japanese, and Kānaka Maoli from voting rights while increasing the voting power of the haole living in Hawai‘i (Beamer, 2014, p. 196). Although Kalākaua was able to reassert traditional practices and belief systems through the public performance of tradition (hula, oli, mele, etc.), the establishment of the Hale Nauā, a secret society reasserting ancient knowledge via temple science, and the Papa Kū‘auhau o Nā Ali‘i Hawai‘i (Board of Genealogies of Hawaiian Chiefs), his *mana* in the government was compromised by the Bayonet Constitution.

Upon his passing in 1891 his sister Queen Lili‘uokalani ascended to the throne. There was a growing concern about the power that the haole members of government and the American businessmen wielded like a weapon to oppress the Queen and her Kingdom. Lili‘uokalani consciously sought out a path to reestablish her *mana* as the reigning monarch of the kingdom through abrogating the 1887 Bayonet Constitution that favored the haole elite businessmen and landowners. Lili‘uokalani sought to promulgate a new constitution. Her people supported her and the organization Hui Kālai‘āina actually petitioned her to promulgate a new constitution in 1892, that would reverse the damaging effects that the 1887 constitution had on the nation. The new constitution would have increased suffrage for the Kānaka Maoli, Chinese, and Japanese populations by reducing property requirements for voting, eliminating the voting privileges extended to haole⁷⁵

⁷⁵ This term is used to refer to foreigners of European and American descent who eventually make up the white settler population of the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i.

residents, and disenfranchising many resident European and American businessmen who were not citizens of Hawai‘i. This was a time of great tension in the Kingdom that had been building for decades between the Kānaka and the haole sectors of Hawai‘i.

On January 17, 1893, a committee of thirteen white businessmen read a proclamation establishing themselves as the provisional government of the islands (Beamer, 2014, p. 193). The provisional government seized control of the government and crown lands through revolt and the eventual imprisonment of the Queen in 1895 following a counter coup. The provisional government demanded Queen Lili‘uokalani to abdicate her throne. She refused to recognize the illegitimate government submitting her formal protest to the United States in writing:

I do under this protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands. (Quoted in Beamer, 2014, pp. 193-194)

It is evident that Queen Lili‘uokalani believed that she and her monarchy would be reinstated upon thorough review of the facts. She requested that her people and Hawaiian nationals alike be peaceful and “avoid any collision of armed forces and, perhaps the loss of life” (HRM Queen Lili‘uokalani). An official investigation ensued in March of 1893 resulting in a report submitted by U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham in July 1893. The Hawaiian Kingdom investigation proved the scheming acts of the thirteen haole who considered themselves the ‘committee of safety.’ Blount appealed to U.S. President Cleveland communicating the landless condition of the

native population, the concerning influx of immigrant workers, and the questionable nature of the provisional government.⁷⁶

In December 1893 the United States President Cleveland addressed the U.S. Congress, stating that the seizure of the Hawaiian Kingdom was a self-proclaimed crime of high treason led by the likes of Sanford B. Dole, the president of the provisional government, and a handful of American businessmen (Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina, 1991). Unfortunately President Cleveland’s request for the restoration of the Queen did not happen and his withdrawal of the annexation treaty would resurface under a new administration. The fact remains that Queen Lili‘uokalani never yielded her throne or the Hawaiian government and crown lands to the provisional government; therefore there was no record of a deed from the Hawaiian Kingdom government and the Queen to the provisional government to transfer the government and crown lands. This is why the State of Hawai‘i cannot claim to have perfect title to these lands. Sai explains, “Confusing “cession” for “occupation” is tantamount to confusing “adoption” for “kidnapping.” This is not a case of semantics, but ignorance of the legal and political history of Hawai‘i” (Sai, 2009). Beamer writes that the annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom was an unlawful act and was only possible through an unlawful process,

its agents conspired with representatives of the United States, thereby breaking international treaties and disregarding the laws of nations. It was not the Hawaiian acceptance of law that led to the overthrow; rather, it was the oligarchy’s conspiring against the law. (2014, p. 197)

⁷⁶ For the full Blount Report see <https://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/blounts-report.shtml>

Andrade echoes this sentiment in a book chapter on Kanaka geography, “History has recorded how the nation of Hawai‘i was subsumed into the United States not by treaty but by resolution of the American Congress, a violation of any law that espouses justice and self-determination” (Andrade, 2014, p. 13).

3.4.3 ‘Onipa‘a, Ma hope mākou o Lili‘ulani:⁷⁷ Steadfast Kanaka Maoli Resistance

Contrary to popular belief Kānaka Maoli did mobilize to oppose the annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States. Political resistance expanded through the formation of the organizations Hui Kālai‘āina and Hui Aloha ‘Āina.⁷⁸ These organizations led protests, rallies, meetings, and petitions asserting their rights for self-governance. At the forefront of these hui leading the resistance were activists Joseph Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u and John Bush, both Kanaka Maoli editors of Hawaiian language newspapers, who were very active in printing the voice of opposition in their regular publications. In those Hawaiian language newspapers Kānaka Maoli, Queen Lili‘uokalani included, expressed thoughts of resistance, they “retained their own epistemology and patterned much of their behavior according to traditional cosmology. They held onto their Kanaka identity even while working politically in accordance with the forms of the colonizer” (Silva, 2004, p. 162).

During this time the provisional government, now called the Republic of Hawai‘i arrested, “Hawaiians, and even British subjects suspected of being loyal to the Hawaiian Queen” (Beamer, 2014, p. 198). The arrested royalists were held without trial. The republic attacked the media with the intent to silence ‘seditious articles’ that opposed the republic. Spies were planted at the newspapers and

⁷⁷ This phrase comes from the song, Mele ‘Ai Pōhaku, written in support of Queen Lili‘uokalani at the time of the overthrow.

⁷⁸ See *Aloha Betrayed* (2004) by Kanaka Maoli scholar Noenoe Silva for a detailed analysis of the works of the Hui Aloha ‘Āina and Hui Kālai‘āina.

government offices. Investigations of suspicious activity and arrests were legalized through a new law enacted two weeks after the overthrow that banned any expression of disaffection against the provisional government (Beamer, 2014). In December 1894 Nāwahī and Bush were arrested and held without bail or trial for opposing the Republic of Hawai‘i. After the failure of the Cleveland administration to act and the inability to restore their mana and Kingdom, a group of Kānaka Maoli planned an uprising. In January 1895 Aloha ‘Āina rebels Samuel Nowlein and Robert Wilcox lead an armed rebellion from Waikīkī to Lē‘ahi, into Mānoa, Pauoa, and Nu‘uanu. All of the aloha ‘āina patriots were eventually arrested, nearly two hundred of them and,

were given sentences varying from one to thirty-five years in prison and fined \$5,000 to \$10,000. Many of their haole sympathizers who were not citizens were deported. Wilcox was sentenced to hang, but the sentence was later commuted. Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole was among those imprisoned, and he was not released until September 1895. (Silva, 2004, p. 139)

Through all this turmoil Kanaka Maoli leaders like James Kaulia rose up proclaiming, *“E kū‘ē loa aku i ka ho‘ohui ‘ia o Hawai‘i me Amerika a hiki i ke aloha ‘āina hope loa”* (We shall protest the annexation of Hawai‘i to America until the very last aloha ‘āina.) (Kaulia, 1897). His profound words are frequently quoted today at aloha ‘āina gatherings and protests.

From 1897-1898 the Hui Aloha ‘Āina led by Mrs. Emma Nāwāhī and Mrs. Kuaihelani Campbell created a petition that circulated throughout the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. The Hui Aloha ‘Āina committee managed to obtain the signatures of 95% of all Kānaka Maoli living in Hawai‘i at the time (Silva, 2004). Nearly 40,000

signatures against the annexation on this petition were delivered to the U.S. congress in 1898. McGregor and MacKenzie write the following about the resistance efforts:

Lili‘uokalani, the lawful Queen of the Hawaiian Islands under the constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom, led the opposition against the takeover of the Hawaiian government and annexation by the U.S. The Native Hawaiian people formed political organizations to vigorously protest annexation...These efforts succeeded in defeating the ratification of any treaty to annex the Hawaiian Islands by the U.S. Congress. (2014, p. 35)

The annexation treaty was blocked after several diplomatic delegations to the U.S., the presentation of the Hui Aloha ‘Āina petitions, and testimony opposing annexation. Nonetheless the U.S. government and the American businessmen who led the overthrow recognized the value of these islands strategically located in the center of the Pacific, and had plans for Hawai‘i. On July 12, 1898, the Hawaiian Islands were officially annexed by the United States through a Joint Resolution passed in the congress. This moment marks the demise of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i and the rapid decline of Kānaka Maoli. Sai connects the forced denationalization campaign of the U.S. in Hawai‘i as a means “to conceal the occupation and militarization of a neutral State,” which was an act of genocide on the Hawaiian Kingdom and ultimately Kānaka Maoli.⁷⁹ Immediately following annexation, the U.S. seized nearly 1.8 million acres of government and crown lands from the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. These lands were divided into state and federal entities for control. Today roughly 56% of crown lands are U.S. military occupied and

⁷⁹Under International Law Native Hawaiians are Victims of Genocide-
<http://hawaiiankingdom.org/blog/under-international-law-native-hawaiians-are-victims-of-genocide/> retrieved on 18 October 2017.

controlled, which makes up a total of 20.6% land area in the Pae ‘Āina.⁸⁰ The presence of the U.S. military “is inextricably tied to the colonization and occupation...of Hawai‘i” (Wright & Balutski, 2016, p. 98). The environmental contamination, violence, prostitution, threats to our native ecosystems and endangered species and economic dependency are some of the ramifications of the militarization of these islands that “have had a profound influence on the cultural, economic, political, and environmental geographies of the Pacific” (Wright & Balutski, 2016, p. 98). The seizure of places like Pu‘uloa, known to the world as Pearl Harbor, displaced Kānaka Maoli that once dwelled there, severing the relationship with the ‘āina that Kānaka Maoli maintained for many generations prior to the U.S. military’s seizure of the port. The shark guardian Ka‘ahupahau was cared for by Kānaka Maoli from that ahupua‘a. Oral tradition and mele document the relationship that the people of Pu‘uloa had with the ‘āina, shores and ocean zones of that district on O‘ahu. The displacement of the Pu‘uloa community is one example of the many communities and kānaka that have suffered irreparable damage because of the U.S. military taking possession of the ‘āina.

The displacement of Kānaka Maoli from their *kulāiwi* (birth land) was a key factor in the decline of mental, physical, emotional, and spiritual health of Kānaka Maoli. The inability to work the land that defined their very existence crippled the maka‘āinana. Coupled with the diseases that were introduced by foreigners, Kānaka Maoli experienced an unprecedented population decline. Drs. Kāwika Liu and Kekuni Blaisedell explain the contributing factors that led to this decline.

...the over 95% decline in the native population, from an estimated one million in 1778 to approximately 40,000 in 1893, at the time of

⁸⁰ <http://www.nohoehewa.com/occupied-areas/> retrieved on 9 January 2018.

the end of the monarchy, were: colonial economic and political exploitation; market-money economy, private ownership and loss by Kanaka of their lands, economic dependence; suppression of indigenous culture, education, language and spirituality; cultural conflict, stress and despair, adoption of harmful foreign ways, such as, use of alcohol and tobacco, physical inactivity, western high-fat, high-cholesterol, high-salt and low fibre [sic. fiber] diet; western religious, educational, economic and social institutional racism. Homeless, urban Kanaka suffered most. Rural natives, retaining some of their spiritual and physical relationship to the land and sea, fared better. (Liu & Blaisedell, 2008, p. 7)

In an interview with *Honolulu Magazine*, Stannard describes the holocaust that occurred in Hawai‘i with the introduction of diseases from Europe and Asia. In less than a century after contact with Cook and his mates the drastic decline of Kānaka Maoli dwindled to an estimated 50,000.⁸¹ Compounding the rapid population decline and the loss of land, Kānaka Maoli were forced to assimilate to American culture and language. This “white washing” in the school system was the final blow resulting in the estrangement of our kūpuna to their identity. Silva writes, “the loss of our ‘ōlelo has resulted in the lack of acknowledgment of our kūpuna as intellectuals, artists, and authors who produced works of history, geography, politics, and literature” (Silva, 2012, p. 238). There was neither place nor acknowledgement for *‘ike kupuna* (ancestral knowledge and ways of knowing) in the school system in the early 1900’s. Even institutions like Kamehameha Schools groomed good industrious young men who were enrolled in the U.S. military upon graduation from high school (Coulter, 2017). The school system in Hawai‘i that evolved out of missionary pedagogy would further alienate Kānaka Maoli in their

⁸¹ <http://www2.hawaii.edu/~johnb/micro/m130/readings/stannard.html> retrieved on 14 November 2017.

homeland. This occurred through marginalization in the classrooms and the promotion of racially biased curriculum embedded with colonialism and tourism (Kaomea, 2000).

3.5 Ua ao Hawai‘i, ke ‘ōlino nei mālamalama:⁸² Cultural Renaissance

Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i has a unique history and the political landscape of our islands are like no other. The tragic effects of colonization and the traumatic events in our past that led to the illegal overthrow of our government, the loss of our land, the abolishment of our Hawaiian-medium school system and the banning of our language and traditional performance forms must be addressed in order to truly decolonize ourselves from these acts of cultural genocide. At a recent Ngāti Kahungunu Reo symposium one of the world’s leading language revival experts, Professor Ghil’ad Zuckermann stated, “Language loss means loss of cultural autonomy, means loss of spirituality, it means loss of the soul, because when you lose your language it’s actually much more severe than when you lose your land” (April 2016). Colonized people around the world know this to be true, grasping on the remaining threads of knowledge to retain our intellectual sovereignty and cultural identity. The numerous social injustices and exploitation of land, culture, and people could not possibly be covered in this chapter, so I will mention a few of the most impactful *hewa*⁸³ done to Kānaka Maoli following annexation. A couple of these *hewa* are connected to the theft of our ‘āina which led to the displacement of kānaka and the desecration of our cherished motherland.

⁸² Hawai‘i is enlightened, for the brightness of day is here, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau #2773 (Pukui, 1983, p. 479).

⁸³ Mistake, fault, error, sin, blunder, defect, offense, guilt, crime, vice; wrong, incorrect, wicked, sinful, guilty; to err, miss, mismanage, or fail.

I begin with the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act established in 1920 that set aside 200,000 acres of land for Native Hawaiians. Although the concept to provide Kānaka Maoli with ‘āina to build their homes is a noble initiative, the fact is that this act has divided and alienated Kānaka Maoli in our homeland, as it requires a 50% or more blood quantum to qualify for land. Prince Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole’s vision was to provide housing for his people and argued at the U.S. Congress for anyone with 1/32 ancestry or blood quantum to qualify for *‘āina ho‘opulapula* (homestead lands). With his vision every Kānaka Maoli living in Hawai‘i at the time would have qualified for a parcel of the ‘āina ho‘opulapula. Since Prince Kūhiō was only a delegate at the congress he had no congressional vote and settled for the 50% blood quantum rule. Kanaka Maoli historian and Dean of Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge Jonathan Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio stated in an interview with the Hawaii Tribune-Herald, “It was just assumed that, eventually, very, very few people would qualify” for the intentionally divisive Hawaiian Homes Act and that “There was a definite deviousness of this act.”⁸⁴ The American Congress believed that the Kanaka Maoli population was being rapidly diluted due to intermarriages and lands would soon be returned to the territory of Hawai‘i.

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act never addressed the initial adverse possession of land responsible for the original displacement of Kānaka Maoli who could not afford sky-high property taxes on inherited land. My ‘ohana comes from He‘eia Kea in the Ko‘olaupoko district of O‘ahu. For generations our ancestors lived on a parcel of land mauka of the He‘eia Kea Pier and Ka Loko I‘a o He‘eia

⁸⁴<http://westhawaiiitoday.com/news/local-news/bill-lower-blood-quantum-requirement-hawaiian-homestead-successors-passes> retrieved on 26 October 2017.

(Fishpond of He‘eia). Everyone who lived on that ‘āina were family members. They gathered food from the mountain to the sea of the communally owned parcel of land that we call an ahupua‘a. In the late 1950’s there was interest from foreign investors in the land to build oceanfront luxury homes and a new community. Our ‘ohana refused to sell. As the story goes ‘ohana members felt that they did not have the right to sell land that was passed down from one generation to the next. The ‘āina was a part of who they were and was not for sale. ‘Āina is intrinsically connected to Kanaka Maoli identity (Andrade, 2014). To mitigate the land deeds and ownership, the State of Hawai‘i stepped in claiming the land as eminent domain and my ‘ohana was eventually evicted from the ‘āina. This unfortunately is quite a common story for Kānaka Maoli.

The next hewa I would like to mention was the 1959 vote on statehood. This vote was not a valid exercise of self-determination and decolonization and has no validity in international law (D.K. Sai, 2008). In 1946, just over a decade before this vote was taken, territorial Senator Alice Kamokila Campbell voiced her opinion against statehood during the Larcade hearings⁸⁵ on statehood for Hawai‘i. Campbell was the daughter of wealthy sugar planter James Campbell and a descendant of Hawaiian royalty. She stated:

I do not feel...we should forfeit the traditional rights and privileges of the natives of our islands for a mere thimble full of votes in Congress, that we, the lovers of Hawai‘i from long association with it should sacrifice our birthright for the greed of alien desires to remain on our shores, that we should satisfy the thirst for power and control of some inflated industrialists and politicians who hide under

⁸⁵ The U.S. House Committee on Territories, headed by Louisiana representative Henry Larcade, holds hearings on statehood for Hawai‘i—the first since 1937.

the guise of friends of Hawai‘i, yet still keeping an eagle eye on the financial and political pressure button of subjugation over the people in general of these islands. (Campbell, 1946)⁸⁶

Senator Campbell’s voice was one of the few dissident ones, although the consideration for statehood was deferred until the next legislative session, U.S. senators continued to orchestrate a strategy to force a vote for Hawai‘i to become the 49th state⁸⁷ of the union. Many believe that the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941 and the subsequent World War II fed the desire for statehood especially in the immigrant community of Hawai‘i. Pledging allegiance to the United States was a way for Japanese immigrants in Hawai‘i to distance themselves from the military forces of Japan, with the hopes that their loyalty to the U.S. would raise their social status and secure them a place to call home.⁸⁸ The July 1959 plebiscite vote for statehood was a trap. The question on the ballot was: “Shall Hawaii immediately be admitted into the Union as a state?”⁸⁹ The option for independence was never entertained. Perhaps more interesting is the fact of who voted. Any U.S. citizen who had resided in the islands for a year was allowed to vote, which included large numbers of American servicemen and their families, who were essentially the occupation force that illegally held Hawai‘i since the admittedly unlawful annexation in 1898. Kānaka Maoli would not have been allowed to vote if they refused to become American citizens, and immigrants from other countries who were not American citizens were not allowed to vote. A recent

⁸⁶ <http://statehoodhawaii.org/hist/sctl.html> retrieved on 19 October 2017.

⁸⁷ Hawai‘i followed Alaska and became the 50th state in the union.

⁸⁸ For further reading on the status of Japanese and Japanese American assimilation see David K. Abe’s *Rural Isolation and Dual Cultural Existence: The Japanese American Kona Coffee Community* (2017). For readings on internment camps see *Life Behind the Barbed Wire: The World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawaii Issei* by Soga, Hirai and Kashima (2007).

⁸⁹ www.statehoodhawaii.org/hist/pleb.html retrieved on 26 October 2017.

study notes that of the 474,580 who were eligible to vote in 1959, “341,800 —or roughly 65%— did not vote in favor of statehood.”⁹⁰ The numbers show that 132,938 votes were cast in favor of statehood and 7,854 individuals voted in opposition.⁹¹ The vast majority of the citizens did not register or cast a vote in this plebiscite orchestrated by the illegitimate American government arm in Hawai‘i. The vote for statehood was another act of treason on the Hawaiian Kingdom to secure the interests of the American government. This was an irrefutable violation of indigenous human rights for self-determination.⁹²

The desecration of land is yet another hewa that has gone part and parcel with the invasion of foreigners to our Pae ‘Āina. The sale of beachfront property for the development of resorts and hotels has not only displaced Kānaka Maoli, but has also desecrated sacred sites. Our *iwi kupuna* or remains of ancestors are frequently ignored. It is not uncommon for developers to dig up the remains of our ancestors and dispose or relocate them in order to complete their projects. The Ritz Carlton Hotel on the island of Maui, the Walmart Keeaumoku on O‘ahu, Hyatt Po‘ipū and more significantly the multitude of burial sites at Nohili on the island of Kaua‘i, better known today as PMRF, the Pacific Missile Range Facility are prime examples of this issue (Honolulu Star Bulletin, 13 June 1997). On my home island of Kaua‘i on the north shore at Naue Point, a developer who acquired land from the County of Kaua‘i resumed construction of a condominium project on land that was known as a burial site. Protests lasted months including a legal battle against the county and state by lineal descendants whose ancestors accounted for the thirty plus

⁹⁰<http://bambinoides.com/the-hawaiian-statehood-plebiscite-trap-the-statehood-timeline-aloha-for-hawaiians/> retrieved on 26 October 2017.

⁹¹(<http://bambinoides.com/the-hawaiian-statehood-plebiscite-trap-the-statehood-timeline-aloha-for-hawaiians/> retrieved on 16 September 2018).

⁹² United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2008, Article 4, pp. 4-5.

sets of remains that were located on the land. The protest fell on deaf ears. More than a dozen grave markers were removed, and they built directly above the remains (Finnegan, 2008; Ratner, 2011). Another example is the sacred rainforest of Wao Kele o Puna at the slopes of Kīlauea volcano on the island of Hawai‘i marked for geothermal development. The community rallied at many protests, filed lawsuits in the 1980’s opposing the development, and fought for two decades in the courts to save their sacred site. Unfortunately, these disturbing events are not an isolated incidents and desecration of sacred sites and burials continue today.

With the advent of social media, the most visible protest and movement of our time is that of Mauna Kea. The “Kū Kia‘i Mauna”⁹³ and “We Are Mauna Kea” campaigns have reached a worldwide audience over the past two years and still the Governor of the State of Hawai‘i, David Ige, supports the construction of the 30-meter telescope that will undoubtedly further desecrate our sacred mountain (Ige, 2015). Kānaka Maoli are forced to be vigilant in protecting our ‘āina and our rights. The fight and tenacity for these kinds of political movements began in the 1970’s, when much self-reflection of that generation led Kānaka Maoli to adopt a critical perspective of what had happened in society, motivating them to effect serious change for the status of Kānaka Maoli. A prime example of this is the Aloha ‘Āina movement to stop the bombing on the island of Kahao‘olawe. Kaho‘olawe or Kanaloa Moku as it is often referred to, was seminal to this Hawaiian cultural renaissance in the 1970’s. Taken by the U.S. Navy in 1941 for bombing and target practice, Kaho‘olawe and the neighboring island and residents on Maui suffered years of distress due to the constant bombing. In simulating a nuclear bomb test,

⁹³ Stand for/Guard the Mauna.

the island's water cap collapsed rendering an island incapable of maintaining its water.⁹⁴ The first government official to publically pursue the Navy in the 1960's was the Mayor of Maui Elmer Carvalho (Osorio, 2014). His motivation was economic. Cravalho and the Maui County Council were operating in the best interest of their tourism economy. During this time there was not much public awareness or attention for the island.

Kaho'olawe is a physical embodiment of one of our gods, Kanaloa the god of the sea. This island contains some of the richest cultural sites in Hawai'i and was a key element in traditional Hawaiian navigation. In 1976 a small grass-roots group of nine Kānaka Maoli, leaders of the Hawaiian revolution, occupied the island in protest of the bombing and for political recognition of Kānaka Maoli. The infamous nine were members of the Hui Alaloa that would eventually evolve into the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (PKO). The island was a tangible sacred site that channeled a desire from the young kanaka activists to heal their ancestral land. Osorio writes:

Aloha 'Āina became the official motto of the 'Ohana, appropriate not only for the meaning of the words, to cherish and care for the land, but for the historical symbolism of the name. *Ke Aloha 'Āina* had been the name that Joseph Nāwahī's turn of the century newspaper distinguished by its wholehearted support of Hawaiians and their culture, and its biting criticism of the haole elite. (2014, p. 146)

Years of demonstrations focused on land usage and access rights coupled with multiple lawsuits by the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana against the U.S. Navy

⁹⁴ Retrieved from www.Kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/hist.shtml.

and Government eventually stopped the bombing in 1990. Reinvigorating ancient religious ceremonial practices was instrumental for the PKO to gain access to the island. In 1994 the U.S. Navy conveyed the deed of ownership of Kaho‘olawe to the State of Hawai‘i. The Kaho‘olawe Island Reserve Commission was established to manage activities on island including the \$400 million Navy clean up that concluded in 2004. The island is healing, and for Kānaka Maoli that healing is analogous with the healing of our culture and us as a people. Kaho‘olawe represents a change of tide for Kānaka Maoli, it represents our cultural renaissance and revolution. Scholar George S. Kanahale wrote that the renaissance,

...reversed years of cultural decline; it has created a new kind of Hawaiian consciousness; it has inspired **greater pride in being Hawaiian**; it has led to bold and imaginative ways of reasserting our identity; it has led to a new political awareness; and it has had and will continue to have a positive impact on the economic and social uplifting of the Hawaiian community. (Kanahale, 1979, p. 1)

The very political Aloha ‘Āina movement, “a result of a new consciousness among Hawaiians” (Osorio, 2014, p. 141) had a domino effect on various aspects of Hawaiian rights and movements. The modern-day Hawaiian sovereignty movement emerges out of these land and water rights protests. The resurrection of traditional Hawaiian navigation on the double-hulled canoe vessel, the Hōkūle‘a, follows suit.⁹⁵ The growth of hālau of hula becomes visible and dance festivals like the *Merrie Monarch* materialize. The subverted tourist entertainments stripped of

⁹⁵ The Hōkūle‘a has just completed the four year Mālama Honua Worldwide Voyage visiting 85 ports and 26 nations.

meaning that had filled hotels and *luau*⁹⁶ shows were slowly replaced by culturally conscious authentic hula as a part of the renaissance.

At the heels of the cultural renaissance was the re-emergence of the Hawaiian language, ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. The overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani and the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, coupled with the establishment of the Republic of Hawai‘i in the following year, and the later annexation of the Republic to the United States in 1898, proved to be the beginning of the end of the dominance of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in its own homeland. The drastic restructuring of the political and economic climate in Hawai‘i incontrovertibly contributed to the rapid decline of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i use. Other influential factors were the abolishment of Hawaiian medium schools in 1896, the banning of the language in that very year, and the harsh punishment for speaking ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in the territorial schools. Around the turn of the century ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i was forbidden. In schools it was mandatory for students to learn and speak English. They were forced to assimilate to the American ways and ideals. Parents refrained from raising their children in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i believing that it would be a disadvantage for their child. In order to be successful in the modern world Kānaka Maoli chose to abandon their native language. The intergenerational transference of language and cultural knowledge ceased. ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i was quickly heading down the path of linguistic extinction like so many other indigenous languages throughout the world. This was in fact the result of what Ngūgī coined as the “cultural bomb.” In *Decolonising the Mind*, he writes:

The effects of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately

⁹⁶ In the 1930’s inauthentic dinner shows with “Hawaiian” entertainment were marketed to as luau to tourists promoting *hapa haole* music and exotic wahine hula dancers.

in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non achievement and it make them want to distance themselves from that wasteland. (Ngũgĩ, 1986, p. 3)

Silva echoes Ngũgĩ's theory recognizing that the American schooling system purposefully ignored our history and literature in the education of Kanaka Maoli youths. This crippled Kānaka Maoli for generations negatively impacting the lāhui as a whole. She states:

Thus the harm of language loss has been that many Kanaka Hawai'i have felt uncomfortable or even injured by this American schooling that has devalued the intellectual achievements of our kūpuna. The restoration of our well-being as Kanaka is enhanced by recovering the knowledge of our kūpuna as intellectuals and literary artists, and treating their works of literature as literature to be appreciated and studied. (Silva, 2012, p. 239)

The cultural renaissance and the Kanaka Maoli consciousness of the 1970's likely saved 'Ōlelo Hawai'i from extinction. Political uprising fueled protests and lobbying for 'Ōlelo Hawai'i resulting in the reinstatement of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i as an official language of the state in 1978, and the establishment of Hawaiian immersion schools and pre-schools modeled after the Māori Kōhanga Reo beginning on Kaua'i in 1984. Currently there are nineteen immersion school sites across the Pae 'Āina o Hawai'i which services approximately 1,700 students from Kindergarten through 12th grade. This number also includes Hawaiian language public charter schools such as Ke Kula 'o Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau on O'ahu, Nāwahīokalani'ōpu'u on Hawai'i Island, and Ke kula 'o Ni'ihau on Kaua'i. There are also eleven Pūnana Leo pre-schools across the archipelago that service twenty toddlers per site. The language revitalization efforts have produced many Hawaiian language speakers mainly through Hawaiian medium education and the university

language programs. Currently Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa teaches over 800 students each academic year. The courses range from elementary ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i to graduate level courses that delve into in-depth learning and analysis in a variety of content areas, reflective of the expertise of the faculty members on staff; e.g., mele, mo‘olelo, oratory, and linguistics. According to *Endangered Languages*, an on-line information and resource on dying languages, it is estimated that Hawaiian medium education schools have produced nearly 8,000 speakers of Hawaiian over the past 32 years.⁹⁷ It is nearly impossible to derive a definitive number of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i speakers, nonetheless ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is much more prevalent today than it has ever been with regular presence in the newspaper, i.e., *Kauakūalahale*,⁹⁸ and the media, i.e., *‘ŌIWI Television*.⁹⁹

The language movement, the Aloha ‘Āina movement, and the other cultural movements listed here are key elements that prompted decolonization in Hawai‘i. This re-birth of Hawaiian cultural practices and language parallels the wave of revolution of other Pacific Island nations. In fact, Kanahēle states that,

...enthusiasm for reaffirming ethnic identity did not emerge wholly or spontaneously out of the Hawaiian community. Rather, it arose as

⁹⁷ endangeredlanguages.com/lang/haw retrieved on 10 January 2018.

⁹⁸ *Kauakūalahale* is a weekly Hawaiian language newspaper column, published in Honolulu newspapers since October 27, 2002. It first appeared in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* in the Sunday edition (until the last two weeks of 2008, Saturdays thereafter) until June 12, 2010, when the *Honolulu Advertiser* and the *Star-Bulletin* merged. It has been published in the *Honolulu Star-Advertiser* since June 18, 2010.

⁹⁹ “‘Ōiwi Television produces top-quality documentaries, news and multimedia content from a uniquely Hawaiian perspective. The wisdom, beauty and power of Hawai‘i are the backdrop to the most important and interesting narratives of our generation. Founded by Nā‘ālehu Anthony, Keoni Lee, and Amy Kalili, this next generation of Native Hawaiian storytellers aim to tell the stories of our land and our people,” (<https://oiwi.tv/about/>).

part of national and worldwide movements, by which racial or ethnic minorities sought to rediscover and revitalize their ties to their cultural past. (G.S.H. Kanahale, 1986, p. 4).

In 1976 Kanaka Maoli John Dominis Holt IV wrote an essay entitled *On Being Hawaiian* where he addressed the awakening of Kānaka Maoli, and the complexities of identity during the cultural renaissance. In reflecting on the history of colonization and the reclaiming of Kanaka Maoli identity he writes:

We have been wronged cruelly and now we ask that we be given back what is ours: our self-respect, the right to be ourselves as Polynesians of today, as our black brothers and sisters have fought so hard to regain a respect for blackness, for Africanness in the turbulence of recent years. We assume the right to win back our lands, those belonging to us, as “reservations” “belong” to our Indian brothers and sister. (Dominis Holt, 1976, p. 9)

Today we as a people realize that the failure to maintain intergenerational transfer of traditional knowledge, language, and practices is what weakened us as a people. There is a conscious effort to repair that continuum of knowledge. For a period of time Kānaka Maoli were fragmented, even estranged from our true selves. However, we are quickly moving from survival mode to thriving status. On January 17th, 1993,¹⁰⁰ in honor of the centennial commemoration of the overthrow of our kingdom, 15,000 Kānaka Maoli marched to ‘Iolani Palace. They joined the ‘Onipa‘a commemoration where 50,000 people observed a reenactment of the U.S. invasion of Hawai‘i (Vogeler, 2014, p. 258), followed by the delivery of historic speeches such as Queen Lili‘uokalani’s protest statement to the U.S. That year

¹⁰⁰ In November 1983 U.S. president Bill Clinton signed into law the Apology Resolution to the Native Hawaiians recognizing the illegal overthrow. No settlement or claims were included on the resolution.

Hawai‘i’s governor John Waihe‘e, of Kanaka Maoli descent, refused to raise the American flag over the buildings near ‘Iolani Palace during the three days of the ‘Onipa‘a commemoration (Vogeler, 2014, p. 258). This event was a powerful display of Kanaka Maoli consciousness. Holding steadfast to our culture and language we are bridging that continuum of knowledge to pass down the legacy of our ancestors to the next generation. We have embraced the modern world and integrated the traditional ways of our ancestors to create new venues and means of expression. For example, the practice of Hawaiian medium theatre (*Hana Keaka*), the focus of this thesis, is a movement in itself empowering Kanaka Maoli identity. Hana Keaka shares the stories of our ancestors and addresses political issues faced throughout the generations that continue to resonate today. The retelling of our stories is a means to reconnect to our roots both ethnic and cultural. We carry our ancestors on our shoulders as we navigate through the turbulent seas as cultural and language warriors braving the battlefield. In the words of one of our great chiefs Kamehameha when he led his warriors into the largest battle of his time on the island of Maui, “*I mua e nā pōki‘i a inu i ka wai ‘awa‘awa, ‘a‘ole hope e ho‘i aku ai.*”¹⁰¹ This saying has become a motto for us Kānaka Maoli in times of adversity. We are moving forward, we drink the bitter waters, stand firm and face the opposition without retreat.

3.6 Kēia Au e Holo nei: Current Day

We Kānaka Maoli are known for our aloha spirit, our accommodating gestures and our gracious personalities. The perception out in the world perpetuates

¹⁰¹ “Move forward young brothers and drink the bitter waters, there is no retreat” (King Kamehameha).

the surfboard beach culture of lazy, laid back ‘ukulele playing *mokes*¹⁰² and exotic maidens dancing hula for tourists sipping on mai tais, in the ultimate vacation get away of tropical islands with great year-round weather and no pests. However, amidst all of this there has been a smoldering underbelly of resistance brewing beneath the smiles and bikinis, a hard and resolve movement for justice, readdress, and acknowledgement of the wrongs that have been perpetrated against the lāhui Hawai‘i.¹⁰³ The misrepresentation of our ‘āina, people, and beliefs, and the commodification of our culture and performance practices must be rectified. This is a major part of the decolonization process. We must Kū Kanaka¹⁰⁴ as George Hū‘eu Kanahale’s book proclaimed. For only when we stand as Kānaka Maoli will we be recognized and enact the very essence of being Kānaka Maoli.

3.6.1 Kū Ha‘aheo e Ku‘u Hawai‘i:¹⁰⁵ Kanaka Maoli Identity

It is difficult to cite current population statistics of those who ethnically identify as Kanaka Maoli for a couple of reason. First, the most recent U.S. census now combines Native Hawaiians with Other Pacific Islander that includes Samoan, Tongan, Tahitian, Chamorro, Chukeese, Paluan, Fijian, etc. Second, currently there is no mechanism for collecting data on all Kānaka Maoli, especially those who maybe “houseless” or those who refuse to participate in the U.S. census collection of data. Nonetheless, the total population of Kānaka Maoli in the 2000 U.S. census that listed Native Hawaiians separate from other Pacific Island peoples consisted of

¹⁰² A Hawai‘i slang word for a big local man who looks and acts tough. May be used in a derogatory manner.

¹⁰³ For more on this see Haunani K. Trask’s essay *Lovely Hula Hands*, 2008.

¹⁰⁴ Stand as Kanaka, to stand proud and strong with the idea that we must hold our own and fight our battles.

¹⁰⁵ “Stand proudly my beloved Hawai‘i,” is a lyric from a mele composed in 2012 by Hinaleimoana Wong-Kalu, a Kanaka Maoli activist and educator. The mele calls to all of the islands in the Pae ‘Āina to gather and stand tall. This mele is considered by some as our modern day mele lāhui (national song).

476,000 ethnic identified Kānaka Maoli.¹⁰⁶ The 2010 U.S. census reported 1,225,195 ethnically identified Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander alone or in combination with another ethnicity.¹⁰⁷ The other entity that I pursued for statistics was The Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). OHA has numbers for all Native Hawaiians who participated in the controversial *Kau Inoa* or Hawaiian Registry campaign around the time that the Akaka Bill was being promulgated in the United States Senate. This registry's goal was to collect 200,000 names of Native Hawaiians through the verification of their biological mo'okū'auhau or "indigenous Hawaiian ancestry."¹⁰⁸ The *Kau Inoa* campaign was boycotted by many Kānaka Maoli who felt that endorsing OHA was endorsing the Akaka Bill, which in its iteration of the time would have classified Native Hawaiians with Native Americans and treated us as such based on the "Nation within a Nation" framework (Wang, 2016). On the heels of *Kau Inoa* was *Kana'iolowalu*, an even more contested registry campaign designed by the State of Hawai'i to enroll a list of Native Hawaiians who would vote on the future Hawaiian Government, model pending of course. The marketing for this campaign used catch phrases like, "Kana'iolowalu. Unrelinquished. Undeterred. Unified to rebuild the Hawaiian nation."¹⁰⁹ As of October 2015, *Kana'iolowalu* had collected and verified a total of 95,690¹¹⁰ Native Hawaiians for their registry. *Kana'iolowalu* was promoted as a nation building effort in preparation of *Na'i Aupuni*, an 'aha that would assemble 40 delegates total from all of the islands in the archipelago to discuss and plan the future governance

¹⁰⁶ (<https://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/c2kbr01-14.pdf> retrieved on 5 December 2017).

¹⁰⁷ (<https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-12.pdf> retrieved on 5 December 2017).

¹⁰⁸ (<https://www.oha.org/registry>)

¹⁰⁹ (<http://kanaiolowalu.org/>).

¹¹⁰ Total names listed on the on-line registry as documented by Susan Essoyan in the Star Advertiser in 2015. <http://www.staradvertiser.com/2015/07/28/breaking-news/certified-native-hawaiian-roll-posted-online-with-95690-names/>

of the Hawaiian nation.¹¹¹ *Na‘i Aupuni* failed miserably. Kānaka Maoli could not have been more divided on the issue. In the development of the *‘Aha Na‘i Aupuni* and *Kana‘iolowalu* there was the *Un-Kau Inoa* campaign that encouraged Kānaka Maoli to pull their names from the registry declaring the lack of trust in these government efforts supported by American dollars.¹¹² It may be apparent that unfortunately no particular Hawai‘i entity has any definitive data on current demographics for Kānaka Maoli at this time. Therefore by default, the numbers published by the U.S. census remain the only form of a somewhat comprehensive study on demographics of Kānaka Maoli living in the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i and the continental United States to cite. While the two processes that tried to determine the population of Kānaka Maoli were ill conceived, there still remains a need to better understand the demographics of Kānaka Maoli. I suggest that this study would be undertaken by an independent entity of Kānaka Maoli not connected to any government or sovereignty or political entity.

Now for an even more precarious statistic to assess; of those who ethnically identified as Kanaka Maoli, how many of them would identify as culturally practicing Kanaka Maoli and/or speakers of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. From the U.S. census in 2010 we have no way of knowing how many of the 1,225,195 are Kānaka Maoli in comparison with Other Pacific Islanders as the response was written on the census. In an alternative population study, Sara Kēhaulani Goo, a former editor at Pew Research Center, published a report in 2015 estimating that there are “more than 560,000 Americans who claim Native Hawaiian race.”¹¹³ Taking this estimate

¹¹¹ Details on the ‘Aha available on their website: <https://vote.election-america.com/naiaupuni/nomination.htm>

¹¹² (JusticeforHawaiians.com/tag/how-to-remove-your-name-from-kau-inoa retrieved on 2 January 2018).

¹¹³ (<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/04/06/native-hawaiian-population/> retrieved on 5 December 2017).

and cross referencing that with population demographics for the “State of Hawai‘i” we find that in 2010 Kānaka Maoli made up 27.7% of Hawai‘i’s population or 289,970 kānaka according to a publication by Kamehameha Schools.¹¹⁴ If taken for face value we can optimistically assume that those living in their homeland who ethnically identify as Kanaka Maoli may also be culturally aware. This may be a utopian assumption and does not provide concrete data to prove that ethnic Kanaka Maoli practice a Kanaka Maoli cultural identity. Truly there is no mechanism to produce empirical data on the demographics of cultural identity in addition to ethnic identity. Perhaps for a conservative estimate of culturally practicing Kānaka Maoli I could turn to data from families enrolled in the Kula Kaiapuni, or Kamehameha Schools enrollment for cultural programs, or other Hawaiian organizations that conduct and support cultural, religious, or language teaching such as the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center, the ‘Aha Kāne, or the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana. Perhaps a figure or percentage could be produced but these numbers would be nebulous. Instead of chasing numbers, for the remainder of this chapter, I will focus on what Kanaka Maoli identity is beyond ethnicity as Kanahale explains to be the academic term for awareness of identity (GHS Kanahale, 1986, p. 3). I will also detail how one may equivocate cultural identity by discussing practices and organizations that promote and nurture Kanaka Maoli identity in today’s modern time.

¹¹⁴(http://www.ksbe.edu/_assets/spi/pdfs/kh/Ka_Huakai_2014/Chapter_One_-_Native_Hawaiian_Population.pdf, 2014, pp. 10-12, retrieved on 5 December 2017).

3.6.2 I Pono nā Mamo a Hāloa:¹¹⁵ Language Practice

Kanaka Maoli identity is linked to the practice of culture, religion, and language. Language is the primary index of our identity. This was indeed the belief of our kūpuna. An unidentified Kanaka Maoli author expressed this concept and the fear of loss of identity in a 1917 article published in *Ka Puuhonua o Hawaii* newspaper. Under the title *Olelo Hawaii* the author writes,

I ike ia no ke kanaka no kekahi lahui ma kana olelo. Ina e nalowale ana ka olelo makuahine o kekahi lahui, e nalohia aku ana no ia lahui. I keia la, ua nalohia aku ko kakou kuokoa, a i ka pau ana o ka kakou olelo makuahine, o ka pau ana no ia o ka lahui Hawaii. (26 Jan 1917, p. 1)

[An individual's ethnic/national identity is evident through their language. If a nation's/people's language should disappear, so too would that nation/people vanish. At the present time, our independence has been lost, when our mother tongue is gone, that would indeed be the end of the Hawaiian nation/race.]

Assistant Professor of Applied Linguistics at Wollo University Ethiopia, Rukya Hassen, Ph.D., echoes the same sentiments in a 2016 article on language, identity, and social power in Ethiopia. Hassen talks about the symbolic function of language and the expression of identity through language use. This indexing is also linked to religious, political, social, and economic power in the community (Hassen, 2016). Through language the historical and collective experience of a people is

¹¹⁵ This is the motto of the Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa that "honors Hāloa as a common ancestor of the Hawaiian people, asserting a hope that the descendants of Hāloa will find balance again, by recognizing our responsibility to ensure a righteous and successful future for these descendants, who are the Hawaiian people, as well as our history, our cultural practices, and our language." <http://manoa.hawaii.edu/nhss/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Fall-2011-Welina-Kawaihuelani-Student-Handbook.pdf> retrieved on 18 September 2018.

communicated. Language also expresses culturally specific worldviews and value systems of a culture. Renowned African writer and scholar Ngũgĩ Wa Thiong'o has published numerous texts on the notion of language as the carrier of culture. In an interview in 1985 with Hansel Ndumbe Eyoh, Ngũgĩ stated:

...language is a carrier of a people's culture; culture is a carrier of a people's values; values are the basis of a people's self-definition - the basis of their consciousness. And when you destroy a people's language, you are destroying that very important aspect of their heritage...you are in fact destroying that which helps them to define themselves...that which embodies their collective memory as a people. (1985, p. 157)¹¹⁶

Ngũgĩ's words resonate with the Kanaka Maoli experience. American colonization nearly destroyed every fiber in the Kanaka Maoli tapestry through the banning of our language in 1896, the theft of our nation, the forced assimilation to American culture, and English language dominance across our Pae 'Āina. For nearly a century the language of our land and Kanaka Maoli identity took a back seat to the dominant U.S. culture. During this time, kūpuna in rural communities held steadfast to their native language, cultural practices, religious beliefs, and Hawaiian epistemology. It was as if Kānaka laid dormant until the 1970's when the cultural and language renaissance erupted like Kīlauea volcano¹¹⁷ making its presence known.

3.6.3 'Au'a 'ia e Kama, e kona moku:¹¹⁸ Religious and Cultural Practice

The resurgence of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i and the growth of the 'Ōlelo Hawai'i

¹¹⁶ Retrieved from <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/32j2p716>- on 22 oct 2017.

¹¹⁷ Kīlauea is an active shield volcano on Hawai'i Island and is home to the goddess of volcanism, Pele. Its current eruption began on May 3, 2018, covering hundreds of acres of land expanding to the coast line of Kapoho Iki. As of the submission date of this thesis the lava continues to flow today with daily earthquakes emanating from the crater. The previous eruption was in 1983.

¹¹⁸ "Kama refuses to part with his island," is the title and lyric from a temple hula composition by Keaulumoku, a kahuna, who speaks to retaining one's heritage. Written as a mele inoa for

community has certainly raised Kanaka Maoli consciousness. Specific organizations have made the reestablishment of traditional religious ceremonies the paramount goal of their entity. For example, the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana’s (PKO) premise for accessing the island is based on religious practice.¹¹⁹ The PKO conducts semi-annual ceremonies on island for the observance of *Makahiki*,¹²⁰ a time for invoking the god Lono¹²¹ to preside over the ‘āina which in turn ensures a bountiful harvest for the upcoming year. Historian Kepa Maly states, “Makahiki connects people with the sacred familial relationship shared with the land and natural resources about them” (Penniman, 2012). Traditionally makahiki punctuated the yearly farming cycle in ancient Hawai‘i and was a time of renewal for the people, the land, and the sea due to restrictions on regular harvesting practices.

The patrons of Lono prepare offerings to the akua, they recite prayers and incantations in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, and they observe *kapu*¹²² in honor of the akua.

Aikanaka, maternal grandfather of Queen Lili‘uokalani, the mele contains references to ritual practices such as the rites of human sacrifice at heiau luakini.

¹¹⁹ (protectkahoolaweohana.org - retrieved on 22 October 2017)

¹²⁰ The Makahiki season is a four-month period of the year, beginning with the first sighting of the makali‘i (the constellation Pleiades) in late October or early November on the horizon. As the year’s harvest was gathered, tribute in the form of goods and produce were given to the chiefs from November through December. Various rites of purification and celebration in December and January closed the observance of the makahiki season.

The makahiki was a form of the “first fruits” festivals common to many cultures. Something similar was observed throughout Polynesia, and in Hawai‘i the festival reached its greatest elaboration. (<http://www.protectkahoolaweohana.org/makahiki.html>- retrieved on 22 October 2017)

¹²¹ Lono is the only Hawaiian deity that departs and returns with the season. Lono circumnavigates the islands clockwise, going from one boundary (ahu) to the next collecting the bounty of each districts harvest. The akua-loa or effigy of Lono (carved wooden staff with a carved human head draped with kapa (tapa) cloth. Each district/land division had an akua-poko that the chiefs arranged to accompany the akua-loa on the collection of offerings. When the collections were complete in one district it was time for the akua-pā‘ani (god of games) to take over leading the next portion of the celebration. Makahiki season was a four month period of celebration, religious practices and entertainment (hula, chanting, music, sports (foot races, wrestling, spear throwing, tug of war, boxing), demonstrations of intellect, guessing games (pūhenehene), and hula kilu.

¹²² Prohibitions, restrictions, sacred.

Regular participation in these ceremonies, especially for those fluent in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, inevitably awakens a Kanaka Maoli identity. The makahiki ceremonial practices are an interactive embodiment of Kanaka Maoli ontological relationship with the ‘āina and akua fortifying Kanaka consciousness.

Another arena in which Kanaka Maoli cultural practice and language use are employed is in the hālau hula. I must disclose that the pendulum of fluency in language and Kanaka epistemologies vary greatly from one hālau to the next. Nevertheless, most hālau strive to replicate Hawaiian values and ways of teaching. Kumu Hula of a traditional hālau that patrons hula deities maintain a *kuahu* or altar in the consecrated space where they hold their hālau.¹²³ The *kuahu* is dressed with the *kinolau* (physical embodiments on earth) of the hula deities. Regularly tended to, the altar may even be fed with ‘*awa* (kava root) and other prescribed offerings. These acts are indicative of religious practices that were once banned by the missionaries. The resurrection of these religious practices engages hula practitioners with their akua. Similar to the makahiki religious ceremonies, ceremonial hula practices stimulate Kanaka Maoli consciousness opening the channels for ancestral memory. Dr. Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahēle, Kanaka Maoli scholar and loea¹²⁴ of hula, mele, and oli, writes in her book *Ka Honau Ola* that when we engage in Hawaiian language, knowledge, and practices we open the channel for our kūpuna to communicate with us, “...and information flows freely through dreams, thoughts, and participation in hula and other aspects of daily Hawaiian living” (2011, p. xiv). The practice of hula under the circumstances

¹²³ (www.kumukahi.org/units/ke_ao_akua/akua/laka -retrieved on 10 December 2017).

¹²⁴ Skill, ingenuity, cleverness; expert, clever, ingenious, adept, deft, technical, skillful, dexterous, handy, skilled; skilled person.

described above rouses a Kanaka Maoli consciousness where one reconnects with their akua, ancestors, and ancestral knowledge.

In the book *Lua-The Art of the Hawaiian Warrior*, authors Sally-Jo Kealaoanuenue Bowman, Tamara Leiokanoe Moan, Moses Elwood Kalauokalani, and Jerry Walker explain that there are many believed origins of this art form most of which are linked to the akua. They also explain that *lua* (Hawaiian martial arts) is a way of life. Lua training includes cultural learning and spirituality to ground the individual. The teachings also help with understanding the human realm (*ao*) and the spiritual realm (*pō*). Prayer in the form of chant was also very important and provided encouragement, inspiration, appeal to the gods and family deities (*'aumakua*) to increase strength, skill, watchfulness, bravery, fearlessness, to protect from fatigue and quickness in jumping or movement. The modern-day practice of this form is yet another example of awakening Kanaka Maoli consciousness. To expand on the modern practice of this form I must mention the *Ho'oku'ikahi* commemoration of 1991 held at Pu'ukoholā heiau on Hawai'i Island. This event brought together lua practitioners, Hawaiian civic clubs, and the National Park Service members who managed Pu'ukoholā as a means to, “unify Kanaka Maoli searching for cultural identity, spiritual guidance, and political sovereignty” (Tengan, 2014, p. 118). According to Kāwika Tengan, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Pu'ukoholā is a wahi paha for the Kanaka Maoli warrior movement that has revived the training and practice of lua (Tengan, 2014, p. 120). The regular gathering of *Nā Papa Kanaka o Pu'ukoholā*, the organizational body of the Pu'ukoholā ceremonies, *Nā Wa'a Lālani Kahuna*, a group of ritual specialists, and *Hale Mua*,¹²⁵ a cultural

¹²⁵ Formerly known as Nā Koa (the warriors or courageous ones).

organization modeled after the men’s eating house and domestic temple in traditional times, has indeed contributed to the revitalization of cultural practices and politics.

3.6.4 Kaulana nā pua o Hawai‘i, Kūpa‘a ma hope o ka ‘āina:¹²⁶ Cultural Awareness and Aloha ‘Āina

The Honorable Joseph Kaho‘oluhi Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u once stated, “O ke aloha aina, oia ka Ume Mageneti i loko o ka puuwai o ka Lahui,” [The love for land, that is magnetic allure inside of the heart of the (Hawaiian) nation.] (Nawahiokalaniopuu, 1895). A staunch Aloha ‘Āina patriot, Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u captured the relationship of Kānaka Maoli in this declaration. The ‘āina is what connects us to who we are, it is the magnet that pulls us back to our roots, our ancestors from whence we come. Modern day Kānaka Maoli have heeded the call to re-cultivate the ‘āina as a means to assert our sovereignty and identity. There are numerous examples of the resurgence of aloha ‘āina through farming and aquaculture across the Pae ‘Āina, however I will focus on the activities in the moku of Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu, specifically the ahupua‘a of He‘eia, where my maternal ancestors are from and where I now live with my ‘ohana. The initial current day movement in He‘eia began in the 1990’s at the loko i‘a of He‘eia. In traditional times the *kuapā* or enclosed fishpond of 88 acres supplied seafood for Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu. Retired Professor of Ethnic Studies Marion Kelly explains that fishponds provided Hawaiians with a regular supply of fish when ocean fishing was not possible or did not yield sufficient supply (Kelly, 1976). In 2001, a group of young Kānaka Maoli established Paepae o He‘eia to manage and maintain He‘eia fishpond

¹²⁶ “Famous are the children of Hawai‘i, Ever loyal to the land.” These lyrics come from the famous Mele Aloha ‘Āina composed by Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Prendergrast in 1893 shortly after the overthrow.

and also serve as guardians for the precious resource. Through a partnership with Kamehameha Schools, the landowners, Paepae o He‘eia has established restoration, education, and production programs. Perhaps the most iconic accomplishment of Paepae o He‘eia was the repairing of the extensive kuapā that surrounds the entire pond. This was accomplished through the restoration program and the many hands of the community and participating schools. Today Ka Loko I‘a o He‘eia has inspired other communities to restore their fishponds with the hope of reviving fishpond practices based on the moon phases in order to feed the community.

In addition to the work of Paepae o He‘eia, other non-profit land based organizations located in the ahupua‘a of He‘eia have formed in recent years. The various entities all work towards food and/or land resource sustainability. These organizations include Kāko‘o ‘Ōiwi, an organization working to restore agricultural and ecological productivity to the alluvial wetlands of He‘eia, Hui Kū Maoli Ola, a Native Hawaiian plant nursery, and Papahana Kūaola, a non-profit organization focused on environmental restoration and economic sustainability. The practice of *mahi ‘ai* (farming or cultivating food) is essential to reconnecting kānaka to the ‘āina. Papahana Kūaola located in the ‘ili of Waipao has become a hub for school and community groups to practice aloha ‘āina by working the land as *mahi ‘ai* (farmers) in the *lo‘i kalo* (taro patches) and *māla ‘uala* (sweet potato garden). Located a mile inland from Papahana Kūaola, Ke Kula ‘o S.M. Kamakau participates regularly in the stewardship of the ‘āina of He‘eia. For the students of Ke Kula ‘o S.M. Kamakau, mahi‘ai is reflected in the holistic curriculum that engages their mind, body, and spirit with the weekly hands-on experiences at Papahana Kūaola. Tilling the soil, planting, cleaning the irrigation routes or *‘auwai*, and harvesting the crops reunites the young kānaka with their cultural identity. The

practice of mahi 'ai instills an appreciation for the 'āina causing kānaka to reflect and recognize our dependence on our ancestor Hāloa and the environment. When we choose to live closely connected to the land we are humbled by its wonder and resources. Caring for the land and consuming the food of the land that sustained our ancestors for hundreds of years is a spiritual experience that transforms one's relationship to the 'āina. Returning to the land through mahi'ai kalo and the restoration of the loko i'a are prime examples of aloha 'āina practices that empower Kanaka Maoli identity, while providing alternatives for sustainable living and encouraging food sovereignty for our Pae 'Āina.

In addition to mahi 'ai, Papahana Kūaola provides opportunities to learn the geographical features of the ahupua'a, the waterways such as Ha'akōlea, a freshwater stream that soothes the aching bodies at the end of the work day, traditional herbal medicine, mo'olelo about the area, and other workshops on cultural practices. Papahana Kūaola provides an avenue for those of He'eia to reconnect with the 'āina by establishing a relationship with the 'ili of Waipao. In order to properly steward the land in terms of a Kanaka Maoli epistemology, one must *ho'okama 'āina* or become familiar with the 'āina learning its features such as its rains and winds, its strengths, its vulnerabilities, and your place or function within the 'āina. In a study on the worldview on our ancestor's relationship to the 'āina, Kanaka Maoli scholar Sydney Lehua Iaukea, describes how the knowing of *makani* (wind) assured that one would never be lost, "both geographically and...epistemologically" (2009, p. 48). She explains, "To know the winds of a particular place was to know one's precise location, to understand the deities that existed therein, and to be sensitive to the differences in the landscape and seascape in that space" (2009, p. 49). Iaukea describes the intimate relationship that Kānaka

Maoli have with their environment. This relationship is intrinsically tied to Kanaka Maoli identity; we are extensions of our ‘āina and we represent that ‘āina. In Kanaka Maoli ontology we relate to one another based on our association to ‘āina. For example, when you meet another kanaka the first question will undoubtedly be, “*No hea mai ‘oe?* [Where are you from?]” *No hea* in this question indicates “origin” or “representation.” This question truly asks, “Where one’s origin is,” or “Where do you represent?” This question is salient evidence that one’s connection to the ‘āina is indeed connected to their identity. When I respond to the question with, “*No Kapa‘a mai au,*” I recognize Kapa‘a as my place of origin and know that I am of that ‘āina and all that it represents. Kapa‘a is who I am as a Kanaka Maoli who was raised in the inland region of Pu‘u Ka‘a at the footholds of Mount Wai‘ale‘ale. That ‘āina has shaped me, it has left an indelible imprint on me that I will carry for the rest of my life. There is also great aloha and pride for that ‘āina because it is a part of you. Many talk about being drawn back to one’s kulāiwi. That draw is the relationship one has developed over time with their kulāiwi. It is a relationship that defines who you are.

Thus far I have covered the reawakening of Kanaka Maoli consciousness through group efforts like the Makahiki ritual ceremonies on Kaho‘olawe, the reinvigoration of kāne through the pā lua and ‘Aha Kāne, the reconnection with traditional knowledge and performance in hālau hula, and the reestablishment of traditional lo‘i kalo and loko i‘a as a means to reconnect to our ‘āina. In addition to group efforts to achieve Kanaka Maoli consciousness, I would like to mention the deliberate decision that an individual makes to ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i on a daily basis and how that reflects one’s identity. When speaking your native tongue your thoughts are reflective of the worldview of that culture. Your language embodies the ways,

concepts, and beliefs of your ancestors. For example, the use of ‘Ōlelo No‘eau instills the intricate details of the world of our kūpuna. Proverbs also contain value systems particular to one’s lāhui. By utilizing these proverbs we participate in the continuum of knowledge and perpetuate a cultural identity. For Kānaka Maoli, the choice to ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in our homeland is political. We position ourselves as the native people of our ‘āina claiming our sovereignty through speaking our language. We know that in order for our culture to survive we need our language. The proverb, “*I ka ‘ōlelo nō ke ola, i ka ‘ōlelo nō ka make,*” can be translated a couple of different ways. The common literal translation is “In language there is life, and in language there is death.” Figuratively, words can invigorate life or inflict death. We can also translate this proverb to mean if we speak the language, it will survive, for if we do not, it will indeed perish. This proverb is frequently invoked in the ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i sector of the Kanaka Maoli community to remind everyone of the importance of our language. The survival of our language exists in the *alelo* (tongue) of those who are speakers of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. We must exercise our alelo for it is our mana, the path to self-determination and the practice of Kanaka Maoli consciousness.

3.7 Panina: Chapter Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have made an attempt to represent the history of Kānaka Maoli from our origin stories to contemporary times. Using chronological events to illustrate the key transitional moments in time, I have detailed traditional society, contact with the westerners, colonization, and its negative effects on Kānaka Maoli. I then turned to the raising of a Kanaka Maoli consciousness that catapulted the cultural renaissance of the 1970’s, the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, and decolonization efforts that presently continue. The chapter closed with the current day status of Kānaka Maoli selecting and covering prime examples

of cultural, religious, and language practices that define a Kanaka Maoli identity. All of these elements described here are represented in the Kanaka Maoli theatre making space. In subsequent chapters I will illustrate how Hana Keaka draws on our history, culture, religion, and language to empower Kanaka Maoli identity and consciousness.

This chapter covers so many aspects of Kanaka Maoli history, society, politics, and identity by drawing on the pivotal works of Kanaka Maoli scholarship that has emerged over the past couple of decades. I must recognize those who have come before me to *waele i ke alahele* (clear the path) as Kanaka Maoli academics so that I like many of my contemporaries can contribute to the growing repository of Kanaka Maoli scholarship. This chapter does not do justice to the depth and complexities of Kanaka Maoli existence. For further reading on the many subjects I have touched on here in this chapter, I encourage the reader to seek out the compelling scholarship of Kanaka Maoli academics today who are regularly publishing in their areas of specialization.

Chapter 4

The History of Hana Keaka

4.1 Wehena: Chapter Introduction

In this chapter I will explore the origin of hana keaka detailing the roots of Hawaiian theatre. I will chronicle the surfacing of the term hana keaka in Hawaiian language newspapers, ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i texts from the 1800’s, and oral tradition by means of archived interviews with elders from the 1960’s - 1980’s. The chapter brings to light the theatrical activity led by Kānaka Maoli during the monarchical period into the territorial years and past annexation, proving that Kānaka Maoli have a history of creating and producing hana keaka (that at times may have been classified by another name). The performance elements or kūkulu of hana keaka will be described as a means to illustrate the aesthetics of an indigenously Hawaiian form of theatrical performance. The function of hana keaka will be discussed while looking at both the historical and modern practices of hana keaka. This section includes a timeline of key dates in the development of theatre in Hawai‘i. As a major contributor to modern day hana keaka over the past twenty-two years, Ka Hālau Hanakeaka’s production history will be highlighted as a part of this chapter. The institutionalization of hana keaka at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa through the establishment of the Hawaiian Theatre Program in the Department of Theatre and Dance and other contemporary hana keaka activities will also be covered. The chapter concludes with discussion on the impact of hana keaka.

4.2 Hana Keaka: Hawaiian-Medium Theatre

Kānaka Maoli, similar to other Indigenous peoples in the Pacific, have sustained their knowledge and practices through oral tradition for hundreds of years. From ritual incantations and ceremonies to varied types of storytelling, music

and dance forms the long-standing tradition of performance were done for both religious and entertainment purposes. The *mole* (ancestral root, foundation) of these performances begins in the esoteric with the gods in our primordial history. Recorded in oral tradition, our mo‘olelo communicate the spiritual origins of performance. Mo‘olelo such as *Pele and Hi‘iaka*, *Poli‘ahu*, *Halemano*, and *Lā‘ieikawai* all mention nights of entertainment that included a *kilu*¹²⁷ ceremony featuring chanting and hula performed by our gods. Furthermore, the season of Makahiki (see Chapter 3) was based around ritual ceremony and celebration that emphasized the exhibition of arts and skills. Performance is a pillar of Kanaka Maoli identity that connects us to our gods. Many of these performative oratory forms continue to be practiced today by Kānaka Maoli as performance is a cornerstone of our culture.

4.2.1 No ia mea he hana keaka: What is hana keaka?

Hana keaka is the Hawaiian term for theatre. The concept of hana keaka may or may not be an indigenously Hawaiian form. The term hana keaka can be broken down into two words; *hana* meaning to do and *keaka* is likely a transliteration of theatre. Hana keaka then would simply express the act of making theatre. The origin, development, and practice of this form will be explored here in detail. The goal of this section is to establish a historical account of the practice of hana keaka by Kānaka Maoli. The dearth of research and scholarship in the field of hana keaka is apparent. Most modern day research and publications pertaining to

¹²⁷ According to Pukui and Elbert the *kilu* is a small gourd or coconut shell, usually cut lengthwise, as used for storing small, choice objects, or to feed favorite children from. It was also used as a quoit in the *kilu* game: the player chanted as he tossed the *kilu* towards an object placed in front of one of the opposite sex; if he hit the goal he claimed a kiss; to play this game (1986, p. 152).

theatre in Hawai‘i have drawn from English language resources resulting in a limited view of what truly existed. For this chapter I draw from the wealth of knowledge printed in the Hawaiian language newspapers from 1834 – 1948. This repository is virtually unexplored regarding the practice of hana keaka. Although the newspaper archives are my primary resource for this research, I have also delved into the recordings of interviews conducted with elders in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i from the Bishop Museum, the Kanahele Collection¹²⁸, and talk shows like *Ka Leo Hawai‘i*.¹²⁹ These recordings are often referred to as *lipine*. The lipine are filled mainly with thematic conversations of native speakers that include biographical information, topical conversation such as important historical events, occupational training, traditional practices, and so forth. The lipine encapsulate moments in time that harken back to traditional ways of learning, that is oral tradition. The vast majority of research for this thesis is based in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i.

During the time coined as the “monarchy period” from 1820 into the turn of the century, ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i was the primary medium of communication amongst citizens living here. Kānaka Maoli and Hawaiian nationals alike were fluent in the language. ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i was the language of business, politics, law, church, scholarly activities, and so on. The status of the Hawaiian language is evident in the

¹²⁸ The Kanahele collection is a repository of recorded Hawaiian language interviews located at Brigham Young University Hawai‘i campus.

¹²⁹ In 1972 the radio program *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* (The Hawaiian Voice), was broadcast on KCCN-AM. It was originally conceived as a 30-minute, bi-weekly program on Sundays, but due to popular demand it was soon extended to a weekly hour-long format. *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* was a general interest talk show consisting of interviews with native speakers. Larry Kimura, one of the program’s founders, describes the show as an effort to “help and support Hawaiian language students to get their ears used to hearing the Hawaiian language.” *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* aired for 16 years, ending in 1988. (<http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/making-waves-hawaiian-language-air> retrieved on 29 July 2017). In 1991, the show was revived, again as a weekly one-hour program, this time hosted by interviewers Puakea Nogelmeier, Tuti Kanahele, and Hau‘oli Akaka. Per Puakea Nogelmeier, radio time was purchased by private donations from ‘Ahaui ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (the Hawaiian Language Association) and Grace Pacific Corporation; the interviewers were volunteers.

printed material of the time, such as legal documents, land surveys and the multitude of newspapers. In this time period there were numerous Hawaiian language newspapers in print resulting in a repository of 125,000 pages of newspaper (Nogelmeier, 2010, p. 64). The language was thriving and so were the arts. The Hawaiian language newspapers reveal a variety of performances from all over the world. These productions were presented in outdoor venues and in the theatres located in Downtown Honolulu from 1835 into the early 1900's. In 1847 the first permanent theatre, *The Thespian*, was built with a royal box for Kamehameha III (Angell, 2011, p. 9). Over the next fifty years five more mainstream theatres were built in Honolulu. Most of these theatres were constructed near 'Iolani Palace and the area now known as Downtown Honolulu. Noteworthy was the Royal Hawaiian Theatre constructed at the corner of Hotel and Alakea Streets. Ali'i of the Kamehameha dynasty were supporters of music and the arts there. Some of the ali'i performed on this stage. According to James Revell Carr, an Associate Professor of ethnomusicology at the University of North Carolina, Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), Lot Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V), and William Lunalilo played the lead roles in *The Lady and the Lake* supported by a cast of "natives" (Carr, 2014, p. 128) in July 1853. The Royal Hawaiian Theatre stage would become central to the cultural struggles in Hawai'i (Carr, 2014, p. 129). Although built as a "colonial stage" to disseminate western culture, Carr writes that the stage was used by Native Hawaiians "to represent themselves, and their own perspectives on western culture, to themselves and to the many *haole* who occupied their country" (2014, p. 131).

The Hawaiian language newspapers regularly advertised a wide range of theatre presented in Hawai'i. Articles and letters to the newspaper editors further

substantiate the evidence of a theatre community and connoisseur of theatre. The performance forms advertised included *Keaka Pākē* (Chinese theatre), *Keaka Kepanī* (Japanese theatre), *Keaka hololio* (equestrian shows), *Keaka Farani* (French theatre), *Keaka mele Ikalía* (Italian opera), and numerous theatrical productions from America, Britain, New Zealand, London and Australia. O‘ahu was indeed a major port of transoceanic travel in the Pacific. In regards to performance venues in Hawai‘i, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* newspaper states that the Hale Mele Hou¹³⁰ is “ke kikowaena o ka Pakipika” [the center of the Pacific] (16 February 1895, p. 3). Occasionally, productions mentioned even toured to the neighboring islands of Maui and Kaua‘i. These theatrical ventures had varying degrees of success. For example, an article published in *Ka Makaainana* on the 13th of May 1895 states:

Aia ma alanui Maunakea, kokoke ia alanui Beritania, he hale keaka Kepani. E ikeia no ia wahi o na hae lolo waihoooluu loloo e kuuwelu ana i ka makani. Na kekahi Kepani me kekahi pahu e hookani ai, a e paa ana he laau ohe loihi me kalepa e welo ana me na huapalapala, oia ka hoike a me ka hoolaha no ka hana keaka. Aole ka i holopono loa na hoohanaia ana iho nei, nolaila, ua hoopau a paniia. (1895, p. 3)

[On Maunakea street, near Beritania, there’s a Japanese theatre. This place can be recognized by the long colorful flags dangling in the wind. A Japanese individual plays a drum, and a long bamboo with a banner flutters with the words advertising the details for the play. Nonetheless, it was not successful, so it is done, the theatre has

¹³⁰ The Honolulu Music Hall or Hale Mele Hou was built in 1881. The Music Hall burnt to the ground and was later reconstructed and renamed the Hawaiian Opera House under new ownership in 1895. The auditorium was lit with gas lighting fixtures that allowed state of the art stage effects including moonlight, sunsets, and storm effects (Angel, 2011, p. 12).

been closed.]

Unfortunately, the advertisements, though bold and creative, did not entice enough patrons and that particular Japanese theatre closed down. Interestingly, it seems that other theatres were thriving in Honolulu and not always appealing to the ear. Later in that year a number of individuals write into the same newspaper complaining about the loud noise coming from the Chinese theatre on ‘A‘ala street. Some of these letters are lengthily detailing the ruckus near River Street and other entries are short and to the point like the excerpt below:

Nui loa ka uluhua o ka poe e noho nei ma Aala no ka hana kuli mau o na mea kani o ka hale keaka Pake i na po a pau. Aohe io aku la no e nele. (1895, p. 8)

[Many who live in ‘A‘ala are extremely frustrated by the obnoxious deafening sounds of the Chinese theatre each and every night. Truly no lack (of noise).]

Clearly, Kānaka Maoli and the citizens of Hawai‘i experienced a variety of performing arts during the monarchy period. The two Asian forms of theatre had their own theatre spaces adding to the landscape of the western theatre establishments in Honolulu. It is reasonable to assume that Kānaka Maoli ventured into these theatrical spaces contributing to the tapestry of theatre that evolved here. The evidence shows that this was indeed the case. Kānaka Maoli participated in, and more importantly, created their own plays and musical productions called hana keaka or keaka Hawai‘i. These contributions would have developed while maintaining the traditional forms of performance indigenous to Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. The following is a list of traditional Hawaiian performance forms, ritual

and secular, that existed prior to western contact here in the Hawaiian archipelago.

Table 4.1: Traditional performance arts forms.

<i>Hana No‘eau</i>	<i>Description of Form</i>
Ha‘a	A dance with bent knees; dancing; called hula after mid 1800s
Ha‘i Mo‘olelo/Ka‘ao	Storytelling
Ho‘opāpā	Oratory; A debate or contest in wit (such as riddling) or strength
Hula	Dance driven by lyrics often accompanied by instruments
Hula Ki‘i	Dance of the images done by performers or with wooden puppets similar to marionettes; Hawaiian puppetry
Lua	Hawaiian martial arts
Mele	Song, anthem, lyrics, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing
Oli	Chant that was not danced to, especially with prolonged phrases chanted in one breath, often with a trill (‘i‘i) at the end of each phrase; to chant thus.
Pule	Prayer, magic spell, incantation, blessing, grace; to pray, worship, to ask for a blessing

Kānaka Maoli, like other Pacific peoples, selectively borrowed from the west to create new and to expand their performance forms. Written documentation such as advertisements for hana keaka, production reviews, and letters to the newspaper editor begin to surface in the 1850’s. These publications verify that Kānaka Maoli embraced the art of theatre integrating their indigenous genres of performance into a dramatic framework to create hana keaka. The traditional performance forms that preexisted western contact undeniably created the foundation upon which hana keaka was developed. During the colonial period traditional performance forms continued in public and private arenas. Today these

forms listed above are practiced at varying degrees of fluency in the Kanaka Maoli community. I propound the idea that these forms, and perhaps a combination of them, constitute the foundation of an indigenously Kanaka Maoli theatre aesthetic. In the subsequent chapters of this thesis I will discuss in depth the inclusion of these traditional performance forms in modern day hana keaka.

4.2.2 No kā Emerson a me kā ‘Ī‘ī: Emerson and ‘Ī‘ī’s Thoughts on Hawaiian Performance

At the turn of the twentieth century Nathaniel B. Emerson, son of Protestant missionary Reverend John S. Emerson, wrote a text on Hawaiian performance entitled *Unwritten Literature of Hawai‘i*. Emerson’s book is the earliest and one of the most comprehensive looks at Hawaiian performance primarily focused on hula. Emerson writes, “The hula ki‘i was, perhaps, the nearest approximation made by the Hawaiians to a genuine dramatic performance” (1909, p. 92). It is interesting that he never mentions ha‘i mo‘olelo or the dramatization of mo‘olelo which would align with the typical presentational western theatre Emerson would have been familiar with. Perhaps he was not exposed to these performance forms. When looking specifically at the practice of storytelling in Hawai‘i the term ha‘i mo‘olelo or ha‘i ka‘ao identifies that particular form. Mo‘olelo are the historical, factual stories, whereas ka‘ao, though based in historical events, may have a fanciful flair or embellishments in the retelling of those kinds of stories (C.M.K. Baker, 2015, p. 122). Esteemed Hawaiian elder and scholar Mary Kawena Pukui recounts the training for a pa‘a mo‘olelo in her ‘ohana as an arduous task that involved intense focus and impeccable memorization (1940, pp. 2-3). This training traditionally began at an early age. As for Pukui, her grandmother would tell her a story and she would need to recite exactly what she heard. There were consequences for leaving

details out or getting this wrong because mo‘olelo carried the history of one’s kū‘auhau, one’s ‘āina, one’s ali‘i, one’s akua, and ultimately one’s lāhui. In her capacity as an informant and scholar at the Bishop Museum, Pukui recorded interviews with kūpuna who practiced ha‘i mo‘olelo. These interviews and Pukui’s recitation of mo‘olelo and ka‘ao give us a glimpse at the practice of ha‘i mo‘olelo in times past. Pa‘a mo‘olelo were known for their ability to recite historical events, genealogy, and epic chants. These individuals were well-respected orators or *kākā‘ōlelo* in Hawaiian society. Written accounts from Kānaka Maoli such as those of John Papa ‘Ī‘ī, an influential member in the *aloali‘i*¹³¹ of Kauikeaouli, Kamehemeha III, are another resource that aids our understanding of pre-western contact performance of storytelling. ‘Ī‘ī mentions frequent gatherings on O‘ahu referred to as *lōkū*, nights of entertainment that existed prior to 1810. These *lōkū* included, “hula dances, chants, the recitation of narratives in chant form, and the telling of legends” (1959, p. 64). A common thread in ha‘i mo‘olelo, as substantiated in both ‘Ī‘ī’s accounts and Pukui’s documentation of this performance form, is the inclusion of oli and mele to communicate particular elements of a story. Often animated in its presentation style, ha‘i mo‘olelo may also incorporate other traditional performance forms to communicate a story. Years ago my partner and I stumbled upon a lipine of a kupuna telling a mo‘olelo about Kamapua‘a and Pele. While recounting the story the kupuna recited two chants. The first was Kamapua‘a’s *oli ho‘āla*, to waken Pele. The other was to illustrate the contemptuous relationship between the two. This lipine captured a genuine ha‘i mo‘olelo performed by a native speaker of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i for an audience of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i speakers. There are numerous lipine of this kind from the early to mid

¹³¹ In the presence of chiefs, the royal court.

1900's. I believe that this is further evidence that oli were an embedded necessary part of the narrative and that the practice of ha'i mo'olelo endured into modern times.

4.2.3 No ke Kumu 'ana o ka Hana Keaka: The Origins and Development of Hana Keaka

In seeking empirical evidence to substantiate the practice of hana keaka, I researched the online newspaper archives of *Ulu kau*¹³² and *Papakilo Database*.¹³³ Both archives have contributed greatly to further the accessibility of historic Hawaiian language documents. As of July 2015, "The Papakilo Database now has over 58,600 digitized pages from 48 newspapers, resulting in almost 380,000 articles from 1834 - 1937."¹³⁴ In searching these databases of digitized newspapers a total of 1,278 tokens of "hana keaka" surfaced. The timespan of these tokens is a period of 83 years, from 1856 to 1939. After reviewing each token in the context of their newspaper article I was able to decipher 246 total hana keaka presented on the stages of Hawai'i during that time period. This includes minstrel shows, equestrian shows, plays, operas, circus shows, and so forth. Of the 246 productions, 45 of those hana keaka were original productions conceived and produced by Kānaka Maoli. A handful of them, eight to be exact, were collaborative productions where Kānaka Maoli and haole theatre makers joined forces to create plays. For example, in 1894 the story of Captain James Cook and his journey to Hawai'i was presented as a collaboration under the auspices of the 'Ahahui Hana Keaka o nā Hawai'i a me nā

¹³² The purpose of Ulu kau, the Hawaiian Electronic Library, is to make these resources available for the use, teaching, and revitalization of the Hawaiian language and for a broader and deeper understanding of Hawai'i.

¹³³ The Office of Hawaiian Affairs' (OHA's) Papakilo Database, is the ongoing development of a cutting edge and comprehensive "Database of Databases" consisting of varied collections of data pertaining to historically and culturally significant places, events, and documents in Hawai'i's history.

¹³⁴ (<https://www.papakilodatabase.com/main/main.php>)

Haole [*The Theatre Association of Hawaiians and Foreigners*] (Ka Leo o ka Lāhui, 26 July 1894, p. 3).

Hale Mele Hawaii!

L. J. LEVY, : Ka Mea Hale
D. M. CROWLEY, Lunahooponopono

MA KA POAONO, Iulai 28, 1894.

OCEANICA

He Moololo Kaao o na Mea i Hooia
—ia e pili Ana i ka LOAA—

Mua Ana o Hawaii Nei

Ia Kapena JAMES COOK, R. N.,
i haku ia iloko o kekahi hana
hoikeike DRAMA o Eha Mahelo, e
hoike ia ana ma ka Hale Mele Ha-
warii, ma ka la 28 o Iulai, e kekahi

Ahahui Hana Keaka

o na Hawaii a me na Haole.

KA MOOLELO POKOLE:

MAHELE I. Hoikeike ma Greenwich,
Enelani, i ka wa hehiko; ka nima pili i
na Mokuuni o ka Ilima; Na olelo paio
e pili ana i ka hooiui ana i ka Emepaa;
No ke Kauwa Kuapaa; Na Lima nana e
hopu kanaka ke aumoku kana; Na Sela
Uluaoa; Ka eueu o Greenwich, "Sal;"
Ka Wahine Kalepa mea ai ma ka wa-
pa; Ka po hope loa ma Enelani; Ka
hiu ana i ka heleuma.

MAHELE II. Ka ike ana o na Hawaii
i na hale lewa o Kapena Cook, "O na
Akua keia i iho mai i o kakou nei." Ka
Moi Kalaniopuu ma ka Aha Kuka Mahu,
ia hoekui mua ana me na haole, Na
kukui Makana ana.

MAHELE III. Ka hooiipa ia ana o
Kapena Kuke e ka Moi, Ua kapa ia oia
o Lono e na Kahuna, Ko Kapena Kuke
hoomana ia ana me kona maopopo oie,
aihue ia kekahi waapa a wawahi ia.
Hopu ia kekahi kanaka no ia mea a
hoopai ia.

MAHELE IV. E hoso kakou e kau
keia hooiui iluna o ka moku, Haki na
kapu i na Sela, Nunua a hoonahoa na
kanaka, Hooiolo iho ia o Kuke e lawe
ia Kalaniopuu iluna o kona moku e hoo-
paa, Ke kaola e hoopuni ana i ka luo-
kui pau i ka hakihakiia, Kue na "Ili a
me ka lahui i ka holo o ka Moi iluna o
ka moku Discovery, Kue ia aku ka Kuke
hana, Ka paio iluna mawaena o na koo
aunuku a me na kanaka, a me ka make
na o Kapena Kuke.

E oki ana na hana ma ka noikeke ano
—ia Kapiolani e hooano ana i ka mana o
ke Akua Wahine Pele.

Figure 4.1: *Oceanica* advertisement in 1894.

The play was entitled *OCEANICA: He Moololo Kaao o na Mea i Hooia Ia e pili ana ka Loaa Mua Ana o Hawaii Nei* [*OCEANICA: A Historical Account of Facts Verified Regarding the First Discovery of Hawai'i*]. The play's title represents an imperialistic colonial perspective. The production consisted of four major scenes. According to the advertisement in *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* (featured image

above), the first scene took place in England recounting the events that led up to Cook's departure for the Pacific. Scene two is the arrival of Cook in Hawai'i and the reactions from King Kalani'ōpu'u and his people. The third scene depicts Kalani'ōpu'u's generous hosting of Cook, the kahuna referring to Cook as Lono, and Cook's men stealing a canoe and being caught. The final scene portrays Cook taking Kalani'ōpu'u aboard his ship the Discovery,¹³⁵ the disapproval of the ali'i to allow their king to be taken to the ship, followed by a fist fight between the sailors and the kānaka trying to protect their king. The scene concludes with the death of Cook. Cook's death is immediately followed by an epilogue depicting Queen Kapi'olani as she defies¹³⁶ the power of the Akua Wahine Pele. The order of events here is puzzling. I do not understand the reason for including an epilogue like this that is contextually out of place and also temporally incorrect. It is interesting however that this collaboration existed. Haole and Kānaka Maoli theatre makers collectively retold the history of Cook on the stage in Hawai'i. Nonetheless, I have many questions about this production. I wonder what kind of negotiations took place during the creation process? How much of the play was told from a Kanaka Maoli perspective? The title leads me to believe that the haole perspective may have dominated the process. How historically accurate was the production? I wonder what kind of impact this production would have had in 1894, a hundred years after the death of Cook. Perhaps in time a written script will surface, and further analysis could be conducted. Until then I am left to ponder the numerous questions that populate my mind. I will discuss other Kanaka Maoli hana keaka productions in

¹³⁵ For this scene when Kalani'ōpu'u is taken aboard the ship the newspaper article writes, "ke kaola e hoopuni ana i ka luakini pau i ka hakahakiiia" [the path for the destruction of the temple]. This commentary shows the disdain for Cook, his people, and his intentions.

¹³⁶ Hō'a'ano is the term used in the 'Ōlelo Hawai'i text which could mean to defy or to boast.

more detail later in this chapter.

The earliest use of the term hana keaka in the newspaper archives appears in 1856. In a *Ka Hae Hawaii* article J.N. Kānepu‘u mentions “na hale keaka” (the theatres) as he gripes about the status of finding a suitable wife and the rearing of industrious children (19 November 1856, p. 2). Later in 1859 the term hana keaka appears again in legislation pertaining to entertainment. A new law requiring permits for any type of public performance presented in Hawai‘i is published in the newspapers of 1859.¹³⁷ This included hula, hana keaka, *hoike lealea*¹³⁸, *aha mele*¹³⁹, etc. This law to license performances was linked to the missionary desire to ban all traditional performance forms that they believed was linked to religious practices, that worshiped alternative gods and spirituality such as those from the Hawaiian pantheon of akua. According to scholars Dorothy Barrere, Marion Kelly, and Mary Kawena Pukui, “Missionary influence, while strong, never wiped out the hula as a functional part of the Hawaiian society. Faced with this undeniable fact, the authorities sought to curb performances by regulation” (Barrere, Pukui & Kelly, 1980, p. 41).

The 1859 regulation stipulated where performances could be presented. Section 99 of the law printed in the newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii* states:

Aole e haawiia ka palapala ae ne [sic. no] ke keaka, a no ke keakahololio paha, ma kekahi wahi e ae, ma Honolulu a me Lahaina wale no; aole hoi e haawiia ka palapala ae no ka hula Hawaii, ma kahi e ae, ma ke kulanakauhale o Honolulu wale no. (15 June 1859, pp. 42-43)

¹³⁷ The earliest laws to regulate hula performances were enacted in 1851 (Napoleon, 2006).

¹³⁸ Entertainment.

¹³⁹ Concerts.

[Permits will not be granted for theatre, and for equestrian shows, at any other location, except for Honolulu and Lahaina; permits will also not be granted for traditional Hawaiian dance, at any other location, except for the town of Honolulu.]

These laws and regulations fortified the colonial attacks on traditional Hawaiian performance. The laws of the settler white businessmen encouraged by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, now enforced the missionary-driven annihilation of Hawaiian practices. Reports in court documents and the newspapers demonstrate that Kānaka Maoli who lived on neighboring islands did not observe required permits (Silva, 2000, p. 43). In fact in an article entitled “The Political Economy of Banning the Hula,” Professor Noenoe Silva mentions cases where Kānaka Maoli were prosecuted in the Fifth Circuit Court on Kaua‘i for dancing hula at a private residence in 1863, 1864, and 1865. In recounting the latter of the three Silva writes,

Four men and a woman were convicted of performing hula; the four men played the pahu (drum), and the woman danced. The woman admitted taking money, about two dollars total, but she said, “There was fish and poi, money was given for that, not for the Hula. I did not go there for money, went there so that the Kumu might teach me.” Duncan McBryde convicted them all, based on the testimony that they had been paid. Kalauwalu, a man, was fined ten dollars or three months’ hard labor; the others, including the woman, were all fined five dollars or one month hard labor, plus court costs. (2000, p. 43)

The convictions on Kaua‘i were later appealed. All but one conviction was upheld. Interestingly enough, in the same year on the island of O‘ahu, Hawaiian churches

such as *Ka Luakini*¹⁴⁰ 'o *Kawaiaha*'o are noted in the newspaper to have become stages for hana keaka. Kawaiaha'o becomes a major player in hosting Kānaka Maoli driven hana keaka and other performances as the years go by (See list of productions at the end of chapter.). The 1880's and 1890's saw a slew of hana keaka produced by Kānaka Maoli beginning with "*Keaka Hawai'i*" presenting the story of *Hi'iakaikapoliopele and Lohi'au* at the Hale Hō'ole Wai'ona¹⁴¹ in 1880 (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 31 July 1880, p. 2).

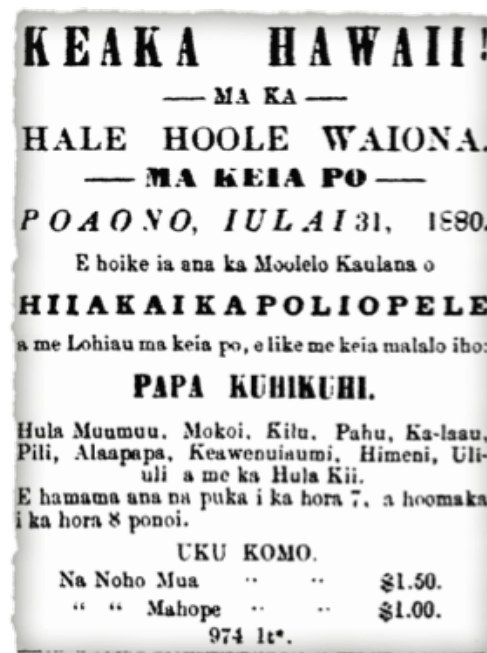


Figure 4.2: Advertisement for Hi'iakaikapoliopele, 31 July 1880.

The advertisement above describes the types of hula that were performed and the singing that occurred. The title *Keaka Hawai'i* perspicuously states that this was indeed a Hawaiian production. In that era only Kānaka Maoli would have practiced the styles of hula listed here. The entry fee for the performance was \$1.50 for seats front and center of the house and \$1.00 for seats at the back of the house. That equates to approximately \$34.00 for the seats upfront and \$23.00 for seats in the

¹⁴⁰ Traditional term used temples later used for churches.

¹⁴¹ A place that did not allow intoxicating drinks.

back of the house today. Unfortunately, I was not able to find any reviews about the production or statistics on who constituted the audience members for this production.

Of the 43 Kanaka Maoli created hana keaka, all of the productions included mele and/or oli. A majority of these productions featured hula. Although the mo'olelo presented were not always listed in the advertisements for the 43 original hana keaka, the following is a list of mo'olelo that were noted; *Ka Hiawahiwa o Paliuli*, *Lā'ieikawai*, *Hi'iaikaipoliopole* and *Lohi'au*, *Ka Mana o ka 'Anā'anā*, *Ka Na'auauau 'ana o Ka'ala*, *Kapena Kuke*, *Poli'ahu*, *Ha'imoeipo*, *Maika*, *Kanipahu*, *Ke Kuapu'u Ali'i*, *Kamehameha: Ka Na'i Aupuni*, *Kapi'olani*, and *Ka'ahumanu*. I would like to note that these productions were often revived multiple times and that some of them toured to the neighbor islands. Around sixteen different groups or hui of Kānaka Maoli hosted and/or presented these hana keaka. Most prominent was the Hui Keaka Hawai'i Pono'ī, Ka Luakini o Kawaiaha'o, Ke Kula 'o Kamehameha, Ka Hui Pā'ele o nā Keiki Hawai'i, and Hui Keaka Hawai'i Dramatic Club. For details on these productions refer to the historical timeline at the end of this chapter.

4.2.4 No Ka Pō Le'a o Halāli'i: Nights of Entertainment

A term that frequently surfaced when conducting research on hana keaka was *Ka Pō Le'a o Halāli'i*. I followed that lead knowing that this was another type of traditional gathering that emulated the lōkū described by 'Ī'ī. *Ka Pō Le'a o Halāli'i* are evening gatherings of entertainments dedicated to Halāli'i, the pleasure loving high chief of Ni'ihau who was a patron of the arts. According to Pukui and Elbert in the Hawaiian dictionary, "His name became synonymous with fun-making. E hele mai i ka pō le'a o Halāli'i, come to the joyous night of Halāli'i [an

invitation to a party]” (1986, p. 51). The advertisements in the newspaper archive utilize this invitation for theatrical and musical presentations. For instance, in October 1871 a letter to the editor of the newspaper, *Nupepa Kuokoa*, recounts an event entitled *Ka Po Lea o Halalii*. The following excerpt details a theatrical presentation with song.

Elua mahele nui o na hana ia po, akahi, na hana himeni e keke ai na niho, e oioi ai na ole; elua, na hana ano lealea (Dialogue) he mau olelo kike i ka Hawaii, he mau hana namu e hu ai ka aka, e kamumu ai na wawae, e paipai ai na lima, e kani ai na pio a ke kolohe. (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 21 October 1871, p. 1)

[There were two major sections of the event this evening, first, the songs that exposed the teeth, that sharpened the eyetooth or fangs; second, somewhat enjoyable activity of back and forth dialogue in Hawaiian, unintelligible muttering that aroused laughter, the thumping of the feet, clapping of hands, and the sweet whistling sound of mischief.]

In addition to the songs and theatre mentioned above the article continues with the description of the dancing that occurred, the games that were played, the auction that many participated in, and the party that all who gathered thoroughly enjoyed. In summarizing the totality of the event, the author states, “Makena ua nani o na hana, piha ka hale i ka olioli,” [*How beautiful the activities were, the establishment was full of joy.*] (1871, p. 1).

Through searching Papakilo Database I found 39 entries of *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i*, all referencing performances of musical and/or theatrical nature between 1871 through 1941. Although most *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i* events are primarily ‘aha

mele, the vast majority of them included ha‘i ‘ōlelo, ha‘i mo‘olelo, *hō‘ike‘ike*,¹⁴² hana keaka, and/or *tabalō*.¹⁴³ From the 39 entries, I found 32 original productions, many of which had repeat performances and/or toured. Seven different ‘*ahahui* or organizations, three *hale pule* or churches, and the Hui Keaka Hawai‘i Dramatic Club present these productions. Two prominent names appear as *alaka‘i* or directors for a large number of these events. The first is Charles E. King (1874-1950), a noted composer, author, and legislator during the territorial years. Of Kanaka Maoli descent, King was one of the fourteen members of the first graduating class of Kamehameha Schools.¹⁴⁴



Figure 4.3: Photo of Charles E. King¹⁴⁵

The second *alaka‘i* is Henry Moses Kaniho (unknown-1914), a kahuna from the Kamehameha line, a hula teacher, a chanter, and a representative for the fifth district of the Territory of Hawai‘i legislature (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 13 November 1914, p.

¹⁴² Hō‘ike‘ike are demonstrations or shows like a hō‘ike.

¹⁴³ Tabalō or Kapalō are dramatic presentations similar to the French Tableaux performances that stage dramatic scenes with minimal dialogue. This form is still very prevalent in the staging of opera and ballet.

¹⁴⁴ (<http://www.territorialairwaves.com/index.php?page=30&id=172>).

¹⁴⁵ (<https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0454566/> retrieved on 7 September 2018).

5). Kaniho was the grandson of Kamehameha the great, trained as a kahuna by his father Kuamo‘o, a master kahuna. Originally from Kohala, Kaniho was known in Honolulu as the cannon ball of Kohala. Kaniho directed frequently for these events and also for tabalō presentations, which I will cover next. An advertisement in the *Nupepa Kuokoa* refers to him as, “ka Mea Hanohano o H.M. Kaniho, ka olohe o na hana tabalo maloho [sic. malalo] nei o keia kulanakauhale” [*the honorable H.M. Kaniho, the most skilled director/teacher of pageantry/theatrical presentations in this city*] (29 May 1914, p. 3). According to his nephew, David Ka‘ōnohiokalā Bray, Kaniho would train a large group of hula dancers for the pageants he directed. He also noted that Kaniho’s best-known works were his historical plays *Kapi‘olani Defying Pele* and *Kamehameha III* (Bray, 1960, p. 11). An obituary in the *Honolulu Advertiser* stated, “Kaniho was one of the links that united the present day Hawaii with the Hawaii of the monarchy, which links are fast dropping away into the maw of time” (10 Nov 1914, p. 4).



Figure 4.4: Photo of Henry Moses Kaniho.¹⁴⁶

It seems as though Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i performances were collaborative in their nature. Production descriptions include a variety of performers and

¹⁴⁶ Photo retrieved from *Hawaiian Gazette*, 10 Nov 1914, p. 2.

musicians that often featured the *Bana Lāhui Hawai‘i* (The Royal Hawaiian Band)¹⁴⁷ and other musical groups of the time. The mo‘olelo staged as a part of the 32 original productions advertised as *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i* comprised of *Lā‘ieikawai*, *‘Aiwohikupua*, *Kapi‘olani*, *Ka‘ahumanu*, *Ka Na‘i Aupuni*, *Kaumuali‘i*, *the Kamehameha Dynasty*, *Kūkā‘ilimoku*, *Kakuhihewa*, *Kawelu* and *Hiku*, *Poli‘ahu*, *Stories of Ko‘olaupoko*, and *Kamehameha: Ka Napoleona o ka Pākīpika*. The mo‘olelo featured here are similar to those that were staged as complete hana keaka. *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i* may have been another phrase used for hana keaka presentations. Research shows that the term hana keaka oftentimes appears under the headline of *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i*. This particular headline featured in the newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina* denotes the group producing the hana keaka.

¹⁴⁷ From its royal beginnings in 1836, the Royal Hawaiian Band has entertained audiences in Hawai‘i and around the world for 180 years. Once known as the “King’s Band,” it was created by King Kamehameha III and became a staple of daily life by performing for state occasions, funerals, and marching in parades. The band accompanied Hawaiian monarchs on frequent trips to the outer islands, bringing music to remote destinations of the kingdom, such as the leper colony of Kalaupapa on the island of Moloka‘i, (<https://www.rhb-music.com/about>).

**KA PO LEA O
HALALII**

**KE ANAINA HOOLAULEA NUI
KE HAAWI IA ANA MA KA
HALE MELE HOU NA KA
HUI KEAKA HAWAII DRAM-
ATIC COMPANY.**

I kakooia e na kaikunane ama
na kaikuahine o Hawaii pono'i (I ike
ia na 'Iii hānau o ka āina.) E hele
ma'i i ike pono i na hana a me na
ono like olé, o lohe pepetao ananei
a eia iho na ho'āinau like olé e hu
si ka aka, su'ho'e hua si o ka ma-
nāo eia lakou. He mau hūmeni nani
like olé i wae ia, na hula kahiko o
Hawaii nei, oia o—

Lāleikawai ke aliwahine o Kailua,
a i ole ka ni o Paluhi.
Aiwohikopua ke keikiati o Kanai a
me na kaikuahine ala eia ma.
K-piotani e hoono a e hoopau loa
ana i ka kapu o Pele.
Ka Moiwahine Kāhūmanu e hoo
no a hoopau loa ana i kaikapu
Na hiona o ke hana ana o ka Na'i
Aupuni (Kamehameha).
Ka Ahakoa a Kamehameha no ka
hukui hii ia Oahu ame Kauai.
Ke kama ana o Kamehameha me Ka
Iaukūpule i Nūuanu.
Ka haawi āina a Kaumualii ke alii
o Kauai ia Kamehameha.
Hoike o na hānau o na Kameha
meha eia ma.
E loa no na tikiki no na noho i
hooaawaleia i na lele o ka Hu'i, a i
ole i ka Lūnahōhōna nui, ma'i hoo
palaleha o nele i na tikiki, o ka
miki ma no ka pono.
Uku koma no na noho i hooaawale
ia— \$1.00 ame 75c.
Na noho hapalua loa ma ke puka.
E kii i ke helu o na noho ma ka
halekua'i o Wall Nichols & C. mai
a mahope aku o ka la 22 o Iulai,
A. D. 1907.
Hawama ka puka hora 7:30 ahi
ahi Poaono Augate Srd, 1907. Hoo
maka na hana hora 8:15.
ROBERT K. NAIPO,
Lūnahōhōna.

Figure 4.5: Playbill for *Ka Po Lea o Halalii* (*Ke Aloha Aina*, 3 August 1907, p. 3).

Ka Hui Keaka Hawai'i Dramatic Club presents the stories of the *ali'i hānau o ka 'āina*, the chiefs born of the land, to honor and recount each ali'i's journey. According to the article, the production includes selected mele for each ali'i and *nā hula kahiko o Hawai'i nei* [traditional dance of Hawai'i]. A list of nine scenes is also published with the advertisement for this hana keaka that Robert K. Naipo produced in 1907 in *Ke Aloha Aina*. The scenes are *Lā'ieikawai ke ali'i wahine o*

Kali‘ulā, a i ‘ole ka u‘i o Paliuli [Lā‘ieikawai the chiefess of Kali‘ulā, or the beauty of Paliuli]; *‘Aiwohikupua ke keikiali‘i o Kaua‘i a me nā kaikuāhine ‘ala ‘elima* [‘Aiwohikupua the chief of Kaua‘i and his five fragrant sisters]; *Kapi‘olani e ho‘onoa a e ho‘opau loa ‘ana i ke kapu o Pele* [Queen Kapi‘olani releasing and absolving the restrictions of Pele]; *Ka Mō‘īwahine Ka‘ahumanu e ho‘onoa a ho‘opau loa ‘ana i ka ‘aikapu* [Queen Ka‘ahumanu and the breaking and abolishing of the eating restrictions between men and women]; *Nā hi‘ona o ka hānau ‘ana o ka Na‘i Aupuni (Kamehameha)* [The features/sign of the birth of Kamehameha, the conqueror]; *Ka ‘Ahakūkā a Kamehameha no ka huaka‘i ki‘i iā O‘ahu a me Kaua‘i* [The council meeting of Kamehameha for the expedition to take O‘ahu and Kaua‘i]; *Ke kaua ‘ana o Kamehameha me Kalanikūpule i Nu‘uanu* [The battle of Kamehameha and Kalanikūpule at Nu‘uanu]; *Ka hā‘awi ‘āina a Kaumuali‘i ke ali‘i o Kaua‘i iā Kamehameha* [King Kaumuali‘i’s granting of Kaua‘i to Kamehameha]; and *Hō‘ike o nā hānauna o nā Kamehameha ‘elima* [Presentation of the five monarchs of the Kamehameha dynasty]. This production covered a massive span of history from the time of our ancestors who were deified as gods, to the times of the Kamehameha dynasty. Many of the hana keaka produced in the 1800’s publicize their performances as a night of entertainment in honor of Halāli‘i, paying homage to the pleasure loving chief of Ni‘ihau.

4.2.5 No ka Mō‘ī Kalākaua: The Theatrical Endeavors of King Kalākaua

Similar to chief Halāli‘i, King David La‘amea Kamanakapu‘u Mahinulani Nalāiaehuokalani Lumialani Kalākaua was a true patron of the arts. He orchestrated grand performances of mele, hula and hula ki‘i for his coronation in 1883 and then again in 1886 for his Golden Jubilee celebration on his 50th birthday. Known as the Merrie Monarch, King Kalākaua made a conscious effort to bring traditional

performing arts that had previously been banned by the missionaries to the foreground during his reign. He acknowledged and celebrated Kanaka Maoli beliefs and practices. “Concerned about the loss of native Hawaiian culture and traditions, Kalākaua encouraged the transcription of Hawaiian oral traditions.”¹⁴⁸ This led to his transcription of the Kumulipo, the Hawaiian cosmogonic chant that tells the creation of the Kanaka Maoli world and the lineage of our ali‘i to our ‘āina.¹⁴⁹ Having traveled the globe King Kalākaua was exposed to theatrical performances of dance, opera, and Shakespeare. He observed the ways of kings and queens in London, Europe, Asia, and the South Pacific. Some speculate that his travels greatly influenced his leadership of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Kalākaua was an innovator and led with a progressive mind. His many contributions include the building of ‘Iolani Palace, electric lighting in the palace, the support of traditional religion, ceremonies, and performing arts, the development of a treaty between the South Pacific Island nations and the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, and the institution the Hale Nauā (Silva, 2004). The Hale Nauā was a secret royal society for Kānaka Maoli that aided “the revival of Ancient Sciences of Hawaii in combination with the promotion and advancement of Modern Sciences, Art, Literature, and Philanthropy” (*Constitution and By-Laws of the Hale Naua or Temple of Science Ancient Secret Society of the Order of Nauas, or Order of the Temple of Science*, 1890, p. 345). Considered the first renaissance man of Hawai‘i his profound statement, “Hula is the language of the heart, therefore, the heartbeat of the Hawaiian people” spoke to his values and lives on till today (HRM Kalākaua).

¹⁴⁸ (<http://totakeresponsibility.blogspot.com/2013/01/king-kalakaua-renaissance-man.html>)

¹⁴⁹ (<https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200197484/>).

For his coronation celebration on the anniversary of his inauguration in his ninth year of reign, Kalākaua gathered seven kumu hula from the different islands of the Hawaiian archipelago to revive ancient hula, to create new ones, and to train dancers. Each kumu hula was responsible for a sequence of dances and chants. It is described that on the evening of the 24th February 1883, four hula ki'i by human dancers were part of the nearly eight hour long program of hula and chants performed as a part of the celebration (Barrere, Pukui, & Kelly, 1980) that consisted of thirty-two dances. Kalākaua meticulously planned the ceremony and the two-week celebration himself. He penned the order of events that included the coronation ceremony, a state dinner, coronation ball at the palace, a canoe regatta, horse races, hula dances, a lū'au,¹⁵⁰ and other forms of entertainment (Barrere et al., 1980). Three years later for his Golden Jubilee, Kalākaua also incorporated tableaux performances in addition to the performances that were featured at his coronation celebration. In 1886, a four-act historical tableaux based on the life of King Kamehameha the Great was performed at the Hale Mele Hawai'i. It was reported in various Hawaiian papers that the hula ki'i or puppet entr'acte stole the show. Kalākaua could be considered a playwright and director when considering the tasks he achieved in the planning and organization of the large, intricate, and multi-day-long productions in 1883 and 1886.

4.2.6 No ka Tabalō: Tableaux Performances

While conducting research for this thesis I recalled an article that I found in 2012 about a performance of the mo'olelo of *Pele and Lohi'au*¹⁵¹ from 1925. This

¹⁵⁰ Term used for a feast with traditional foods such as lū'au (taro leaves) and entertainment. The traditional term for a feast would have been 'aha 'aina or pā'ina. This term was coined in newspaper advertisements around 1856.

¹⁵¹ This is a famed love story in Hawaiian history.

article included a photo of the cast in the newspaper publication. I revisited that article and noticed that the term used to describe the performance was *tabalō*, like the production that Kalākaua had conjured and directed about Kamehameha Nui. The concept of theatrical tableaux or pageants motivated me to investigate the newspaper archives once again to see if there were more theatrical productions to be uncovered. Returning to the Papakilo Database the term *tabalō* generated 56 tokens. The Hawaiian spelling for this term, *kapalō*, only produced one token in 1914. Of those 57 entries, I found 40 original productions developed and performed by Kānaka Maoli between 1907 and 1936. The astonishing thing is that there was only one production that was put on by a theatre troupe; the 1925 production in the article that I had extracted from the archives some five years ago. This production of *Pele and Lohi‘au* was a joint venture between the Hawaiian Dramatic Club and the ‘Ahahui Kamehameha.¹⁵² It was performed locally in Hawai‘i and toured to Los Angeles, California.

¹⁵² ‘Ahahui Kamehameha was a Kānaka Maoli association that was presided over by Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole as the Ali‘i‘aimoku from its creation in the year 1903 until he left this life.

Tabalo a ka Haw'n Dramatic Club



Ke Tabalo no Pele me Lohi'au o ka hoikeia ana maloko o ka Halekeaka Hawaii, ma ka po o ka Poalima i hala, e ka Hawaiian Dramatic Club. E hoikeikeia ana keia tabalo ma Los Angeles, ma ka huakai a ka Ahahūi Kamehameha no ka la kulanakauhale iloka ae nei o ka mahina o Iune.

Figure 4.6: The cast of Pele and Lohi'au, (Nupepa Kuokoa, 23 April 1925, p. 5).

In thoroughly reviewing the 39 tabalō performances and the one kapalō performance retrieved from the newspaper archives, it was clear that these productions were community generated and oriented. All of them were initiated, connected, and/or sponsored by community associations or church groups. Some of the performances were done as fundraisers for a church or an organization. Many glee clubs, *hui hīmeni* (choral groups), and *pu'ukani* (musicians) participated in the tabalō events. The associations involved in these productions included:

- 'Ahahui 'Ōiwi
- 'Ahahui Ka'ahumanu
- 'Ahahui o nā Mamo o nā Pūkaua
- Hui Hi'ilaniwai
- Hui Hīmeni Kawaihau
- Hui Kōkua a Ho'okū'ono'ono o nā 'Ōiwi Hawai'i
- Hui Sweet Violet

- K.P. Glee Club
- Ka ‘Ahahui Na‘i Aupuni
- Ka ‘Ahahui o nā Ali‘i
- Ka ‘Ahahui o nā Māmakakaua
- Ka Hawaiian Dramatic Club
- Ka Hui Hawai‘i Pono‘ī
- Ka Hui Ka‘ahumanu o Hilo
- Ka I‘a Hāmau Leo o ‘Ewa
- Ka Papa Hawai‘i
- Ka Wai‘ānapanapa Glee Club o Kalopa‘a o Waiāhole
- Kalapu Ka‘ōnohiokalā
- Kauluwela Club
- Ko‘olaupoko Association
- Kōmike Ho‘ohana o nā ‘Ōpio Hawai‘i
- Luakini o Kawaiaha‘o
- Ua Kuahine Club

Another interesting fact is that none of these tabalō performances were ever cross listed as a hana keaka nor a Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i event. The advertisements and discussion of tabalō performances in the newspaper articles were filled with rich details about content, specifically mo‘olelo, the alaka‘i, the performers, and the goals of the performance. The same can be said for Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i events. Alaka‘i for the tabalō productions comprised of Charles E. King, Henry M. Kaniho, Joseph S. Kuni, and David Ka‘ōnohiokalā Bray. Born on the island of Maui, Joseph S. Kuni (1875-1942) lived most of his life in Waiālua, O‘ahu. He was a *kahu* (pastor) at the Hale‘iwa Branch of Ka Makua Mau Loa Church (Mulholland, 1989, p. 24). Known as “Daddy Bray,” David Ka‘ōnohiokalā Bray (1889-1968) was a practicing kahuna on O‘ahu taught by his uncle Kaniho. His book, *The Kahuna Religion of Hawai‘i* penned with Douglas Low, a student of his, is one of the earliest accounts in English regarding the kahuna practice. Bray was also a hula dancer and a member of the Church of Latter-Day Saints. Kaniho, Kuni, and Bray were also regarded as kahuna in their communities. This harkens back to traditional times when the hula master was first and foremost a kahuna caring for the religious and

the spiritual aspects of cultural performance.



The Honolulu Advertiser (Honolulu, HI)
8 March 1954

Figure 4.7: David K. Bray conducting a canoe blessing in 1954.

As for the mo‘olelo that were featured in these tabalō productions, there were a total of 57 different mo‘olelo staged within the 40 original productions. Occasionally the tabalō production would focus on one mo‘olelo, such as the 1914 production led by Joseph S. Kuni. This production presented music, hula, and the mo‘olelo of “*Hainakolo me Keaniniulaokalani, ke keiki ui o Kuaihelani*” [*Hainakolo and Keanini‘ulaokalani, the handsome child of Kuaihelani*] (*Ka Holomua*, 17 Jan 1914, p. 1).

Hoikeike Tabalo no Hainakolo

E webeia ana he hoikeike tabalo o ka moolelo o Hainakolo i keia mua iho, ma kahi o kona "hoao" ana me Keaniniulaokalani ke keiki ʻui o Kuzihelani. O na hoohana ana ame na mele himeni malalo o ke alakai ana a Joseph Kuni. O na pomai-kai e loa ana no na hemahema o ka Luakini o Ke Ola Mau Loa ma Kualoa. E loa no na tikiki ma ka lima o na agena no ka la 21 o Feberuari. Ke noi ia aku nei ka lehulehu e naue ae e haawi i na kokua. Eia iho kekahi o na mele a Hainakolo i hea ai i na pokii kaikaina:

"Eia au la o Hainakolo,
O Hahailauahea i ka pali kapu o
Waipio
O ua aina pali huli aku huli mai
huli-tua
Elua maua i au mai i ke kai loa
Alo mai oukou ekolu e o'u mau
pokii aloha
I kooha i Ka-makua, i ka wahine
hele o na pali hulaana
Na'u ka huakai na ka hiapo
Ho'olaaui mai oukou mahope
Aoe paha auanei e ko ka'u huakai
Ua kahea kua ia au mahope
E na wahine kino manu o na pali
hulaana
Eia au o Ha'i—o Ha'i wahine i
Waipio
O kakou malihini iho la no ia
I kamaaina i ka hale kipa a ke
aloha
Aloha wale oukou e na pokii
Anoai ke akua wahine o na pali
Eia au la. Eia o Mailaulii.
E uwalo ana ia oe e ka wahine
noho pali
E ola ia hoa wili wahine o kakou
E lohe i ka leo, i ke noi, i ka uwa-
lo aku
E maluu mai hoi."

Figure 4.8: Tabalo of Hainakolo, 1914.

More common however, was the inclusion of multiple mo'olelo in a tabalo production. Listed below is an illustration of this kind of presentation, the 1912

Table 4.2: Playbill acts and scenes, 1912.

Mahele Mua	Act I ¹⁵³
Tabalō 1	Tableau 1
Kamehameha, Kiwalao ame Kaahumanu, me na Aloalii	King Kamehameha, Chief Kīwala‘ō, Regent Ka‘ahumanu with their royal court
Hea Inoa o na alii komo pu ma keia ka Himeni Hiilaniwai, a ka Hui Hiilaniwai	The recitation of chiefs’ names accompanied by the choral voices of Hi‘ilaniwai, Hi‘ilaniwai Club/Association
Mahele 2	Act II
Hula Hoomakeaka	Comic Hula
Tabalō 2	Tableau 2
Na Auwaa Kaua o Kamehameha ame Kaahumanu, i holo ai e kaua no ka luku wale ia o na Hulu Makaainana o ka Mokupuni o Hawaii me ka Hea Inoa o Kaahumanu, me kona himeni	Kamehameha and Ka‘ahumanu’s fleet of war canoes, sailing to destroy the precious citizens of the island of Hawai‘i, the recitation of Ka‘ahumanu’s name chant, Ka‘ahumanu sings
Mahele 3	Act III
Himani Hanakauila Song Hui Hiilaniwai	Hi‘ilaniwai Club sings Hanakauila
Tabalō 3	Tableau 3
Hoihoi Ea i ka Moi Kauikeaouli me kona himeni, E Na‘i wale no oukou i ku pono aole e pau	Sovergenity restored to King Kamehameha III, Kauikeaouli, he sings, <i>E Na ‘i wale nō ‘oukou i kū pono ‘a ‘ole e pau</i>
Mahele 4	Act IV
Hula Alaapapa	Sacred dramatic hula

¹⁵³ Translations by author. Playbill extracted from *Kuokoa Home Rula* (12 Sept 1912, p. 1).

Tabalō 4	Tableau 4
Ka Moi Kalakaua me ka Moku Hawaii Kaimiloa, me ka Himeni Aloha oe, Pua Miulana, ame Kuahuula	King Kalākaua and the Hawaiian ship Ka‘imiloa, singing of Aloha ‘oe, Pua Miulana, and Kū‘ahu‘ula
Tabalō 5	Tableau 5
Ka Moi Kalakaua me ka Hulakui Hapahaole	King Kalākaua and the inventive hapahaole hula
Na Inoa o ia mau hula	The names of these hula
1. Hoku o ka Pakipika	1. Star of the Pacific
2. Ka Hae Hawaii	2, The Hawaiian Flag
3. Na Ahi Enaena	3. The Blazing Fires
4. Kahiona a ka Mano	4. The Features of the Shark
5. Ka Ua Popokapa	5. The Tapa–bundled rain
Tabalō 6	Tabaleu 6
Ka Madame Pele	Madame Pele, Goddess of Volcanism
Aloha oe	Singing of <i>Aloha ‘oe</i>
Hulahula o na mea apau	All dance
Hawaii Ponoī	Hawai‘i’s Own

The 1912 program above presented six stories as tableaux, sacred hula, comical hula, five *hapa haole hula*,¹⁵⁴ a musical group, national anthems, and dancing

¹⁵⁴ A hula danced to a mele hapa haole, which is a Hawaiian type of song with English words and perhaps a few Hawaiian words (Pukui & Elbert 1986).

presumably modern dances of that time. This event was eclectic in its nature presenting contemporary and traditional mo‘olelo and performing arts. The one kapalō example found in August 1914 focused on two mo‘olelo that did not appear in any of the 38 original tabalō productions. This is quite interesting because many of the mo‘olelo listed in the tabalō performances are frequently repeated. *Ke Aloha Aina* newspaper publishes the playbill for the 1914 kapalō in an article entitled *He Aha Mele, Kapalo, ame Hulahula [A Concert, Tableaux Theatrical Performance, and Dancing]* it reads:

1. Kapalo o Kamapuaa ma Kaliuwaa.
2. Kapalo o Laieikawai, ka hoao ana me Kekalukalu o Kewa ma ka Papa Heenalu mai kai o Keaau ame ka lilo ana o Laieikawai ia ia Halaaniani. (*Ke Aloha Aina*, 22 August 1914, p. 2)

The opening tableau features the mo‘olelo of Kamapua‘a in Kaliuwa‘a followed by a tableau for Lā‘ieikawai and her arranged marriage with Kekalukalu-o-Kēwā interrupted by Halaanini’s seduction of Lā‘ieikawai, the beauty of Paliuli. Ensuing scenes continue the story of Lā‘ieikawai and then production ends with two scenes about hula origins. The pairing of these mo‘olelo is a curious one. There is no obvious parallel that connects these mo‘olelo. Thematically within the realm of Hawaiian mo‘olelo these are quite different. The characters have distinct journeys that are contrastive. The plots too are divergent. Kamapua‘a seeks out his family whereas Lā‘ieikawai is hidden from hers. Lā‘ieikawai is regarded with a high kapu and Kamapua‘a is rebel. It is a far reach but both mo‘olelo begin on the windward side of O‘ahu. The Honorable Henry M. Kaniho directs this performance hosted by Hui Sweet Violet.

Advertised as *Ka Hō‘ike‘ike Tabalō o nā Māmakakaua* [The Tableaux Performance of the Company of Warriors] in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* the ‘Ahahui o

nā Māmakakaua presents four mo‘olelo framed by music and song in 1921.¹⁵⁵ Their program included:

Himeni ke au kahiko a me ke au hou

1- Ainahau, ke kamaliwahine Likelike

2- Kuahu Heiau

3- Ka pae mua ana o na paniolo i ka makahiki 1555

4- Kamehameha ame kona mau kaukualii

He mau himeni Hawaii (21 January 1921, p. 2)

[Songs from times past and the new era

1- ‘Āinahau, Princess Likelike

2- Temple altar

3- The first arrival of the Spaniards (to Hawai‘i) in the year 1555

4- King Kamehameha and his subordinate chiefs

The singing of Hawaiian songs]

The diversity of the program above and the span of time encompassed by a single night of performance is admirable. The members of ‘Ahahui o nā Māmakakaua selected significant moments in time presenting a glimpse of Kānaka Maoli history from a less than popular perspective. For example, the choice in the first scene to highlight Princess Likelike at ‘Āinahau is a curious one. Most Kānaka Maoli associate ‘Āinahau with Princess Ka‘iulani, the heir to the throne that never ruled because of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom and her premature death. During a time of great assimilation for Kānaka Maoli, pagan practices on a heiau or the patronage of an altar would not have been condoned in the 1920’s. Therefore, the

¹⁵⁵ The article in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa also includes the names of the performers and the roles that each portrayed. The following is a list of these performers and directors: Mrs. Chinton (musical director), Miss. Jane Holt, Mrs. Hana Gittel, Mrs. M. Fuller Cockett, C. Piianaia, Ernest Parker, Poki Reis, Miss. Gittel, Miss. Olive Duncan, H.F. Davison, Sam Pupuhi, David K. Hoapili, David Maikai, and other Kānaka Maoli.

second scene represents a very bold statement to revive or even to represent the sacred temples and altars in 1921. I applaud the third scene. This scene would have strongly opposed the propaganda that the haole have promoted to generation after generation, that Captain James Cook discovered Hawai‘i in 1778. When in fact, our oral tradition accounts for early visits and trade with the Chinese and the *Paniolo*¹⁵⁶ in the 1500’s. Depicting that encounter in this tableau was a powerful move to reclaim the true history of Hawai‘i. As for scene four, I can only imagine what was shared during this tableau. Dedicating the closing scene to Kamehameha the Great was likely done with the intention to increase the pride of Kānaka Maoli who were in attendance. In a sense Kamehameha and his legacy represents a golden time in our history when all islands came under one rule after being united by the *na‘i aupuni* (great conqueror). I say this knowing full well that the people from my island of Kaua‘i never did concede to Kamehameha and till today many Kānaka from Kaua‘i proclaim that, “we were never conquered.” I do believe that Kamehameha’s legacy is something that many hold on to, and in 1921 when centennial celebrations for the first arrival of the missionaries were occurring, this production was likely a form of Kanaka Maoli resistance enacting consciousness. Nā Māmakakaua’s execution of this production with this particular line up of tableaux scenes would have made an impact on their patrons. I am reminded of the lyrics that the late Palani Vaughan composed for Nā Māmakakau,¹⁵⁷ the loyal

¹⁵⁶ Spaniards.

¹⁵⁷ On July 6, 1887, the revolutionary Hawaiian League with an army of 500 haole sharpshooters called the Honolulu Rifles, forced King Kalākaua to sign a revised version of the Hawaiian Constitution, known infamously as the Bayonet Constitution. This curtailed the power of the throne and made other changes which adversely affected the Hawaiian people, primarily, the right to vote in elections. The morning of June 30, 1889, approximately 80 part-Hawaiian warriors, tried to take possession of ‘Iolani Palace. Armed with 35 rifles, some farmer rice bird guns and a few pistols, they were led by Robert Kalanihiapo Wilcox, Robert N. Boyd and George Markham. The māmakakaua or company of warriors wanted to restore the rights and powers of their King. Auwē, they were defeated. The composer expresses the sentiment of the Hawaiian people as he pays

company of warriors. His mele exemplifies their courage to stand up and lead the resistance.

Ua ala a kū'e! Kū'e! Kū'e! [sic. kū'ē]
Ka māmakakaua hanohano! Kū'e!
Ua ala a kū'e! Kū'e! Kū'e!
Ka māmakakaua Loialiki! Kū'e!
Kū'e! Kū'e!¹⁵⁸
*[They arose and revolted! Revolted! Revolted!
That glorious company of warriors! Revolted!
They arose and revolted! Revolted! Revolted!
The Loyalist company of warriors! Revolted!
Revolted! Revolted!]*

This production in a sense commemorates the courage and actions of Nā Māmakakaua during the time of our ali'i like Vaughan's mele. I commend the efforts of the 'Ahahui o Nā Māmakakaua to honor our ali'i and traditions.

The examples above show the variation that existed in the performance genre of tabalō, from a single focused mo'olelo shared with the audience to a complex four act production with six separate tableau addressing multiple mo'olelo in a night's performance. The advertisements for tabalō capitalized on these differences using comparisons with other performances, endorsements, and persuasive language used to lure patrons to the performances. For example, "Aole keia he tabalo e hoomakehiamoe ai ia oukou, aka, e hookaakaa mau ia ana ko oukou mau maka me ka makahehi i na mea e hana ia mai ana." *[This is not a tableaux that will put you to sleep, but instead, your eyes will be wide open, watching with*

tribute to the memory of those courageous red-shirted warriors who marched on 'Iolani Palace to defend their King against his enemies in the Hawaiian League (Vaughan, 1 January 1993).

¹⁵⁸ (http://www.huapala.org/Ka/Ka_Mamakakaua.html)

*amazement at the things that will be shown.] (Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, 2 October 1914, p. 2). Although there is not concrete evidence that proves the language in which each tabalō performance was conducted in, I suspect that the dialogue in some of these productions were performed in English. An article in *Ke Aloha Aina* recounting a tabalō performance in 1911, features a haole woman's response after watching the 24 scenes of the production including the mo'olelo of *Manono*¹⁵⁹ and *Ka'ahumanu*¹⁶⁰ presented by the Ka Hui Ka'ahumanu o Hilo.*

A wahi a kekahi wahine haole i maa i keia hana hoikeike tabalo "O ka helu ekahi keia o ka mea a ko'u maka i ike ai." Ua ike oia ika hana hoikeike o na aina e a me na hana o na hale keaka nui o na kulanakauhale nui o Amelika, aka, ua oi loa aku keia imua oia mau mea a kona maka i ike ai, a o kekahi mea ana i mahalo loa ai a me kahi poe makamaka haole e ae. O ke ano maemae o na mea i hoikeikeia mai, a ole o na hana haahaa a ku ole i ka maikai. (24 June 1911, p. 3)

[According to a haole woman who was familiar with this kind of tableaux performance, "This is the best things that my eyes have witnessed." She had seen this kind of performance in the foreign land and the works of major theatres of the big cities of America, but, this far exceeded all the performances that she had seen before, and another thing that she admired and other haole audience members appreciated, was the absolute perfection of the presentation, there wasn't a thing about it that was subpar.]

¹⁵⁹ Manono was a Hawaiian chiefess and member of the royal family during the Kingdom of Hawai'i. She along with her second husband Keaoua Kekuakalani died fighting for the Hawaiian religion after Kamehameha II abolished the kapu system in 1819.

¹⁶⁰ Queen Ka'ahumanu (c. 1768 – June 5, 1832) ("the feathered mantle") was queen consort and acted as regent of the Kingdom of Hawai'i as Kuhina Nui. She was the favorite wife of King Kamehameha I and a politically powerful ali'i. Ka'ahumanu continued to wield considerable power as co-ruler in the kingdom during reigns of his first two successors. She is also responsible for establishing a connection with King Kaumuali'i of Kaua'i to bring all the islands under one rule, the beginning of the Kamehameha dynasty.

The newspaper articles also testify that these performances drew large audiences. An outdoor production by Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina boasts more than 15,000 in the audience for one performance in 1895 (*Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 1 April 1895, p. 3). The community gathered around those who presented these tableaux productions because the works seem to be connected to a particular community or group of kānaka. I liken these performances to the modern day hō‘ike presented by hālau hula. Some hālau do this yearly as a fundraiser for the Merrie Monarch Festival.¹⁶¹ Others organize productions to showcase new works or to celebrate our ali‘i. *Nā Lani ‘Ehā* is the quintessence of this style of hō‘ike. Established in 1997 by the late Kumu Hula Leina‘ala Kalama Heine of Hālau Hula Nā Pualei o Likolehua, “Na Lani ‘Eha honors four of Hawaii’s royal siblings: Kalakaua, Lili‘uokalani, Likelike and Leleiohoku. The lively presentation by three hula halau mimics the friendly rivalry between the four ali‘i siblings by putting forth the best oli (chant), hula (dance) and mele (song).”¹⁶² Each year a different set of hālau is invited to participate alongside of the host hālau. Since Aunty ‘Ala’s¹⁶³ passing in 2015 her daughters have carried the tradition of this event. At the helm is Kumu Hula Niuli‘i Heine. There are many other examples of this kind hō‘ike hula or hālau celebration prevalent throughout our Pae ‘Āina today. These types of performances are a common practice within the world of hula.

As I mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, audio recordings of kūpuna were also utilized for this research on hana keaka. On one particular *Ka Leo*

¹⁶¹ The Merrie Monarch Festival is a week-long hula festival that honors the legacy left by King Kalākaua, who inspired the perpetuation of our traditions, native language and arts. The festival features an internationally acclaimed hula competition, an invitational Hawaiian arts fair, hula shows, and a grand parade through Hilo town.

¹⁶²(<http://khon2.com/2015/11/02/hula-performance-na-lani-eha-honors-hawaiian-royalty-and-local-hula-icon>)

¹⁶³ Aunty ‘Ala is how she was affectionately known to her haumāna and others in the community. This is an inoa kapakapa for our esteemed hulu kupuna.

Hawai‘i broadcast from 1973 hosted by Larry Kauanoe Lindsey Kimura, Professor of Hawaiian language at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, and his student guest at the time Pila Wilson, now a Professor of Hawaiian language at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, discuss the value of hana keaka as they recount hana keaka previously performed by well-known elders in the early 1900’s (*Ka Leo Hawai‘i*, HV24.144A, 1973).¹⁶⁴ Wilson and Kimura encourage native speakers to call in and share their thoughts or experiences with hana keaka or kapalō in times past. Wilson opens with:

(11:05) Pila Wilson (PW):¹⁶⁵ Kekahi mana‘o o‘u ka hana ‘ana o ka tabalō ma mua, ma Hawai‘i nei. He hana maika‘i kēlā i ia mau lā, ua lohe mai au mai kekahi po‘e mai, ua mālama ‘ia ka tabalō a me ka hana keaka ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i ma mua, a ‘o nā mo‘olelo Hawai‘i ua haku ‘ia ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i a hele mai ka po‘e nānā a ua makemake-¹⁶⁶

[A thought of mine is the creation of tableau performances before, here in Hawai‘i. That was a great thing in those days, I’ve heard from a number of people, the tableau performances and plays were done in the Hawaiian language back then, and the stories of Hawai‘i were scripted in the Hawaiian language and people would come to watch and they liked-]

(11:39) Larry Kimura (LK): ‘Ae ua lohe nō au (ma lalo) no ke alaka‘i ‘ana a Lena Machado, nāna nō i ho‘okumu i kekahi mau hana keaka kapalō a no, ‘o kekahi hana keaka no Lā‘ieikawai, ‘o ia ‘o mea mā, ‘o Kaleiheana mā, a ‘o kekahi po‘e hou a‘e nō, a no kēia mo‘olelo kaulana ‘o Lā‘ieikawai.

¹⁶⁴ *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* recordings are available online at <http://ulukau.org/kaniaina/cgi-bin/>.

¹⁶⁵ Minutes and speakers are indicated with each segment of dialogue transcribed.

¹⁶⁶ Transcription and translation of transcription done by author.

[Yes, I've heard this too, as well as the directing of Lena Machado, she was the one who created these theatrical performances and, one of these play productions was for the story of Lā'ieikawai, that was so and so, Kaleiheana folks, and some others as well, for the famous story of Lā'ieikawai.]

(12:11) PW: He hana maika'i loa ka hana keaka a me ke kapalō no ka mea he mea ia e komo ai ka po'e ma ka hana ho'okahi, a he mea ia ho'i e laha ai ka mo'olelo o Hawai'i nei, a me ka 'olelo nō ho'i kekahi. A mana'o au he kumuhana maika'i paha kēlā no ka, no ka mea ka 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i i kekahi wā...

[Plays, theatrical productions and tableau performances are excellent because it is an opportunity for people to participate in a single activity, and it is also a venue for sharing the stories of Hawai'i, and the language as well. I think it might be a good subject matter for the, for the 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i some time...]

Following this discussion Kimura talks about another student, Kalā, who performed a hana keaka the previous year at *Lā Kūkahekahe* at St. Louis High School in Kalaepōhaku. Kimura shares that the student played the role of Kāne, the god of water, in a short hana keaka about the waters of Kāne located across the archipelago. Kimura adds:

(18:52) LK: He mea e, he mea ho'i kēlā e hoihoi ai nā haumāna kekahi no ka ha'awina, he ha'awina maika'i inā 'a'ole nō pa'akikī loa no ke kulana o ka haumāna.

[It is also a way to peak interest in the students too in a subject, it's a good lesson if it isn't too difficult for the level of the student.]

Wilson concurs:

(19:07) PW: ‘Ae, ‘o ka mea maika‘i o ka hana keaka ‘o ka po‘e ‘ano hemahema nō paha ma ka ‘ōlelo, ‘akahī nō ā ho‘omaka, ‘a‘ole hiki paha iā lākou ke maopopo nā hua ‘olelo āpau akā hiki nō iā lākou ke ‘ike i ka hana a maopopo ma laila i kekahi mau mea i hana ‘ia maila ‘a‘ole ma ka ‘ōlelo wale nō a ma laila i hiki ai iā lākou ke ‘ike i ka mea i hana ‘ia.

[Yes, the good thing about theatre, (for) the people who are somewhat lacking in language, or perhaps they’ve just begun learning, perhaps they won’t understand each and every word but they can see the action and understand some aspects of what has transpired, not just in the language, it is there that they can see the things that happen (on stage).]

Kimura continues with a story about Queen Lili‘uokalani composing an opera. Entitled *Ka Mōhai Lani*, the opera detailed her experience of when she was held captive in her home following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Kimura references this story that appeared in *Honolulu Magazine*. Following that conversation, a number of native speakers call in to talk story and share their thoughts on the subject matter of the evening. The treasure of that evening’s broadcast is Kimura’s uncle Joseph Maka‘ai¹⁶⁷ who calls in to contribute to the conversation revealing the regular practice of kapalō done by Kānaka Maoli that he had eyewitnessed. He explains:

(65:51) Joseph Maka‘ai (JM): Mamake nō au e wala‘au iā ‘oe no ka mea no kou papahana o kēia ahiahi e pili ana nō ho‘i i kēia po‘e hana, hana keaka ma ka hana kapalō ho‘i. A ua, ua ‘ike au i kēlā ‘ano

¹⁶⁷ Considered a hulu kupuna Kupuna Joseph Maka‘ai was an influential native speaker in the Hawaiian language revitalization movement. As a regular guest on *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* he was very supportive of his nephew’s efforts, Larry Kimura, and the efforts of the haumāna at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa to perpetuate Hawaiian. Born in North Kona he lived in Hilo until his passing in 1999 at the age of 82.

hana ‘ana a ka po‘e Hawai‘i ‘oia ho‘i ma mua, e-a. Nui kā lākou hana ma kēia ‘ano ‘aha mele a ‘o ka‘u mea kapalō a‘u i ‘ike ai ma mua ‘o ia nō kēia mele o kēia mo‘olelo e pili ana iā Pa‘ahana, kēia kaikamahine i holo (ai) i ke kuahiwi o, i uka o Wahiawā. A ua ‘ike au i kā lākou hana ‘ana a nui ka hana o kēlā mea, ‘o ka ho‘oma‘ama‘a ‘ana. A ‘o kekahi kapalō, kapalō a‘u i ‘ike ai ‘o ia ho‘i e pili ana kēia, iā Hi‘i, Hi‘iaka a me kēia po‘o mo‘o i. āna i ‘ike ai, ‘o ia ho‘i kēlā ‘āina ‘o mea, ‘o moku ‘āina li‘ili‘i ‘o Molokini, ‘eā, ka huelo o kēlā, o kahi mo‘o, ua ‘oki ‘ia-

[I wanted to speak to you regarding your, your subject matter of this evening about those actors who performed in tableau. And I saw those kinds of performances by the Hawaiian people long before, yeah. They did a tremendous amount of work on those musical performances (concerts) and the first tableau that I saw was for this song for this story about Pa‘ahana, this girl who ran into the mountains of, inland of Wahiawā. And I saw the massive amount of work that they did, so much work for that thing, the rehearsals. And one tabla, tableau that I watched that is about Hi‘i, Hi‘iaka and this reptilian being that she saw, that is that land called, the little island called Molokini, yeah, the tail of that, of the reptile, it was severed]

(66:50) PW: Oh, moku, i O‘ahu nei?

[Oh, an island, here on O‘ahu?]

(66:53) JM: ‘A‘ale, ‘a‘ale.

[No, no.]

(66:55) PW: Ma Molokai, ma Maui-

[On Moloka‘i, on Maui-]

(66:56) JM: A kokoke ia iā Kaho‘olawe, a ‘o Molokini, ‘eā. A ke ‘oe nānā i kēlā moku ‘āina kohu huelo o ka mo‘o. A ua ‘oki ‘ia ho‘i e pili ana i ka mo‘olelo ‘o Hi‘iaka me Lohiau a me Pele paha. Aia i kona huaka‘i hele ‘ana i Kaua‘i ‘o ia kēia, kēia ‘ano mo‘o alualu hele ‘ana iā Hi‘iaka paha. A i kona huli ho‘i ‘ana i ka ‘āina ‘o ia ka manawa āna i ho‘olilo i kēlā mokupuni ‘o mea ‘o Molokini. ‘O ia ke kumu nei ‘oe lele pono ma luna a nānā ‘oe i lalo like nō me ka huelo o ka mo‘o. So ua ‘ike au i kēlā mea ua mo‘olelo ua hana ‘ia pēlā i ka hana kapalō.

[It’s near Kaho‘olawe, Molokini, yes. And whenever you look at that island it resembles the tail of a lizard. It was severed in the story of Hi‘iaka with Lohiau and with Pele perhaps. When she (Hi‘iaka) was traveling to Kaua‘i that’s the time when this lizard-being chased after Hi‘iaka. And when she turned back to the land that is when that island transformed to whatyoucallit, Molokini. That’s the reason if you look directly upon the island from above it is identical to the tail of a lizard. So, I saw that aforementioned story performed as a tabaleu.]

(67:44) PW: Ma hea kēia? Ma O‘ahu nei?

[Where was this? Here on O‘ahu?]

(67:46) JM: ‘A‘ale, ‘a‘ale, ‘a‘ale ma O‘ahu nei. Ma Hawai‘i. A ‘o ia nō i kēlā manawa ‘o Stephen Desha a ‘o kēlā hale pule ‘o mea ‘o Haili. A hana lākou i kapalō ho‘i mea, hana kālā paha. A hele lākou i Kona e hana ai, a ua ‘ike au i kēlā ma ke kula ‘o Konawaena, ma kēlā gymnasium.

[No, no, not on O‘ahu. On Hawai‘i island. And that time it was (led by) Stephen Desha and that church called Haili. They performed the tableau, perhaps as a fundraiser. They traveled to Kona to perform, I saw that at Konawaena school, in that gymnasium.]

(68:09) PW: No laila-

[So-]

(68:10) JM: Ma laila au i 'ike ai i kēlā hana kapalō. But nui ka hana e pili ana i nā mo'olelo, ka ho'oma'ama'a 'ana 'o ka wala'au- ka hua 'ōlelo, 'a'ale like me kēlā 'ano hana hele nō 'oe a kū 'oe i luna a ha'a aku 'oe ma ka, ma ka po'e ho'okani pila. Kēia ka leo, like nō me kēia po'e ka hana hō'ike'ike hana keaka o ka po'e haole ho'i. Like nō kēlā akā hana ana ka po'e Hawai'i but maika'i no ka mea nui ka hana. 'Ōlelo mai kēlā po'e nui ka hana, nui ka ho'oma'ama'a no ke 'ano o ka leo, ke 'ano o ka hua 'ōlelo, a ke 'ano nō ho'i o ka ho'ohālikelike 'ana me ka wala'au 'ana paha e like me Hi'iaka, Lohiau, pēlā nō me Pele.

[It was there that I saw the tableau performance. But lots of work regarding the story, the rehearsals, the dialogue, the words, it's not like that kind of performance where you just get up and dance/perform with the musicians. This kind of voice work, it is like those haole theatrical productions. It's exactly like that but it was Hawaiian people creating the performance, but great because extraordinary work. The people involved said it was a huge undertaking, many rehearsals for the style of voice, the dialogue, and the ways of comparing dialogue delivery to emulate Hi'iaka, Lohiau, as well as Pele.]

(68:59) PW: He hīmeni lākou?

[Did they sing?]

(69:01) JM: 'Ae, he hīmeni, a hana mo'olelo, 'a'ale hīmeni maoli, me ka oli kēia-

[Yes, singing, and performing the story, not real singing, (it was) with chanting this-]

(69:09) PW: ‘Oia?

[Really?]

(69:10) JM: ‘Ae, yeah, oli kā lākou hana. Ma ke oli nō ‘oe e ho‘olohe ai. A ma kēlā ‘ano kāhea, ‘eā. Kohu mea, kohu mea he kapukapu ka hana ‘ana but maika‘i. But kēlā manawa ho‘i paha ‘ehā kālā no ka hele ‘ana e ‘ike akā nui ka pipi‘i i kēlā manawa ‘ehā kālā. I kēia manawa, i kēia lā ho‘i paha, emi kēlā. Ma mua, ‘ehā kālā, kani, kani ka nae.

[Yes, yeah, they performed incantations. It was chants that you heard. And in that style of incantation, yeah. As if, as if the performing entitled great reverence but good. But at that time it was four dollars to attend and watch, four dollars was very expensive then. Now, today, that’s quite reasonable. Before time, four dollars, tough, hard times.]

(69:41) PW: A ‘ehia ka nui o ka po‘e komo i kēia hana?

[And how many people participated in this production?]

(69:45) JM: ‘O kēia hana, nui, i kēlā manawa (he) ‘umikūmālīma, kēia mea ‘o Hi‘iaka nui, iwakālua paha ko lākou nui. A ‘o kekahi po‘e, ka po‘e e oli mai ana, ‘a‘ole ‘oe ‘ike iā lākou ma ko lākou leo wale nō ka mea wawao (wawā), a ‘o ka po‘e e hana nei i kēia hana kapalō ‘o ia ka mea ma luna o kēia, kēia kahua e hana ai. But ke ‘oe ho‘olohe aku iā lākou aia paha lākou ma hope a ma ka ‘ao‘ao. ‘A‘ole ‘oe ‘ike aku iā lākou, nā leo o ke oli, nā leo kāhea.

[This production (Pa‘ahana), plenty, at that time there were 15, this production of Hi‘iaka, perhaps 20 of them. And some people, the chanters, you didn’t see them, only their voices were heard in the distance echoing, and the people performing in the tableau, those were the ones seen on stage acting. But whenever you heard them, they were perhaps backstage or on the sides. You never saw them, the chanting voices, the voices calling out.]

(70:24) PW: A ho‘owehiwehi ‘ia ka, ke kahua?

[Did they decorate the, the stage?]

(70:27) JM: ‘Ae, ho‘owehiwehi ‘ia ke kahua, nā ‘ano mea, nā ‘ano lau e like me ka lehua, ka maile, ka, nā ‘ano lā‘au like ‘ole o ke kuahiwi. Nani ke ‘oe nānā.

[Yes, the stage was decorated, all kinds of things, different types of foliage like lehua, maile, the, a vast array of foliage and fauna from the mountains. Beautiful when you see it.]

(70:43) PW: Makemake au e ‘ike i kēlā ‘ano, akā mana‘o au inā ‘a‘ole na kākou nō e hana ‘a‘ole paha kākou e ‘ike-

[I would like to see that kind, but I think if we’re not the ones to do it we probably won’t see-]

(70:52) JM: E, kēlā ‘ano, pono e wala‘au i ka po‘e kahiko, po‘e ma, po‘e kupuna paha, lākou, maopopo ka hana ‘ana i kēlā ‘ano hana.

[Eh, that kind, you need to talk to the old people, people, the elders, them, they know how to create that kind of performance.]

Wilson and Kimura continue the conversation with Maka'ai encouraging him to perhaps conjure up a Hawaiian language theatrical production that they may act in. Maka'ai tells Kimura that he should be the one to script the play. They all chuckle as the reminiscing of past accomplishments and mo'olelo continue. Both kapalō that are described here by Maka'ai had a lasting impression on him, verifying the impact that theatre in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i has on Kanaka Maoli consciousness. The kapalō for Hi'iaka performed at Konawaena was created and directed by Stephen Desha who passed away in 1934, so Maka'ai watched this kapalō when he was a young man some forty years prior to him calling into the *Ka Leo Hawai'i* radio show to recount the event. This recount of two kapalō productions on the island of O'ahu and the island of Hawai'i is further testament to the articles in the newspaper archives that featured Kanaka Maoli created and led theatrical productions. Although we do not have a date when these performances were produced, the details given here demonstrate the use of dialogue in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i and chanting in the performance as well as the retelling of traditional mo'olelo in a theatrical context. Also notable is the decoration of the stage with greenery from the forest, especially the plants that are connected to the akua featured in the mo'olelo performed. These kapalō or hana keaka are the epitome of artistic and creative expression and when performed, the mo'olelo validate Kanaka Maoli language, history, heritage, and identity.

4.2.7 No ka 'Opela Hawai'i: Hawaiian Opera

There is one other genre of performance that emerged during my research of hana keaka. The term Opela Hawai'i or Hawaiian Opera rendered three entries on Ulukau in 1902, 1912, and 1925. The 1902 production featured the mo'olelo of

Lā'ieikawai. In *Home Rula Repubalika* of March 1902, the following statement verifies that a script was available and speaks to the goal of the production.

"LAIEKAWAI" AT OPERA HOUSE.

This is a work of 214 pages and is an account of some of the interesting daughters of Hawaii, whose story will induce Hawaiians to preserve a loving memory of their ancestors and of their native land, and we call the attention of the people of today to welcome the "Woman of the Twilight" (Kawahineokaliula) with the love of the Hawaiian heart ("aloha makamae o ka puuwai Hawaii."). (1902, p. 1)

The Hawaiian language version of the of the article in the same newspaper regarding the "Keaka Hoonanea Kaulana" [*Famous Enjoyable Play*] (1902, p. 1) describes the artistic elements of the Hawaiian opera production presented by Hawai'i Pono'i Dramatic Club at the Hale Keaka Mele Hou.

He ui nohea na Lede me na Keonimana Keaka, maopopo ka olelo, nahenahe na leo me he kahuli ala. Kilohi aku oe e na Ahuula nani, na Mahiole hookalali, na Kamaa La-i aulii kolomanu e kapalili ai ko naau, a pela aku a nui wale. Hewa ka maka i ka ua mea o ka nani. (1902, p. 1)

[The ladies and gentlemen thespians are beautiful and handsome; they know the language; their voices are sweet and pleasant similar to the singing kahuli land snails. Exquisite capes, helmets, ti-leaf sandals adorn the cast that will make your heart pitter-patter. The beauty (of this production) will overwhelm your eyes.]

Shortly after the premiere, details of *Lā'ieikawai's* success were printed in the newspapers announcing that the show would be held over for an additional two weekends of performance.

Hale Mele Hou!

ĀĪĀĪ POAONO, MAR. 15, 1902

Keaka Hoonanea Kaulana

.... 0....

LĀIEIKAWAI

.. ..

I hoomakaukauia mailoko mai o ka Moolēlo
Kaulana o LĀIEIKAWAI, ka Wahine
o ka Lūula, ka Ui Nohea o Paliuli.

.. ..

E weheis ana e ka HUI KEAKA HAWAII
PONOI, ma ka po o ka la 15 o Maraki.

.. ..

He ui nohea na Lede me na Keonimana,
Keaka, maopopo ka olelo, nahenahe na leo
me he kahuli ala. Kilohi aku oe o na Ahu-
ula nani, na Mahiole hookalali, na Kamaa
Ea-i'auli kolomanu e kapalili ai ko naau, a
pela aku a nui wale. Hewa ka maka i ka
ua mea o ka nani.

E naue nui ae i ike i ka Ui Kaulana o
Paliuli. Haila oe e aka ai, a e mino olu ai
ko papalina i ka lealea. E wāki!—Mai po-
ing oe.

E loa no na Likiki Komo ma kahi o
Wall Nichols & Co., Alanui Moi.

Figure 4.10: Advertisement for Lā'ieikawai, 1902.

The 1925 production, *Ke Keikiali 'i o Hawai 'i* (*The Prince of Hawai 'i*), was conceived and directed by Charles E. King (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 23 April 1925, p. 1). His “musical play” was a fundraiser for the Hawaiian Civic Club, specifically the *waihona ho'ona'auao*¹⁶⁸ of the club. The production starred Raymond Kinney, Joseph Kamakau, Rose Tribe, Harriet Beamer, *Luna Kānāwai* (Judge) John H. Beamer, and Johanna Wilcox and featured a number of Hawaiian musicians. The 16-page production script¹⁶⁹ for this performance consists of dialogue, stage

¹⁶⁸ The education committee or repository of the association.

¹⁶⁹ Mahalo to Kumu Keawe Lopes and his haumāna Ka'iulani Kanehailua who shared the script with me from her archival research for her Master's thesis on Charles E. King.

directions, a list of mele and hula that was to be performed. The play is divided into three major scenes; The Prologue, Act I, and Act II. Each scene spans a number of years. The play opens with a prophecy from the gods about a child of high rank that would be born to the queen. The prologue is the only scene that is explicitly set in traditional times. Act I begins with the birth of a royal son, a ceremony for the child, and then a missionary arrives bearing gifts for the Aliʻinui followed by Kānaka Maoli who have returned to Hawaiʻi from “working in the land of California” (King, 1925, p. 6). Both Kānaka Maoli sing a song to honor the birth of the royal prince, which opens the way for a Chinese man, Sing Wo Fat, who asks the Aliʻinui for permission to drive away any evil spirits that may want to hurt the new prince. Then a large feast takes place where everyone dotes on the royal child. At the feast the Aliʻinui’s Kahuna Keao suggests for the construction of a missionary school to educate the new prince. Keao’s brother Kuhia, the kahuna who prophesied the birth of the prince, arrives interrupting the discussion with the request for the Aliʻinui to pledge the union of the noble princess Leilani and the newly born royal prince. Keao storms out upset with his brother. The act concludes with the Aliʻinui and his Queen singing “*Ke Kali Nei Au,*” to one another.

The final act, Act II, is a hodgepodge of a wooing scene, a wedding scene, and a May Day pageant. Leilani, the prince’s intended, is wooed by another man, she is initially rejected by the prince, and then upon Leilani’s true identity and rank being revealed through the chanting of her genealogy, she is embraced by the prince. The royal couple is married and Sing Wo Fat reappears to close the play with a comedic monologue. The premise of the play is likely based on a traditional moʻolelo and royal prophecies. However, the jumps in time and the random characters that appear leads me to believe that there was a great effort on the part

of the playwright and director, Charles E. King, to include the malihini turn settlers in Hawai‘i. King also employed his own compositions that would be considered contemporary music of the era such as “Pua Roselani,” “Ke Kali Nei Au,” “Uhe‘uhene,” “Imua Kamehameha,” and “Kamehameha Waltz.” In addition to the numerous mele, the 30+ cast members performed various hula and oli for the production. *Ke Keikiali‘i o Hawai‘i* was indeed a large undertaking that illustrates the participation and leadership of Kānaka Maoli in Hawai‘i’s theatre history.

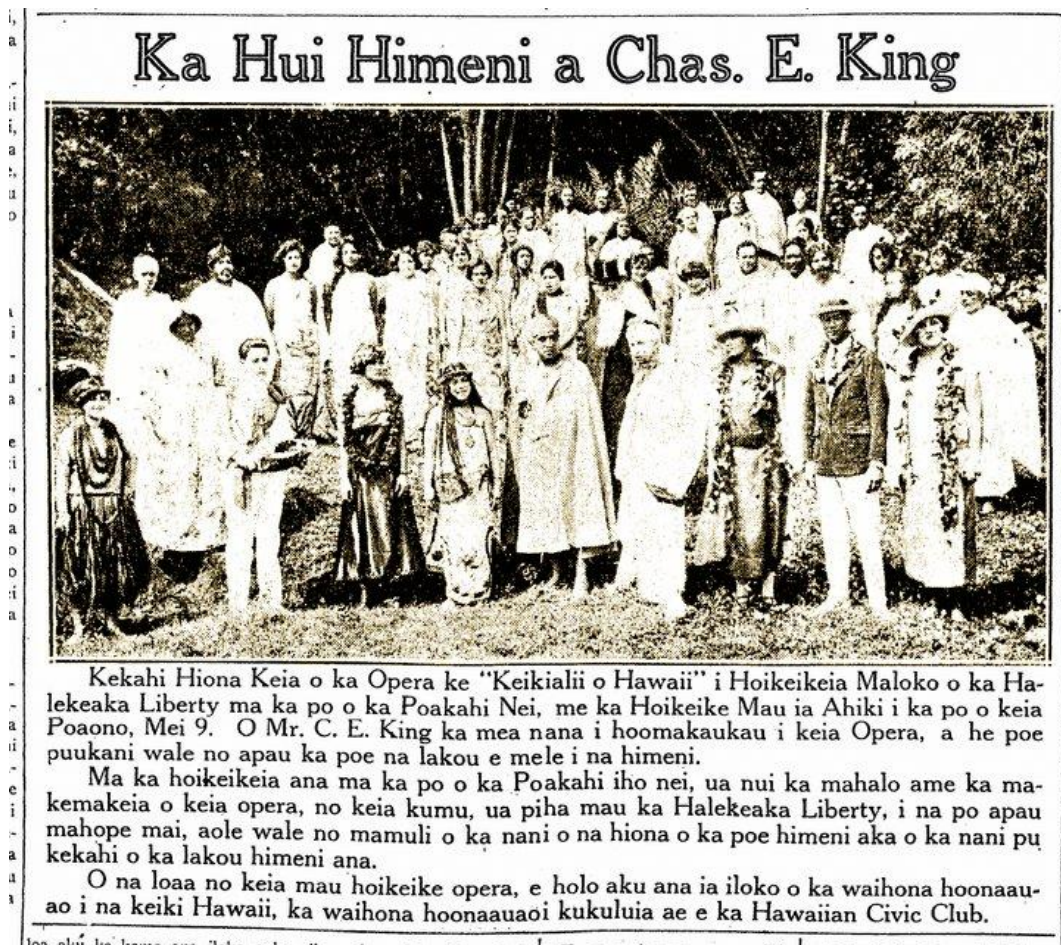


Figure 4.11: Keikialii o Hawaii cast photo, 1925.

4.2.8 No ka Ho‘okumu Hou ‘ia ‘ana o ka Hana Keaka: Redefining the Function of Hana Keaka

The findings in the newspaper archives allow for investigation and a reconstruction of the past through deep rumination that is intrinsically tied to a

desire to understand the practices of our ancestors. The following excerpt from an article published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* in 1902, not only confirms the participation of Kānaka Maoli in theatre but also explicates the kinds of stories that Kānaka Maoli chose to dramatize. The headline reads, “Na Keaka mai na mo‘olelo kahiko mai (Plays from the stories of old).” The headline is followed by, “Ke hoomakaukau nei kekahi mau keiki Hawaii no ke keaka ana mai (Hawaiian youths are preparing for a theatrical presentation).” The author of this article expresses the joy and support of the Hawaiian community for the efforts of these enthusiastic young Kanaka Maoli thespians.

Ke hauoli nei makou i ka ike ana i keia mau keiki Hawaii e hooikaika ana e hana i keia hana, oiai he hana ia e mau ai ka hoomanao ia ana o kekahi o na moolelo maikai o kakou mai kahiko mai e like me Laieikawai, ka Moolelo nohoi o Kapena Kuke, Lohiau, ame Kaala. (28 February 1902, p. 1)

[We are overjoyed to see these Hawaiian youths committing to endeavor in this kind of work, since it’s a way to maintain the recollection of some of the great stories of our past like Lā‘ieikawai, the story of Captain Cook, Lohi‘au, and Ka‘ala.]

This excerpt mentions four different hana keaka of the time that existed in the Kanaka Maoli theatrical repertoire. I am confident that with more research other hana keaka will surface over time. It seems that the mo‘olelo selected by Kānaka Maoli served a purpose. There was a reason for retelling a particular mo‘olelo at a particular time. Kanaka Maoli scholar Noenoe Silva in her book *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, talks about the establishment of Kanaka Maoli run newspapers as a means to utilize the print media as a form of anti-colonial resistance (2004, p. 55). Kanaka Maoli identity is firmly

asserted through the inclusion of traditional mo‘olelo, song, and incantations via the print media that was widely consumed by Kānaka Maoli during this time period. This notion put forth by Silva leads me to ponder the selection and intention of a mo‘olelo produced as a hana keaka particularly in 1893. To illustrate the function of hana keaka that Kānaka Maoli may have employed, I will discuss the 1893 production of *Lā‘ieikawai* and the political context Hawai‘i faced when the production was done. Three months after the overthrow of our *Aupuni Mō‘ī*¹⁷⁰ the Hui Keaka Hawai‘i Pono‘ī produces a hana keaka for *Lā‘ieikawai* at the Hale Mele Hou (New Opera House) ma kai¹⁷¹ of ‘Iolani Palace on King Street.

¹⁷⁰ The Hawaiian Kingdom.

¹⁷¹ Oceanside or seaward.

<p>HOIKEIKE NUI. MA KA HALE MELE HOU.</p> <p>I Keia Ahiahi POAONO,</p> <p>Haawi Mua Loa ai ka HUI HANA KEAKA HAWAII PONOI. Ka Hiona Nani Lua Ole</p> <p>KAIKAMAHINE UI PALIULI</p> <p>LAIEIKAWAI.</p> <p>Iluna o ka Eheu o na Manu, ka mea hoi i Oleloia ua like Kona Ui me ka LIULA o ke Ahiahi.</p> <p>Kahauokapaka</p> <p>Malaekahana,</p> <p>Na Luau i o ka Ui Laieikawai a me ko Laua Hale.</p> <p>AIWOHIKIPUA,</p> <p>E Hee ana i ka Nalu o Puna, a me Kona mau kaikamahine MALE-</p> <p>KAHALAOMAPUANA</p> <p>Poliahu,</p> <p>Ka Wahine Noho Kushawi</p> <p>Maunakea,</p> <p>Hoko o kona kapu lala Kaonohiokala.</p> <p>Ka Ui o Kealahilani</p> <p>I hoi malule ai ka puuwai o na Kaikamahine Ui oia mau la.</p>	<p>Hauailiki,</p> <p>KE KAEAEA O KA AINA KAILI LA.</p> <p>He Nanea Waihoia iloko o na Eia e Noho Aia: ANA O</p> <p>Kauakahialii</p> <p>KAHA ALIIWAHINE Kaililauokekoa.</p> <p>Na Kii Pona ia o na Wahi Kaulana o keia Poe i noho ai—Ka Hale o na Makua o</p> <p>Laieikawai,</p> <p>Ka Pae Mua ana mau</p> <p>KAPENA KUKE</p> <p>Kona Make Ana.</p> <p>Ma Malaekahana, Koolaulou—Ka Pua Kaulana o Kauwili, a me ka Heiau na Hana—Kiowai o Waisipuka kahi i luna ia ai o Laieikawai ma Laie.</p> <p>Kiowai kapu o Paliuli iloko o ka Mokulehua o Panawea.</p> <p>Ke kuahiwi o Maunakea ka Home noho o ka Eheu</p> <p>Poliahu.</p> <p>He Nani na hana a pau e hoike ia mahi ana.</p> <p>O KA UTE KONO HE \$0.50, \$0.75, A ME \$1.00 apr5 4td.</p> <p>NA LETA.</p> <p>Aoi o makou makemake e lawe i ke kaiko o na hala no na manaio i hoopuka i maile o keia poe e ko makou poe kaiko manaio.</p> <p>HE HOOHUOI.</p> <p>Heaha, a no keaha ke kumu o ka hoohuoi? wahi a ka mea ni- nao. Eia: O na wahi inoa o ma- kou i kakau ai ma ka buke, iloko o na makahiki i hala, ma ke ano, he mau hou a he mau lala hoi no ka hui hoole waiona a libine bolu hoi. Eia aku nei la ihea ua mau inoo nei o makou? Eia se no pa- lia i na Peresidena mikantle o ma- kou, a i ole, ua holo pu aku nei pa- ha i Wasinetona me W. R. Kakela ma i ka hoohuoi aia?</p> <p>Oia ke kumu o ka hoohuoi ia e ulu ae nei, a holunape i ko'u bou-</p>
--	--

Figure 4.12: Advertisement and playbill for *Lā‘ieikawai*, 1893. ¹⁷²

The production of *Lā‘ieikawai* runs for a total five weeks and is supported with multiple advertisements and articles about the production in both *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* and *Ke Aloha Aina* newspapers. During the run of the production, *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* publishes an article on the 24th of April 1893 containing accolades for the accomplishments of the Hawaiian theatre troupe.

¹⁷² (*Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 7 April 1893, p. 3)

Maikai ka hana keaka o ka Poaono nei, maloko o ka Hale Mele Hou, ua pii ka makaukau o ka Puali Keaka Hawaii Ponoī, a ua kuupau ia mai ka nani o na hana a ka wahine o ka liula. Mahalo a nui ia oukou e ka Hui Keaka Hawaii, i ko oukou holomua ma keia hana e hoomau aku ma keia alanui. (24 April 1893. p. 2)

[The play this Saturday was excellent, at the New Opera House, the Hawaiian thespian warriors have increased their skill, performed with no inhibitions the beauty of the woman of twilight. Much gratitude to the Hawaiian theatre company, thank you for the progress you've made in this field, continue on this path.]

In *Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa* someone writes that the house was filled to capacity. Stating that many people came to see the production composed and performed by “na Hawaii Maoli” or authentic Hawaiians. It also stated that although the storyline was not seamless, the audience never complained because of the impressive performance by the cast (11 April 1893, p. 3). In the context of newspaper politics, the comments in each newspaper illuminates the political struggles of the time and attempts to establish the new white American power in Hawai‘i. *Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa* was owned by the *Hawaiian Gazette*, a major pro-American entity that refused to print Queen Lili‘uokalani’s protest to the overthrow, and immediately began referring to her as Hawai‘i’s ex-queen.¹⁷³ It is very likely that those pro-American powers were monitoring the Kanaka Maoli activities of the day, especially public presentations like a hana keaka.

Is it possible that the staging of this hana keaka for Lā‘ieikawai was part of a political protest? Why select this story from all the mo‘olelo that existed? Why *Lā‘ieikawai*? And why was it important to tell her story in April of 1893? The story

¹⁷³ (<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025121/>)

of Lā‘ieikawai¹⁷⁴ is about resilient wāhine Hawai‘i who in dire times are able to overcome hopeless odds. The performance scene chart printed in the 1893 newspaper notes that the performance opened with the birth of the kapu ali‘i wahine Lā‘ieikawai, followed by a scene with her suitor ‘Aiwohikupua, ali‘i nui from Kaua‘i and his sisters, Maileha‘iwale, Mailekaluhea, Mailelauli‘i, Mailepākaha, and the youngest favorite sister Kahalaomāpuana. The subsequent scenes cover ‘Aiwohikupua’s relationship with Poli‘ahu, another suitor from Kaua‘i Haua‘ilikī, and Ka‘ōnohiokalā the eventual husband of Lā‘ieikawai. In the story specific examples of female strength includes the survival of ‘Aiwohikupua’s sisters in a distant and unfamiliar land after he abandons them, and the sisterhood bond that is established between the sisters and Lā‘ieikawai as a means for support and empowerment. This sisterhood provides strength, solidarity, and solace in times of despair. The women take on one another’s *luhi*¹⁷⁵ throughout the story navigating the many trials and tribulations in the journey of life. There is also Kahalaomāpuana’s perilous journey to Kūkulu o Kahiki in order to restore

¹⁷⁴ The story of Lā‘ieikawai has resurfaced every twenty years or so over the last century and a half in publication and/or performance. S. N. Hale‘ole authored the first published version of this mo‘olelo, serialized in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a* from September 4, 1862 to October 23, 1863. It appeared as a book in 1863. In 1888, Sol Mehe‘ula and Jas Henry Bolster published the story in a series of Hawaiian literary texts. Including Hale‘ole, at least four serializations of Lā‘ieikawai appeared in the Hawaiian language newspapers—in 1862, 1864, 1888, and 1926. The titles of the installments vary: “*Ke Ka‘ao no Lā‘ieikawai: Ka hiwahiwa o Paliuli, ka wahine o ka li‘ulā*” (*The legend of Laieikawai: the beloved one of Paliuli. The Lady of the Twilight*), “*Ka Mo‘olelo ‘o Lā‘ieikawai, ka mea i kapa ‘ia ka wahine o ka li‘ulā*” (*The story of Lā‘ieikawai, the one that was called the woman of twilight*), and “*Mo‘olelo no Lā‘ieikawai: ka U‘i helu ‘akahī o Paliuli i ka uka o Puna*” (*A story for Lā‘ieikawai: the number one beauty of Paliuli inland of Puna*). This is not a comprehensive list; as more pages of Hawaiian language newspapers become available on digital repositories like the Papakilo database and nupepa.org, we will likely discover more versions of *Lā‘ieikawai*.

English texts of the story of Lā‘ieikawai are also widely available. Martha Warren Beckwith’s 1917 translation of Hale‘ole’s original text was the first published English version. Later reprinted in 1997, it was long the most widely used English version of the story. In 2006 Richard Hamasaki prepared a revised translation for today’s generation. This text of is currently used in literature classes throughout the state.

¹⁷⁵ Burden, wearisome or tedious task; labor, work, pains, toil.

Lā‘ieikawai’s mana and status as an ali‘i. The women in this story become the governors of the islands and are triumphant in their battles. These women are survivors and were known to be fair leaders loved by their people. Lā‘ieikawai is eventually deified by her people and honored as ka wahine o ka li‘ulā, the woman of twilight. The themes in this story resonate with the turmoil the Hawaiian nation was experiencing in 1893. This hana keaka is performed across the street from ‘Iolani Palace where Queen Lili‘uokalani was displaced from her throne. During this time of strife, the lāhui was under great political distress. Was this performance for her, for our beloved Queen? Perhaps the performance of *Lā‘ieikawai* was intended to give our queen hope that she too, like Kahalaomāpuana and the sisters in the mo‘olelo, would prevail through the devastating situation the Hawaiian nation was facing. Was it a conscious decision by the Hui Keaka Hawai‘i Pono‘ī to retell this story because of the kaona or hidden meaning that Kānaka Maoli may have connected with? I cannot help but speculate what the true intention of this production was.

Plays are always written with intent. William Shakespeare, one of the most prolific playwrights in western theatre often utilized the stage to address political and social problems of his time. His plays addressed a wide variety of themes and skillfully made commentary on the crown without directly mentioning Queen Elizabeth (Scannell, 2010). Playwrights continue to employ this tool today and directors find ways to highlight the themes and social or political commentary inscribed by the playwright through their directorial choices. Today when a play is produced the first two questions a director would ask when selecting a play are: Why this play? And why now? The question of relevance is paramount. The selection process of a play is largely based on what is relevant for a particular

community at a specific time. The relevance of a work allows audience members to connect with the play and the world of the play. That is an important part of creating impactful theatre. In the world of theatre there are varying degrees of impactful theatre. The theatre of the oppressed as conceived by Augusto Boal is known to be a high-impact theatrical experience (Boal, 1979). Other impactful types of theatre include: theatre for social change, theatre for rebuilding community, and environmental theatre coined by Richard Schechner. By using a performance studies lens for analysis, we can delve into the impact of performance and the effect that a performance may have on the performers, audience members, and community. The 1893 production of *Lā'ieikawai* is indeed a worthwhile subject for analysis.

The collective of Kānaka Maoli who organized and produced the performance of *Lā'ieikawai* made a significant contribution to the political landscape of 1893. This particular treasured story would have resonated with the lāhui speaking to the kānaka populous on multiple levels. Like the kaona embedded in mele (Pukui, 1949), hana keaka would have been infused with messages and layers of kaona. This type of kaona would be exactly the type of hidden meaning that Kanaka Maoli Scholar Brandi Nālani McDougall describes:

Inclusive of allusion, symbolism, punning, and metaphor, kaona draws on the collective knowledge's and experiences of Hawaiians, recognizing these knowledge's and experiences as unique, while also recognizing the range and contexts within which we must inhabit, learn, and access knowledge in its many forms. (2014, p. 3)

To the plain eye the function of this hana keaka may have been to purely entertain audiences, however, it is very probable that this hana keaka served as a coded message for the lāhui Kanaka Maoli. The literary text of *Lā'ieikawai* has embedded

teachings of cultural values and practices, religious practices, and proper protocol. In his analysis of the story of *Lā'ieikawai*, Richard Hamasaki, author and retired instructor of Hawaiian and Pacific literature at Kamehameha Schools Kapālama, hypothesizes that the story itself when originally published by S.N. Hale'ole in 1862 served as an allegory for Hawai'i's leadership and the influx of new ways introduced to Hawai'i at the time (2006). Understanding the content of this story allows for further speculation on the motivation of mounting this production. First, there's the choice of a mo'olelo with a female protagonist. Not only is this a mo'olelo about a female protagonist, she is surrounded by a supporting cast of other females. Secondly, there's the concept of losing one's birthright of mana. This would have been a salient point for Kānaka Maoli and Hawaiian Nationalists alike with their Queen recently dethroned across the street. Next, the story appeals to traditional ways and the akua of old. The characters in the story perform incantations to family gods and summon these 'aumākua to aid in their battles and deliver their requests. Finally, the theme of allegiance or loyalty is explored in the familial relationships in this mo'olelo. It is quite possible that the director and performers expressed their loyalty to the queen in their depiction of this mo'olelo as a theatrical performance. This act in turn may have inspired those in the audience to stand in solidarity to resist the illegal acts of the provisional government.

On the day of their final performance in April 1893, a raid of the theatre Hale Mele Hou was conducted as the cast was preparing for the evening's performance. An article recounting this event appeared in the *Hawaii Holomua* newspaper stating:

Ua lohe mai makou, ma ke ahiahi Poaha nei, oiai ke Keaka Laieikawai e makaukau ana e hoike i ka lakou mau ai i ao ai, ua hoike ia aku la ka lohe i ka Alihikaua Nui Mr. J.H. Soper, aia he mau

pu raifela he lehulehu iloko o ka Hale Mele Hou, na ka Hui Keaka Hawaii, a ua manao ia he wahi ia e hoomoana ai ka poe kue i keia aupuni, a e lele kua aku paha! (22 April 1893, p. 2)

[We heard, on Thursday evening, while the Lā‘ieikawai performers were rehearsing their blocking/movement, Commander-in-chief Mr. Soper was notified that there were numerous firearms stored in the New Opera House belonging to the Hui Keaka Hawai‘i, it was also speculated that the theatre was a place where the resistance party (those who stood against the new government) were camping out, and that they may incite a rebellion!]

How much of a coincidence is this that the location of the hana keaka is also the alleged hideout for the Kanaka Maoli resistance party? Otherwise known as Royalists, the resistance movement had a track record of meeting at the Hale Mele Hou. An announcement in the *Hawaii Holomua* newspaper calls for a gathering of Kānaka Hawai‘i to meet in the days following the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani. The following announcement appears in the newspaper on the 16th of January 1893, three days after the illegal act of war¹⁷⁶ by the American businessmen:

Halawai Makaainana Nui

E na kanaka Hawaii a me ka poe a pau i aloha io i ka aina a i make i ka pono a me ke kaulike—ke kono ia aku nei oukou e hele ae ma ka halawai a ka [sic. Ke] Kanaka aloha aina a make maluhia e malama ia ana ma ke Kuea mamua iho o ka Hale Mele Hou i ka hora 2 o keia auina la Poakahi, Ianuali 16. E hele ae kane, wahine me kaiki, a e akoakoa ae i mau tausani. (1893, p. 2)

¹⁷⁶ President Cleveland refers to the United States involvement in the overthrow as “an act of war” and requests Congress to support the reinstatement of the Hawaiian Kingdom. (Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina, 1991)

[Huge Citizen's Assembly

Hawaiians and all those who truly love the land and treasure goodness and justice– you are all invited to attend the meeting of peace-loving patriots, which will be held in the Square directly in front of the New Opera House at 2:00 pm this Monday, January 16. Men, women, and children should all go, and gather by the thousands.]¹⁷⁷

This announcement and others like it suggest that the Hale Mele Hou was a gathering place for the patriots of the Hawaiian nation. This particular detail may indicate or attempt to answer the intention of the play, a question that I posed earlier. In regard to the gun raid at the theatre, a phone call to the commander-in-chief of the Provisional Government warranted the raid. There must have been something to stir suspicion about the activities at the Hale Mele Hou and the implication that the thespians were harboring or in association with or the Royalists themselves is an exciting revelation. Perhaps the members of the Hui Keaka Hawai‘i Pono‘ī were not just actors perhaps they were activists. Maybe the performance of *Lā‘ieikawai* was a campaign for all Royalist to unite for social change, to protest the unfair treatment of their queen and the treacherous establishment of the Provisional Government.

The police officers and military that searched the theatre turned up one gun that was considered to be a stage prop for a play about Captain Cook that was in the theatre troupe’s repertoire. It is apparent that the editor of the *Hawaii Holomua* newspaper was annoyed by the ordeal and sympathized with the Hui Hana Keaka by their closing statement, “...a aohe hoi o na haneri, tausani, miliona, a keliliona

¹⁷⁷ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

o na pu a ka wahahee nui wale. Ma-tau!” [...and there weren't hundreds of guns, thousands, millions, or trillions as indicated, such exaggerated lies. Frightening!]
 (Hawaii Holomua, 22 April 1893, p. 2). See article below.

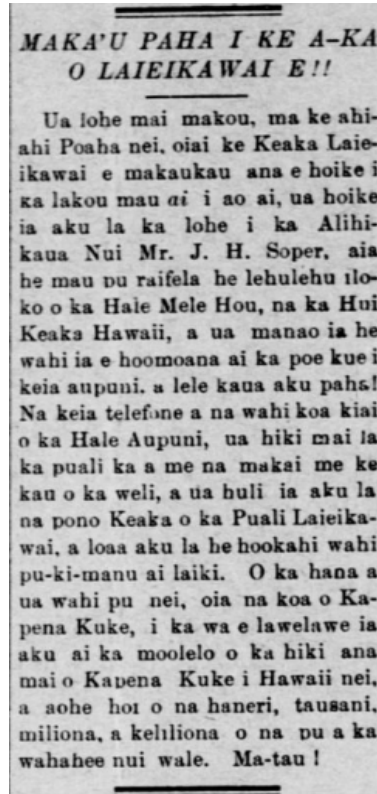


Figure 4.13: Article about search of Hawaiian theatre troupe's stage properties.¹⁷⁸

This ordeal reported in the newspaper is evidence that Kanaka Maoli activities were under strict observation by the Provisional Government and that the individuals at the helm of this façade of a government were fearful of an uprising. Research like this allows for a better understanding of the happenings of the time and also helps to illustrate what the social and political climate was like for the Royalists that included Kānaka Maoli and Hawaiian nationals alike. I propose that the Hui Hana Keaka Hawai‘i Pono‘ī cleverly selected a mo‘olelo that would have resonated with the Royalist party to perform at the Hale Mele Hou. Their hana

¹⁷⁸ (Hawaii Holomua, 22 April 1893, p. 2).

keaka may have played a role in the political protests following the overthrow. It is interesting to note that three months after this hana keaka production of *Lā‘ieikawai*, an ‘aha mele or concert in July of 1893 featured a tableaux of six scenes from the story of *Lā‘ieikawai* and *Lā‘ielohelohe* amongst other dramatized historical events, such as the story of *Kamehameha*. The newspapers indicate that this performance appealed to a large audience (1893, p. 2). The story of *Lā‘ieikawai* is one of the most prominent mo‘olelo that were featured in the hana keaka created by Kanaka Maoli theatre troupes and the various associations who presented hana keaka during the monarchical period.

4.2.9 Kupu ā Lau ka Hana Keaka: Hana Keaka Flourishes

Before looking at a few examples of other hana keaka that garnered major Kanaka Maoli participation in 1935 and the 1960’s, I want to recapitulate the number of original Kanaka Maoli productions recorded in the newspaper archives between 1864 and 1941 that surfaced during my research. Forty-five different Hana Keaka were listed between 1864 – 1939. These hana keaka productions most often told one sequential narrative. The mo‘olelo would have used a typical play structure with a beginning, middle, and an end. *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i* accounted for thirty-two original productions from 1871 through 1941. The *Halāli‘i* events were most often ‘aha mele that included hana keaka. Therefore multiple mo‘olelo may have been included in one performance. The term *Tabalō* constitutes thirty-nine distinct productions from 1907 – 1936. *Kapalō* produced a single entry in 1914. The 40 productions would have consisted of music, dance, hana keaka that reenacted mo‘olelo, either one or multiple mo‘olelo were showcased in these productions. Finally the term *Opela* accounts for three original productions between 1902 – 1925. The terms *Hana Keaka*, *Tabalō/Kapalō*, *Opela*, and *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i* all

represent theatrical presentations. Collectively these theatrical endeavors of Kānaka Maoli generated 120 original productions over a 77-year period (1864 - 1941). In conducting this research I also tallied the number of plays advertised as theatrical productions that were presented in Hawai‘i, mainly on O‘ahu, including equestrian shows, minstrel shows, plays, circus, operas, and so forth by either touring theatre companies or O‘ahu based theatre companies. The non-Kanaka Maoli productions listed in the newspapers totaled 201 different events. This means that 37% of the theatre that occurred in Hawai‘i was Kānaka Maoli driven. Kānaka Maoli were producers, choreographers, director, playwrights, lyricists, poets, composers, dancers, singers, actors, and performing artists. The newspaper archives validates the participation of Kānaka Maoli as theatre makers, which merely expanded the performance traditions of our people.

4.3 No ka Hana Keaka o Ke Ao Nei: Modern Day Practice of Hana Keaka

Moving into the modern era I want to mention three productions led by non-Kanaka playwrights and/or directors that were heavily influenced by Kānaka Maoli. Over a span of thirty some odd years these were the major theatrical productions that employed ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, hula, mele, and oli in the same vein that the earlier Kanaka Maoli led productions had done for hana keaka. That being said I would classify these productions as hana keaka for the simple reason that each one adheres to most, if not all of the four kūkulu that formulate hana keaka. In the subsequent chapters I will speak to the four kūkulu of Hana Keaka in detail. These kūkulu are (1) Mo‘olelo- The stories for these productions are commonly derived from mo‘olelo both oral tradition and/or old Hawaiian texts such as the newspapers. Mo‘olelo is a foundational element of these plays. (2) Kū‘auhau- The characters in these plays are ancestors, as kupuna we are connected to them. Frequently the

kupuna are historical figures in Hawaiian history, some whom Kānaka Maoli deified for their deeds. (3) Hana No‘eau- Traditional performance forms are interwoven with standard dialogue. These hana no‘eau are also utilized with dramatic structure in mind as to move the story along. And (4) ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i- These performances utilize Hawaiian language as its medium. All dialogue, music, and so forth is done ma ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (via Hawaiian language). The productions draw on the four kūkulu listed above as a means to portray a Hawaiian identity and worldview. Each of these elements listed here have a chapter dedicated to exploring these concepts in depth, which make up the cornerstones of hana keaka.

4.3.1 Ke Kuapu‘u Ali‘i: The Grand Amphitheatre Performance of 1935

In 1935 a play entitled *Ke Kuapu‘u Ali‘i (The Hunchedback Chief)* was written by Rowland R. Shepardson an instructor at Kamehameha Schools. Although Shepardson was a malihini, he did a tremendous amount of research on the mo‘olelo and consulted with Kanaka Maoli “authorities on Hawaiian life and customs...” such as “Mrs. Lahilahi Webb at the Bishop Museum and John H. Wise, former professor of Hawaiian in the University...”¹⁷⁹ both checked the script, “and pronounced (it) authentic in every detail” (*Ka Leo o Hawaii*, 11 April 1935, p. 3). The complete Hawaiian cast of over one hundred performers, many of whom were Kamehameha Schools students, performed mele and hula in the production. This play retold the story of chiefs Kanipahu and his older aggressive brother Kamaiole. *Ke Kuapu‘u Ali‘i* was performed at Andrew’s Amphitheatre on the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa campus. Newspapers report approximately 1,000 spectators in

¹⁷⁹ Elizabeth Lahilahi Napuaikaumakani Rogers Webb (1862-1949) was the last lady-in-waiting and companion of Queen Lili‘uokalani from 1914 to 1917 during the final years of her life. She also worked as a guide for the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.

the audience (Carroll, 1983, pp. xi-xii). This production was a huge undertaking and likely the first Hawaiian performance in the amphitheatre on the Mānoa campus.

4.3.2 Lā‘ieikawai: The Aloha Week Festival Performance of 1961

A couple of decades later a substantial theatrical production was mounted at the Waikīkī Shell as a replacement for the annual May Day pageant during the Aloha Week Festival. In 1961 the traditional story of the striking beauty of Paliuli was once again the foundation for this production. Doris Keppeler, who also produced and directed, with Elsie Ross Lane and Lloyd Stone, scripted *Lā‘ieikawai*. Costumes were by Kaye Dooley. Jack Pitman who was known for his song, “Beyond the Reef,” wrote ten new songs for the performance. There was a chorus of 20 Hawaiian voices directed by Mrs. Leila Kī‘aha, that included the talents of Loyal Garner, Dolly Kam Creighton and Myrna Ann McGregor Kai. A 19-piece orchestra played under the direction of Ray Tanaka. Nina Keali‘iwahamana Rapozo played the lead role of Lā‘ieikawai. Jimmy Mo‘ikeha played the role of Ka‘ōnohiokalā (the sun deity). Milton ‘Ī played the parts of Halaaniani and ‘Aiwohikupua, the brother of the Maile sisters who attempted to seduce Lā‘ieikawai. Leialoha Cunningham played Waka. Lordie Kaulili portrayed the Kanaka Maoli storyteller, Hale‘ole on stage, but master chanter Ka‘upena Wong spoke the narration offstage. Kumu Hula Tom Kaulaheonamoku Hiona chanted and played drums and the nose flute. Altogether there were 33 cast members. Many of these Kanaka Maoli performers mentioned above are considered the elite musicians, kumu hula, and chanters of our time. Although some have passed on, the ones who are still with us today are indeed *hulu kupuna*¹⁸⁰ recognized for their

¹⁸⁰ Treasured elders who are the keepers of knowledge in our Kanaka Maoli community.

talents and contributions to Hawaiian performing arts.



Figure 4.14: Photo of cast members Nina Rapozo (Keli 'iwahamana) as Lā'ieikawai, Milton 'Ī as the Rascal of Puna (Halaaniani), and J. Leialoha Cunningham as the Sorceress.¹⁸¹

¹⁸¹ (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 15 October 1961, p. 1)



Jimmy Moikeha, as the Sun god La, and Nina Rapoza, as the Rainbow Maiden Laieikawai, sing a romantic duet "in the heavens of ancient Hawaii" during the finale of the Aloha Week production of "Laieikawai" last night. Approving the love match at left is Mama Peltier, who portrays the demi-goddess Kahalo-o-mapuana. The production will be performed again at the Waikiki Shell tonight at 7. (Story on Page 14.)

*Figure 4.15: Production photos from the 1961 performance of Lā'ieikawai.*¹⁸²

¹⁸² (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 18 October 1961, p. 9).

4.3.3 Laukiamanuikahiki: Charlot's Bilingual Production of 1964

After years of studying Hawaiian with Samuel Elbert, the first true linguist to study Hawaiian and the co-author of the Hawaiian dictionary, and Mrs. Dorothy Kahananui,¹⁸³ an esteemed kupuna and author of "*E Kama 'ilio Hawai'i Kākou*," a Hawaiian language teaching text, artist Jean Charlot wrote two Hawaiian language plays based on traditional mo'olelo. Charlot credits Mrs. Kahananui with editing and assuring that the Hawaiian was proper. He also stated in an interview that Mrs. Kahananui was very helpful because she "told him what he could and couldn't do in Hawaiian" (26 September 1975).¹⁸⁴ With the sponsorship of the Hawaiian Historical Society, *Laukiamanuikahiki* (Snare-That-Lures-a-Farflung-Bird), Charlot's first bilingual play was mounted in 1964 at Punahou School with a complete Hawaiian cast, many of whom were native speakers of Hawaiian. According to Charlot, during rehearsal the cast along with Mrs. Kahananui made the necessary adjustments with the dialogue for performance. Billed as a bilingual playlet, *Laukiamanuikahiki* featured two English narrators that summarized the content in the scenes. The pre-production script of 28 pages notes that the actors were to "act the Hawaiian version (of the script) exclusively. The action 'freezes' every time the play switches to English. Actors resume action as soon as reading ends" (1964, p. 1). The Hawaiian community was very involved in this production, helping to ground and shape the work. Featured in the cast were Ka'upena Wong, Elenor Lilihana Williamson, Fred Kalaniano'oe Meinecke, Noelani Kanoho Māhoe, Sarah Kananioku'uhome (Ayat) Keahi, Lydia Wahinemaika'i Hale, Koana Nī'au

¹⁸³ Mrs. Kahananui was a long-time Hawaiian language teacher at Kamehameha Schools Kapālama.

¹⁸⁴ Two Hawaiian-Language Plays: Interview 1 with Jean Charlot, September 26, 1975, John Pierre Charlot. (<http://www.hawaii.edu/jcf/interviews/JohnCharlot/HILangPlays1.html>) retrieved on 3 May 2013.

Wilcox, Enoch Nohealani Kaina, Tom Kamake Keali'inohomoku, John Morgan Alexander Burgess, Kenneth Sha Gun 'Analū Lee, Mrs. C.K. Huang Soo Young, and Claudette Gordon Mulder (Charlot, 1976, p. 10). Noteworthy in the cast above are the revered kupuna of contemporary times, the late Māmā Hale who was influential in the Hawaiian language revitalization movement working as a mānaleo at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Kumu 'Ōlelo Hawai'i Sarah Keahi (Kamehameha Schools Kapālama) and Kalani Meineke (Windward Community College), songwriter/composer Noelani Māhoe, and the highly respected master chanter Ka'upena Wong. Hale, Keahi, Māhoe, and Wong have influenced many students of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, mele, and oli. These individuals are currently regarded as our hulu kupuna. These productions may also be considered precursors of the modern day hana keaka.

4.3.4 No nā Lau o ka Hana Keaka: Variations of Hana Keaka and its Function

Modern day hana keaka's core values and practice thereof are analogous to that of African theatre and other indigenous theatre forms. In its current incarnation hana keaka recounts traditional mythologies and historical events typically classified as mo'olelo. The stories communicated in these hana keaka productions are drawn from oral tradition and Hawaiian literary texts often extracted from the Hawaiian language newspapers published from 1834 through 1948. Therefore, hana keaka are based in traditional mo'olelo depicting ancestors and historical figures as characters in these productions. Frequently those involved with the production are genealogically connected to the characters portrayed. This familial connection creates a sense of responsibility and accountability on the part of the cast members, the artistic team, and the playwright to present accurate and authentic

representations of the mo‘olelo adapted for the stage. Hana keaka also interweaves hana no‘eau with dialogue. These performance forms are utilized as dramatic structural devices that create an indigenously Hawaiian aesthetic. There are two major forms of hana keaka that currently exist; Hawaiian Dance Theatre and Hawaiian Medium Theatre. Although both forms share many similarities, the major distinction of the forms is that Hawaiian Dance Theatre’s foundation is dance. The hula drives the performance. Narration may be used between scenes to explicate the content or to prime the audience. However, hula, oli, and mele are the key elements and driving force of this form of theatre. Whereas Hawaiian Medium Theatre is dependent on the dialogue to move the story along. The dialogue is the narrative that is supported by oli, mele, and hula.

4.3.5 Hana Keaka Hula: Hawaiian Dance Theatre

The following section highlights various Hawaiian theatrical productions performed in Hawai‘i since the rise of the Hawaiian cultural renaissance.¹⁸⁵ A distinguished hālau hula, Hālau o Kekuhi accounts for eight generations of kumu hula in their lineage (Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation). Internationally recognized for their artistic contributions, Hālau o Kekuhi has produced eight theatrical productions based in their Pele¹⁸⁶ lineage. Since 1995 their productions have formalized the genre of Hawaiian dance theatre, a form deeply rooted in hula genealogy. Utilizing primarily dance and chant, each performance is a recitation of the travels, challenges, and triumph of an ancestor or ancestral hula deity.

¹⁸⁵ In the late 1970’s traditional performance forms such as *hula* (dance) and *mele* (song/poetry) resurfaced in public arenas. The resurgence of indigenous cultural practices echoed the political uprising and protests of the time. Hawaiian chant, music and dance performances coupled with traditional ceremonial practices provided a framework of solidarity amongst Kānaka Maoli at cultural events and protests.

¹⁸⁶ Pele is the goddess of volcanism.

Therefore, each performance is a personal expression of ancestral knowledge recreated through ancestral memory. When members of the Kanaka‘ole family perform their Pele tradition they invoke their ancestors and honor their *mana* (spiritual power). Hālau o Kekuhi is recognized as the foremost hālau to produce this kind of work.

Their first production *Holo Mai Pele (Pele Travels)*¹⁸⁷ recounted the travels of Pelehonuamea,¹⁸⁸ her sister Hi‘iakaikapoliopele,¹⁸⁹ and their family clan from Kahiki.¹⁹⁰ Crossing the South Pacific Ocean, they brought their religious practices and idols with them in search of a new home. After visiting and paying respect to their family members on the islands of Kaua‘i, O‘ahu, and Maui, they made their home at Halema‘uma‘u on the island of Hawai‘i. The epic story continues with Hi‘iakaikapoliopele’s journey to fetch Pele’s lover Lohi‘au on the island of Kaua‘i. The many dances and chants included in the production revealed Pele’s supernatural abilities as a creator of land who ascends to be the matriarch of her clan. Also significant in the journey is Hi‘iaka’s role as a healer and a source of inspiration. *Holo Mai Pele* offered “a basic yet sophisticated understanding of the primary functions and powers of women and the female Earth...both the human family aspects of the story and the relationship of elemental forms are recognized” (P. Kanahale, 2001, p. 6). Hawaiian dance theatre recounts and celebrates traditional stories through hula and mele performance.

Another dance theatre form that incorporates song, Hawaiian language, and contemporary dance is the works of Tau Dance Theater. Founder and artistic

¹⁸⁷ To *holo* is to travel, journey, to move forward. Translation by author.

¹⁸⁸ Another name for Pele.

¹⁸⁹ Hi‘iaka-in-the-bosom-of-Pele is the youngest of the sisters in the Pele clan. She is the favorite sister reared by Pele.

¹⁹⁰ Kahiki is a homeland of many Polynesians located in the South Pacific. Some translate this to be Tahiti.

director Peter Rockford Espiritu has created two productions in particular that drew from mo‘olelo and employed the Hawaiian language for narration and dialogue. The first production was entitled *Naupaka* that told the story of two lovers who were forbidden to be together from whence we have the origin of the naupaka flower. One half resides in the mountain and the other can be found seaside. Tau Dance Theater’s other production based in mo‘olelo was named *Poli‘ahu* for the goddess of Mauna Kea. Billed as “a Hawaiian dance opera that blends traditional hula with modern European elements such as ballet,”¹⁹¹ this production explored the relationship of k̄naka and the snow goddess Poli‘ahu. Nākinimakalehua from the island of Maui under the direction of Kumu Hula Hokulani Holt-Padilla has produced original theatrical productions from the 1980’s. *Kahekilinui‘ahumanu* is likely the most well known of them all. This production chronicled the life of Maui’s great chief Kahekili. The pageant like performance included original hula, mele, and oli compositions from a number of kumu hula on Maui. This production and their most recent production *Kūlanihāko‘i* have toured internationally.

4.3.6 He Ho‘olaule‘a Hana Keaka: Hawaiian Language Theatre Festival

On the island of Hawai‘i Ke Kula ‘o Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u, a Hawaiian immersion charter school, has integrated hana keaka into the school’s curriculum. *Ho‘oulu*, their most recent production focused on the use of traditional Hawaiian plants and the relationship of mele and the featured *mea kanu* (plants). The performance weaved tableaux like scenes with original hula and chant. *Ho‘oulu* was performed at the inaugural *Keaka: Hawaiian Theatre Festival* at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo in June 2016. Also featured at the two-day Hawaiian Language Theatre Festival were *Lā‘ieikawai* from the Hawaiian Theatre Program at the

¹⁹¹(<http://www.honolulumagazine.com/Honolulu-Magazine/October-2010/Tau-Dance-Theater/>)

University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, a Hawaiian musical entitled *Kakahiaka* from the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo’s English and Theatre Departments, and the students from the Kamehameha Schools Kea‘au campus who shared an original Hawaiian opera entitled *Hā‘upu*. Each of these productions mentioned above adapts mo‘olelo for the stage. It is an innately Kanaka Maoli practice to perpetuate the stories of our ancestors. The collective efforts of the hālau, dance companies, and schools referred to here maintain the practice of ha‘i mo‘olelo in the various forms of performance.

4.3.7 Ka Hālau Hanakeaka: A Hawaiian-Medium Theatre Troupe

For the purpose of this thesis I focus on Ka Hālau Hanakeaka¹⁹² and the creative works of the hālau to illustrate a group that exemplifies the practice of modern day hana keaka. Ka Hālau Hanakeaka deemed as, “One of Oceania’s most prominent vernacular theater ensembles...” (Looser, 2014, p. 52) has led the way since 1995 for this modern form of Hawaiian theatre. This work has contributed to the Hawaiian language revitalization movement through performances for immersion school children and the development of curriculum surrounding those performances. Since its inception Ka Hālau Hanakeaka has committed to touring their productions to schools across the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. Through travel grants and fundraising they create access for rural Hawaiian communities to experience Hawaiian medium theatre. The hālau was official established as a non-profit entity in January 1996 shortly after the premiere of their first production in December 1995. Founding members were all students of Hawaiian language at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The connection to the university continues to exist today, as

¹⁹² As a co-founder this hālau I will draw from my intimate knowledge and personal involvement over the past 22 years in the development of hana keaka. My role for all of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka’s productions has primarily been that of a playwright and director although occasionally I perform as an actor with the troupe.

the co-founders, C.M. Kaliko Baker and myself, are professors at the university.

4.3.7.1 Kaluaiko‘olau: Ke Kā‘e‘a‘e‘a o nā Pali Kalalau: The Hero of the Cliffs of Kalalau

Our first production was entitled *Kaluaiko‘olau: Ke Kā‘e‘a‘e‘a o nā Pali Kalalau* that told the true life story of Pi‘ilani and her husband Ko‘olau who was one of the many Kānaka Maoli stricken with leprosy in 1892. “Leprosy was an awful disease with no cure that claimed the lives of many Native Hawaiians in the 19th century. An old ‘ōlelo no‘eau (Hawaiian proverb) best describes the disease, “He ma‘i makamaka ‘ole,” a disease that knows no friend or discrimination” (Baker, 8 Dec 1995, p. 12). Ko‘olau and his wife Pi‘ilani refused to endure forced separation as demanded by the Provisional Government. With their child who had also contracted the disease, the couple fled to Kalalau valley for refuge. This one-act play shared the last years of Ko‘olau’s life depicting his courage to resist the haole Provisional Government and to fight for what he believed in, ‘ohana and aloha. Pi‘ilani was the lone strong survivor of the tragic deaths of their son Kaleimanu, who was taken by the disease at age nine, and her husband Kaluaiko‘olau. Ko‘olau is a modern day Hawaiian hero. Featured in the photo below are Pi‘ilani, Ko‘olau, Kaleimanu (their child) and Kukui (Ko‘olau’s mother).



Figure 4.16: Photo of Pi'ilani (wife of Ko'olau), their son Kaleimanu, Kukui Kaleimanu (mother of Ko'olau) and Kaluaiko'olau.¹⁹³

Produced in 1995, *Kaluaiko'olau: Ke Kā'e'a'e'a o nā Pali Kalalau* was thought to be the first Hawaiian language production of modern time. This was of course prior to the accessibility and investigation of the Hawaiian newspaper archives. The 90-minute one-act hana keaka included 13 scenes, 5 oli, 4 mele, and a hula. Of those musical compositions five were extracted from Pi'ilani's story as it was told to Kahikina Sheldon¹⁹⁴ and from the published mele in the newspaper

¹⁹³ Image courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives.

¹⁹⁴ John G.M. Kahikina Sheldon was the editor of *Hawaii Holomua* newspaper. He was also a Kanaka Maoli journalist, novelist, and activist. In 1893 Sheldon was arrested by the Provisional Government for exercising free speech and questioning the liberties of the residents of Hawai'i under the new proclamation of the Provisional Government led by Sanford B. Dole. Sheldon

that were composed by Kānaka Maoli for Kaluaiko‘olau (*Ka Makaainana*, 22 January 1894). “‘*Ai Manu Ko‘olau*,” penned by Kamanawa Mauna‘ele‘ele is an example of the *mele ho‘ohanohano* (honorific songs) that were printed in the newspapers.

He ohohia nui,	<i>An enthusiastic acclaim,</i>
Nou a e Ko‘olau,	<i>For you Ko‘olau,</i>
Ke āiwaiwa,	<i>The marvelously skilled one,</i>
Nā pali ki‘eki‘e.	<i>The majestic cliffs.</i>
Kalalau kai luna,	<i>Kalalau the one above,</i>
Alahaka i Nu‘alolo,	<i>The ladder of Nu‘alolo,</i>
Ua kohu ‘auhau,	<i>Resembling a levy,</i>
Kolo i Makuaiiki.	<i>Crawling to Makuaiiki.</i>
Ko‘olau a Mano,	<i>Ko‘olau of Mano (reference to</i>
	<i>Kaua‘i),</i>
Kau e ka weliweli,	<i>Full of fear,</i>
Mea ‘ole nā koa	<i>The soldiers are nothing</i>
I ke kī pololei.	<i>To the sharp shooter.</i>
‘A‘ohe i hopo iho,	<i>No fear</i>
Keiki Ko‘olau,	<i>Had the child Ko‘olau,</i>
I ka ‘alo‘alo ‘ana,	<i>When dodging,</i>
I ka ‘ehu pōkā.	<i>The bullet spray.</i>
Ho‘opili ‘ēheu,	<i>Mimicking</i>
‘Iwa e ka hoa like,	<i>The ‘iwa bird</i>
Ho‘i nele kahi mu‘umu‘u,	<i>The maimed one returns destitute</i>
Hōka‘e ipukai.	<i>From the bountiful low lands.</i>

traveled to Kaua‘i to record Pi‘ilani’s story upon her release from prison. He sat with Pi‘ilani who shared the details of their struggle for survival in Kalalau and being arrested and charged for harboring a fugitive by the Provisional Government. Sheldon published Pi‘ilani’s story in 1902.

Kai nō ua lawa,	<i>Thought it was enough</i>
Nā koa Pī Kī,	<i>The soldiers of the Provisional Government</i>
Ho‘ohoa aku ai,	<i>(Ko‘olau) befriends</i>
Ke kupua i Kilioe.	<i>The demi-god in Kilioe.</i>
‘O ‘oe e ka ‘oi,	<i>You are the greatest,</i>
Ke ahi o Kamaile,	<i>The fire of Kamaile,</i>
Ha‘ina ka puana,	<i>Refrain my song,</i>
‘Ai manu Ko‘olau.	<i>Ko‘olau reigns like a birds.</i>

(Ka Makaainana, 22 January 1894, p. 6.)

In the play Pi‘ilani performed this particular mele initially when Ko‘olau’s body begins to weaken because of the leprosy. The mele was later reprised at the end of the play by the entire cast for the epilogue. In addition to the compositions extracted from the newspapers other mele or oli were selected from various resources to enhance the retelling of this story. For example, Nā Pali’s mele “*Na Pali Outlaw*,” from their album *Pacific Tunings*, was performed during the prologue of the play to serve as a synopsis for the audience. Composed in English by Carlos Andrade, Ph.D. this mele put forth a Kanaka Maoli perspective on this historical event that exposed the unfair treatment of Kānaka Maoli by the Provisional Government. The mele retold the love story of Pi‘ilani and Ko‘olau while conveying a political message. A lullaby used to soothe Kaleimanu was drawn from the Helen Roberts Collection from the Bishop Museum entitled “*E Hi‘i ē*” and arranged by Malia Nobrega a dear friend of mine who portrayed the role of Pi‘ilani. The one hula in the play was for Kalalau Valley taken from the epic mo‘olelo *Hi‘iakaikapoliopele*, “*‘O Kalalau Pali ‘A‘ala*.” The ‘*ōlapa* (hula dancers) represented the rugged terrain of Kalalau Valley that Ko‘olau and Pi‘ilani traversed during the last days of his life.

Coupled with the hula was an oli composed about the leprosy epidemic entitled, “*Mele a Ka’ehu*,” performed in the kepa¹⁹⁵ style. The lyrics and imagery employed here compares Kānaka Maoli stricken with leprosy to cattle being herded off to the land of death. It was imperative to include this composition in the retelling of Ko’olau’s story. Both the hula and oli were used as a dramatic transition piece to show the deterioration of Ko’olau’s physical state. In the subsequent scene, Ko’olau succumbs to the illness and Pi’ilani laments as she returns her husband’s body to the earth. The *kanikau* (lamentation or dirge) used for that scene was extracted directly from Pi’ilani’s retelling of the story that was printed in the 1902 newspaper. The mo’olelo of *Kaluaiko’olau* is essentially a love story of a devoted man and woman who would not be separated by any means, while also documenting the historical account of the shifts of power in the government that straddled the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i leading to the marginalization and displacement of Kānaka Maoli.

4.3.7.2 Māuiaakalana: E Hi‘a i ke Ahi: Māuiaakalana Learns to Make Fire

Our second production was a touring children’s play entitled *Māuiaakalana*¹⁹⁶ that told the story of Māui learning the secret of fire from his aunties, the ‘*alae* or mud hens. Upon finishing the second tour of *Kaluaiko’olau* to Kaua‘i, Kumu Hula Kalani Akana shared an article from a 1863 newspaper written by Puaaloa that detailed the mo’olelo of Ka‘alaehuapī (the stingy mudhen) and Māuiaakalana. At the time Akana was the president of the ‘Ahahui ‘Ōlelo

¹⁹⁵ Conversational chant, fast rhythmic chant or recitation, with every syllable clearly pronounced and without prolonged vowels and not requiring too much breath. The paha chants are in this style. To chant thus.

¹⁹⁶ Māui of Akalana; Akalana and Hinaakeahi are the parents of Māui our demigod.

Hawai‘i¹⁹⁷ and asked me to author a play for this story to present at the ‘Ahahui’s annual *Lā Kūkahekahe*¹⁹⁸. The parameters for this particular production were; (1) retell the mo‘olelo of Ka‘alaehuapī, (2) not exceed the maximum running time of 30 minutes, and (3) write, direct, rehearse, and perform in a month’s time. In the 1863 newspaper article, Māui is encouraged by his mother and older brothers to seek the secret of fire from his ‘alae aunties. His brothers go out to sea for fishing and Māui heads mauka to seek out the keepers of fire. He is repeatedly denied and misled by Ka‘alehuapī and her sisters. Ka‘alaehuapī was the only ‘alae named in the article. Knowing that there were a number of ‘alae aunties who were companions of Ka‘alaehuapī I decided to fashion the names of the other ‘alae similar to Ka‘alehuapī’s name. There was Ka‘alehuanui, Ka‘alaehuaiki, and Ka‘alaehua‘ole. The names resonated with the characters that were built for the collective of ‘alae. For example Ka‘alaehuaiki, iki or tiny, was the runt of the litter who always wanted to be bigger and do more to prove herself. Ka‘alaehua‘ole was carefree, not fixated on any one thing. She was also unproductive, playing on the concept of ‘ole or lacking. For the play we drew heavily from the newspaper installments of “Ka Moololo o Maui” written by Puaaloa published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and oral tradition. When possible we pulled dialogue from the mo‘olelo. To weave the story together we used a *pa‘a mo‘olelo* to serve as a narrator. No actual mele or oli existed in this version of the mo‘olelo so we composed mele to compliment the dialogue and narration of the script.

¹⁹⁷ Founded in 1977 the ‘Ahahui ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i was established to support the Hawaiian language revitalization efforts. When active the association sponsored various Hawaiian language events throughout the year for speakers and learners of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i.

¹⁹⁸ *Lā Kūkahekahe* was a day of celebration for students, families, and those interested in learning the Hawaiian language.

Ka Moololo o Maui.

No ke Kuokoa He wahi keiki o Maui na Hina me Malo, oia hoi o Kaanomalo. Aia ia wahi i Kipahulu o Maui nei, ma kahakai o ia wahi. Aole nae o Malo ka inoa o ka Hina kane hoao maoli, he kane wale iho no ia i loaia Hina i kona wa i hele ai i ka wau limu; a o ka inoa o ka Hina kane hoao maoli, o Akalana noia, a na Hina ame Akalana, mai na keiki ekolu, oia hoi na inoa i kapa ia mai, o Maui-mua, o Maui-hope, o Maui-kiikii, a o Maui-akalana, a oia ka Maui nona keia moololo a kakou e lohe ai. Penei ke kumu i loaia ai o ia Maui. Noho ua Hina nei kukukapa maloko o kekahi ana, malalo o ka hano ni, i kapaia mai o Oheo, malaila kana noho ana kuku, a ono i ka limu ua Hina nei, ka hopu no ia i ka laau kahakai ana nei, i ka ipukai, i ka eke kahakai, o ka hele iho la no ia. I keia manawa wa'e no hoi ka hele pono i ua Alii wahine nei i ka lawain limu. Ina e ono limu ua Hina nei i ka wa mamua aku, o na kahu no ka mea nana e kii ka limu, pela ka mea maa mau, aka, i keia hana ana hoi, ono no i ka limu, o ka hele pono iho la noia. A ia ia nei i hele ai i kahakai, aole hoi o ianei hele iho ma kahi nui o ka limu, a wahi kokoke no hoi, ka hele loa nei i kahi i kapa ia mai o Kaanomalo. A i ko ia nei hiki ana aku ilaila, kiei iho keia e waiho ana he malo ula, ko ianei iho aku la no ia, hopu i ua malo nei, o ka pa-u ae la no ia o ianei a paa no hoi i ka pa-u, ko ianei hina aku la no ia make i ka hiamoe, ka waiho no ia, a aui ka la, puoho ae ka hana, ua aui ka la, ko ia nei ala ae la no ia, aole i loaia ka mea ana i ono ai o ka limu, make e keia i ka hiamoe. Ke huli mai nei na kahu iaia nei, e hoi aku ana no hoi ua Hina nei, a hiki i ka hale, ninau mai la na kahu, "Ihea nei la ou a po." I mai la no hoi ua Hina nei, e like me ka mea i olelo ia mamua, a pane mai o Akalana, "E loaia hoi ko kaha haku." Noho aku no lakou nei, a hanu ae la, kapa ia iho la o Maui-akalana, hanu ia no hoi a nui, a o ka ai no lakou nei, aole i hoomoia, a o ka ai no lakou e ai ai, o na mea i hoopalaia ma ka lepo. No ka mea, aole ka he ahi ia manawa, e hoomoia ai i na mea ai no lakou, a no ka mea ole e moa ai ke kalo, ka uala, ka ubi, ke ki, a me na mea a pau e loaia ai i Akalana.

Ninau ua Maui nei ia Hina, "O ke aha la hoi ka mea nana e hoomoia i ka kakou ai?" Pane mai ka makuahine ia ianei, "O ke ahi ka mea nana e hoomoia." "Aia la hoi ia wai ke ahi?" wahi a Maui. Pane hou mai ka makuahine ia ianei, "Aia i ka Alae ke ahi." Olelo aku ua keiki nei, "E kii hoi ha wau i ke ahi?" Pane mai ka makuahine ia ianei, "He ikaika no nae oe; aia a nui ka ikaika a me ka mama, alaila, loaia ia oe ke ahi." "Ae," wahi a Maui.

Alaila, a-aa-o pono mai la o Hina ia ianei, "Ina oe e kii i ke ahi, aole i ka nui manu o lakou, aia la i kahi manu uuku, oia hoi kahi manu Alae-iki." Ia manawa, ko ianei kii no ia, hele keia a hiki i Waianae, Oahu, ia hiki ana aku o ua keiki nei, e a mai ana ke ahi a ua poe Alae nei, o ka poe Alae nui wale no. A penei ka olelo a ua poe Alae nei, "E, ua moa ka ke Elehuapi, he keiki mama ka Hina." Eia nae ke kumu o keia olelo a lakou, no ke alualu pinepine o ua Maui nei mamua aku, a ua ike ua poe Alae nei,

he keiki mama keia. I hopu aku ana ka hana o ia nei, huli aku la no lakou ia, o ke ahi, o ka mama, o ka hale, o ka waiho, paa aku la lakou ia i ka hele hoao maoli keia, pela aku, pela aku kailani ki mau ana, loaia iho ana ia ia nei kahi manu uuku, e pulupulu ana ka ua wahi manu nei i ke ahi, a kau iho i ka maia, e hopu aku ana o ua Maui nei, o ka wahie, o ka maia, a o ua wahi manu Alae nei, paa ia ia nei, kupee iho la keia e umi, no ka hooiaia o ua Maui nei i ke pi o ka Alae i ke ahi. Pane ae la ka ua wahi Alae nei, "E, mai pepehi oe ia'u, o loaia ole auanei ko ahi." Nonoi aku la no hoi ua wahi keiki nei, "E haawi mai hoi ha oe ia'u i ke ahi." Olelo mai la ua wahi Alae nei, "E hele aku oe e hia i ka ha o ke kalo, aia ka hoi ilaila ko ahi." Hele keia hiahia, aole a o ke ahi, oia ka ka mowae o ka ha o ke kalo, a kakou e ike nei. Koi hou aku la no ua Maui nei, "E haawi mai oe ia'u i ke ahi, ina aole oe e haawi mai make oe ia'u, aole ou wahi e ola ai." Pane hou mai ua wahi manu nei, "E kii aku oe i ka lau ki." Kii aku la no o Maui, hiahia i ka lau ki, aole a, oia ka ka mowae o ka lau ki, no ka hiahia ia e Maui. Hoi hou aku la no hoi o Maui e pepehi i ua wahi manu nei, pane mai no keia e like me mamua. Olelo hou mai la no e kii o Maui e hiahia i ka wai, he olelo nane keia no ua wahi manu nei, aole o ka wai maoli, o ka laau i kapaia mai Waiamea, kii keia hia i ka wai, aole loaia ke ahi ia ia nei, hoi keia e pepehi hou i ua wahi manu nei. Alaila, i mai ua wahi Alae nei, "E kii aku oe i kela laau e ku mai ia, oia hoi ka Waiamea," kii no hoi keia hiahia, a ke ahi, e kuni aku ana ka o Maui i ka lae o ua wahi manu nei, oia ka ka ula o ka lae o ka Alae a kakou e ike nei la; oia ka ka loaia mai o ke ahi ia kakou i keia manawa. A pau ia, ua loaia ke ahi ia Maui ia manawa. Olelo aku i ka makuahine, pane mai ka makuahine, "Aia hoi i hea kau, ke kahi mai ka kau he pono ka'u e hana aku nei, o ke kuku aku no paha kau, aole e pae pono aku kahi nao ia, o ke kapou no ia o ka la, hala ka pule, hala ka mahina, alaila, oki kahi kapa hookahi, i kaulai aku ka hana, aole e maloo, ke kapou no ia o ka la, pela mau i kela manawa keia manawa, o ka mea e maloo ai o kahi kapa hookahi, o ka hon i ke ahi." Pane aku ua keiki Maui nei, "Aole la hoi au e pono e kii e oki i na waiwa o ka la?" I mai la no hoi ka makuahine, "He ikaika no nae oe?" Ae aku la no hoi ia, "Ae, he ikaika no au." Ninau mai o Hina, "He aha kau mau mea make e make ai ka La ia oe?" I aku la no hoi ia, "O ko'u ikaika no hoi paha, e pakele hoi ia ia'u," ae mai o Hina, "Ae, o hele, eia nae na mea e paa ai ka La ia oe." Haawi aku la o Hina i na aha he umikumamalima, a me ka i mai aole o keia mau mea wale no, e hele oe a i ko kupunawahine, aia iaia na mea i koe, alaila, make ka La ia oe, a nana hoi ia e kuhikuhi pono aku ia oe, no ka mea, oia ka mea nana e hanai i ka La." O ka inoa o ua kupuna nei o ianei, o Wiliwili-puha, "Aia i kou hele ana a hiki i ke kumu Wiliwili nui e ku ana la, aia no ka hoi ua kupuna aole ilaila, o ka inoa o ka hale o ua La nei e hanai ia ai, o Haleakala." Aoaio pono mai la no hoi o Hina ia ianei, "Noho auanei oe ilaila a kani mai ka mea kakahai, a kualua, i ka moa kuakolu, nana aku auanei oe i ka puka ae o ka luahine nui, oia ka hoi ko kupunawahine, i pulupulu auanei kela a-a ke ahi, a kau i ka maia, alaila auanei oe laulu iho i ka eka maia, a i hanu auanei i o ianei, a hanu ae auanei ilona, a i ninau ae, nawai ke kupu o oe, alaila hai aku oe, nau no, i ninau hou mai, na'u nawai oe, hai hou aku no oe, nau na Hina." Aoaio mai la no hoi ua makuahine nei a pau pono, hoomaka keia i ka hele mai a hiki i Kaupo, ma uka pono o Nuu, pu aku la no hoi o Maui a hiki i kahi o Hina i kuhikuhi ai ia ianei.

(Aole i pau)

Figure 4.17: The story of Māui printed in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, 27 June 1863, p. 3.

For the two major groups of characters, the Māui brothers and the ‘Alae aunties, we composed mele that distinguished the two groups. These mele were sung when the groups entered and exited the stage. Both mele resonated with the younger audience because of the use of repetition. For the Māui brothers who were skilled fishermen their mele spoke of eating fish. This mele was composed by the cast members who played the Māui brothers and myself. We played with the idea of crafting a short jingle that could be repeated multiple times. The final arrangement was inspired by the dwarfs’ jingle from the famous *Snow White* cartoon.

Eō, eō, eia ka i‘a hou,	<i>Yes, we’re here, here’s the new fish,</i>
E ‘ai kākou i ka i‘a hou	<i>We eat the fish,</i>
Akā makamaka wale nō.	<i>But only the most fresh fish.</i>

The ‘alae composition expressed the unrequited desire of kānaka to access the secret of fire while they boast about the sizzling hot fire they guard. This original composition composed by Kaliko Baker and myself was arranged by the female cast members of *Māuiaakalana*.



Figure 4.18: Photo of original cast of 'Alae, 1998.¹⁹⁹

<p>‘Ena‘ena lapalapa Ka hau malo‘o i ‘ena‘ena lā.</p> <p>‘Ena‘ena wale ho‘i ke ao kanaka lā, ‘O ke ao kanaka lā ka po‘e nele ho‘i hā.</p> <p>Kāhāhā, kāhāhā, kāhāhā, Nele lākou lā.</p>	<p><i>Burning sizzling hot The dry hau²⁰⁰ is hot indeed.</i></p> <p><i>The realm of humankind is simply burning, The realm of people are desperately in need.</i></p> <p><i>Displeasure, surprise, aghast, They're needy/deprived.</i></p>
---	---

¹⁹⁹ Photo from *Māuiakamalo: Ka Ho‘okala Kupua o ka Moku Thesis Production Book* (T.H. Baker, May 1998).

²⁰⁰ A lowland tree (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), found in many warm countries, some spreading horizontally over the ground forming impenetrable thickets, and some trained on trellises. The leaves are rounded and heart-shaped, the flowers cup-shaped, with five large petals that change through the day from yellow to dull-red. Formerly the light, tough wood served for outriggers of canoes, the base for rope, the sap and flowers for medicine.



Figure 4.19: Ka ‘alehuapī observes the Māui brothers at sea.²⁰¹

The two mele shared above were performed multiple times during the 30 minute performance. By the second or third time the keiki were singing along with the actors. As for the story, Māui ultimately outwits the ‘alae by using a ki‘i on the wa‘a with his brothers as a decoy for himself so that he is able to sneak up on the ‘alae while they ignite their fire. He is persistent and learns the secret to fire making, the hau malo‘o.²⁰²

The value of a production like *Māuiakalana* is in the retelling of the mo‘olelo because it presents traditional knowledge, practices, beliefs, and lessons to a new generation of Kānaka Maoli confirming that:

- (1) we have our own stories,
- (2) we are connected to those stories,
- (3) our language is a viable means of communication and it is alive, and
- (4) there is value in celebrating our culture.

This production not only assisted the language acquisition and fluency of

²⁰¹ Photo from *Māuiakamalo: Ka Ho‘okala Kupua o ka Moku Thesis Production Book* (T.H. Baker, May 1998).

²⁰² Traditional fire making was done with pieces of dried hau and shredded coconut husk.

those involved in the production but it also provided ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i culturally specific entertainment for the keiki enrolled in the immersion schools. One of the most remarkable things about our language is the inherent nature of multiple and layered meaning, kaona. For instance, the adult audience members would have read into the multiple interpretations of fire making. As a young man Māui is urged to go to his aunties to learn the intricacies of lighting and maintaining a fire. The analogy of fire making and love making was crystal clear for the mature members of the audience. These layers of meaning embedded in kaona expand the reach of the works. Unknowingly this play was to be the inspiration and foundation for the next Ka Hālau Hanakeeka production.

4.3.7.3 Māuiakamalo: Ka Ho‘okala Kupua o ka Moku: The Wondrous Ancestor of the Genealogy

Our third production was a full-length, two-act performance divided into 18 scenes entitled *Māuiakamalo: Ka Ho‘okala Kupua o ka Moku* based on 15th wā (era) of the *Kumulipo*. In the entire 2,102 lines of the *Kumulipo* divided into 16 wā, only one of those wā was solely dedicated to an individual. That is the wā for Māuiakamalo (Māui of the loin cloth).²⁰³ Following the 65 lines of this wā very closely the production portrayed the many wondrous deeds of Māuiakamalo. Born during a dire time of famine, Māuiakamalo is offered to the akua by his mother, the beautiful and mysterious goddess Hinaakeahi, with the hopes that he would be properly cared for in the realm of the gods. From birth, Māuiakamalo is taken and reared by the gods Kāne and Kanaloa in the upper reaches of Paliuli. There he quickly matures into a young man. Curious of those below and that which he came

²⁰³ Also known as Māuiakalana (Māui of Akalana) he is conceived when his mother girds his father’s, Akalana’s, loincloth.

from, he descends to Wai‘anae in search of his mother dwelling in the inner recesses of the cave Kāneana in Ka‘ena. After meeting his mother his journey leads him to introducing the ceremonial of drinking ‘awa hiwa²⁰⁴ to the people of Wai‘anae, snaring the sun at Heleakalā in Nānākuli to lengthen the summer days thus creating our two seasons, *Kau* and *Ho‘oilo*, and learning the intricacies of fire making from his aunties, the tricky mud hens. With the hook Mānaiakalani in hand gifted to Māui by his grandmother Mahuie, he fishes up the huge, deep-sea ‘ulua²⁰⁵ Pīmoe. There he espies the beautiful Mahanalu‘ehu, daughter of Pīmoe, and takes her as his wife, Hinakekā. This feat and union connects the genealogies of all the islands in the Hawaiian archipelago.²⁰⁶ Soon thereafter Hinakekā is abducted and Māui must rescue her from the devious Pe‘ape‘amakawalu. With the help of his grandfather Kūlokele of Keahumoa, he is enabled with wings to scale the heights of Moanalihā in order to defeat his foe and save his wife. Māui later meets his father Akalana, ali‘i nui of Maui island, bringing the search of his earthly origins full circle, from parent to parent. With the complete knowledge of who he is, Māui comes face to face with his godly guardians and challenges their authority to ban mankind from entering the world of the gods. As the Kumulipo states multiple times, “O ke akua ke komo, a oe komo kanaka” [*Only the gods may enter, mankind does not enter/ascend.*] (Beckwith, 1972, p. 51). There are multiple interpretations of where this finally leads our *kupua* (demi-god) Māuiakamalo. However, it is apparent that he was a hero of the people of his time, deified by some. Lines 2042 through 2048 testify to this veneration of Māuiakamalo.

²⁰⁴ ‘Awa hiwa- sacred black ‘awa, used for offerings and ceremonial practices.

²⁰⁵ Certain species of crevalle, jack, or pompano, an important game fish and food item. ‘Ulua figuratively refers to a desirable man. Pīmoe is an ali‘i nui of the ocean.

²⁰⁶ This act is likely where the concept of fishing up the islands comes from. The Kumulipo and oral tradition describes a unification of the mukupuni not the common tale of fishing up the islands which exists in many South Pacific traditions of Māui.

2042. Puni Hawaii, puni Maui

[*Surrounded/gained control*²⁰⁷ *of Hawai‘i, Maui*]

2043. Puni Kauai, puni Oahu

[*Gained control of Kaua‘i, O‘ahu*]

2044. I Kahalu‘u ke ewe i Waikane ka piko

[*The placenta is in Kahalu‘u, the umbilical cord in Waikāne*]

2045. Ha‘ule i Hakipu‘u i Kualoa

[*He fell (died) in Hakipu‘u, at Kualoa*]

2046. O Maui-a-ka-malo

[*Māui-of-the-loin cloth*]

2047. O ka ho‘okala kupua o ka moku

[*The wondrous supernatural one of the land*]

2048. He moku-no

[*A chief/leader indeed*]²⁰⁸ (Beckwith, 1972, pp. 238-239)

Māui straddles the realm of the akua and the realm of kānaka, he brought that which was seemingly magical closer for all kānaka to know and thereby, that much closer to the mysteries of the gods. This production honored the journey of this great ancestor.

4.3.7.4 Nāwahī: He Aloha ‘Āina ‘Oia‘i‘o: A True Patriot of the Land

Nāwahī: A Hawaiian Hero Remembered was a bilingual play commemorating the life and accomplishments of the Honorable Joseph Kaho‘oluhi Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u. Nāwahī’s most significant contribution to the Hawaiian


²⁰⁷ Puni is to be surrounded, controlled; overcome, as in battle or by emotion; to pervade, gain control of; to enclose (loa‘a-type construction; Gram. 4.4). Puni i ka maka‘u, overcome with fear. Ulu puni i ka huhū, to grow extremely angry. Ka wā e puni ai ‘o Hawai‘i iā ‘Umi (FS 125), the time that ‘Umi would control all Hawai‘i (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 355).

²⁰⁸ Although Beckwith provides translations in her text these were done by the author.

community was his work as a Native Hawaiian nationalist leader. He was also a statesman, lawyer, newspaper publisher, and artist (PBS Hawai'i 2009).

An Invitation to

Joseph Nāwahī, Ke Aloha 'Āina:
A Hawaiian Hero Remembered



Saturday, 13th of January, 2001
6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.
Kapi'olani Community College Cafeteria

Ke kono aku nei ke Kōmike Lawelawe O Nā Hoaaloha 'Amelika ma Hawai'i a me ke Kōmike Ho'ona'auao Ea Hawai'i iā'oukou i ka ho'olaule'a no ka ho'ohanohano 'ia 'ana o Iosepa Kaho'oluhi Nāwahīokalani'ōpu'u, he aloha 'āina 'oia'i'o o ke au iā Kalākaua a me Lili'uokalani. 'Oiai 'o ka lā 13 o Ianuali ka lā hānau o neia me'e o Hawai'i nei, aia ka ho'olaule'a i ka Pō'aono, Ianuali 13, 2001, hola 6 a 9 ahiahi, ma ka Hale 'Aina o Ke Kulanui Kaiāulu 'o Kapi'olani.

Ma Ka Papa Kuhikuhi O Ke Ahiahi:

- Nā Pūpū
- He Hana Keaka Pōkole na ka Hālau Hana Keaka
- "The Eternal Flame of Optimism," he Ha'i 'Ōlelo na Skippy Ioane
- 'Elua Mele Lāhui Hawai'i, na Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio
- A me kekahi mau hana hou a'e.

Ka Ha'awina Kālā I Mana'o 'Ia:

No ke lehulehu:	\$25
No nā kūpuna, nā haumāna, a me nā kamali'i:	\$10

Eia kekahi: E 'olu'olu, e 'a'ahu i ka pāpale lauhala a me ka 'a'ahu o ke kenekulia 19 a i 'ole ia ka 'a'ahu kāko'o i ke "Aloha 'Āina."

You are cordially invited by the American Friends Service Committee Hawai'i Area Program and the Hawaiian Sovereignty Education Subcommittee to attend a birthday observance in honor of The Honorable Joseph Kaho'oluhi Nāwahīokalani'ōpu'u, one of Hawai'i's greatest statesmen. Our event will be held on Joseph Nāwahī's birthday, Saturday, January 13th, 2001 at the Kapi'olani Community College Cafeteria from 6 to 9 pm.

The program for the evening will include:

- Heavy Pūpū
- A theatrical performance by Hālau Hana Keaka
- "The Eternal Flame of Optimism," an address by Skippy Ioane
- Performance of two National Anthems of Hawai'i by Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio
- And much more.

Suggested donations:

General community:	\$25
Kūpuna, college students and children:	\$10

Also suggested: Wear a lauhala hat, 19th century clothing or attire inspired by the idea of "Aloha 'Āina."

Please make your check out to "AFSC Hawai'i" with "Nāwahī" in the notes section. For additional information, please call AFSC Hawai'i Sovereignty Education Subcommittee at 988-6266.

Figure 4.20: Program for Nāwahī: A hero Remembered, 2001.

In 2001, this one-act hana keaka premiered as a part of a larger observation for Nāwahī's birthday focusing on the concept of *Ke Aloha 'Āina*²⁰⁹ at Kapi'olani Community College. The American Friends Service Committee Hawai'i Sovereignty Education Subcommittee organized the event. The event began with

²⁰⁹ The love and stewardship of the land, our ancestor.

the hana keaka that was followed by an address by Kanaka Maoli activist Skippy Ioane entitled, “The Eternal Flame of Optimism.” Then musician and historian Jonathan Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio performed two National Anthems of Hawai‘i. The event concluded with the performance of mele and oli that were composed for Nāwahī (see program above). The closing scene of the hana keaka was adapted from an address that Nāwahī recited before his fellow kānaka to unite as one under the ideology of Ke Aloha ‘Āina. This speech incited a visceral response from the audience that consisted of Kanaka Maoli sovereignty warriors and supporters of Kanaka Maoli independence. By request of the community the hana keaka was later reprised at Hale Noa.²¹⁰ This particular hana keaka supported the education of our community concerning the leadership of Kānaka Maoli during the early years of colonization. The performance shed light on Nāwahī’s role in the Ke Aloha ‘Āina movement connecting those concepts with the independence movement of today.

4.3.7.5 Kamalelekū o Kaliuwa‘a: The Wayward Child of Kaliuwa‘a

Kamapua‘a, (literally translated as hog-child), the longest running production of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka toured internationally and across the Hawaiian archipelago (2004-2007). A full-length play with 23 scenes divided into two acts chronicled the hero’s exploits and challenges in life. In his journey Kamapua‘a is in search of the love of his mother Hina who abandons him at birth. Under the impression that her child is a stillborn fetus Hina renounces her offspring. The literature states that Kamapua‘a is a *kaula* (rope/cord) at birth. Scene one of the play ends with his grandmother, Kamaunuanoho, taking the kaula to a religious altar. There she breathes life into her grandson through prayer. Raised by his

²¹⁰ Hale Noa was a Kanaka Maoli gathering place for music, art, community dialogue, and ‘awa consumption in Kapāhulu, O‘ahu.

grandmother, Kamapua‘a takes the form of a *pua‘a* (hog) in his youth and matures into a man. The play depicts the various transformative events in Kamapua‘a’s life telling the less known stories of his compassionate side and leadership in the communities he served. Kamapua‘a’s talents as a farmer, a leader, and a healer were showcased in the play. His transoceanic travel across the Pacific to Kahiki and throughout the ocean channels of Hawai‘i punctuated his life journey. For example, as a young man he leaves O‘ahu traveling via his *kino i‘a*²¹¹ to Kahiki where he meets Kaikiha‘akūloulaniokahiki, the future mother of his child. He learns that her father Koea, the former ali‘i nui, has been dethroned by tyrant Lonoka‘eho. Kamapua‘a is moved to right this wrong and seizes the opportunity to challenge the coercive oppressor. After slaying the tyrant Kamapua‘a rescues Koea’s first born daughter Kekaiha‘akūloulaniokahiki from the abusive Lonoka‘eho and restores Koea’s mana and throne. To show his gratitude Koea proclaims that Kamapua‘a will reign as high chief and have complete access to all of the resources of their ‘āina. Kamapua‘a declines. He insists that the hospitality of the ali‘i nui, his village, and the union with Kaikiha‘akūloulaniokahiki is sufficient reward for what he has done. Koea insists that they rule together. Kamapua‘a obliges his father-in-law. Through these acts we learn that Kamapua‘a values justice and loyalty. He is a humble leader who does not seek accolades. A very different character in comparison to the stereotypical depictions of Kamapua‘a that paint him as a pig-like man who exploited resources and women. Instead, his life journey has him seeking aloha from the mother who abandoned him at birth. It is only when that relationship is reconciled that he is able to return to Kahiki and

²¹¹ *Kino i‘a* would be a fish body form. Kamapua‘a is known as the manō (shark), the i‘a nui (large fish) in one of his name chants, ‘O ‘Oe Ia e Haunu‘u.

settle down with his wife and child there. Ultimately the play dispels previous misconceptions of Kamapua‘a who was a benevolent kanaka eventually deified by his people.

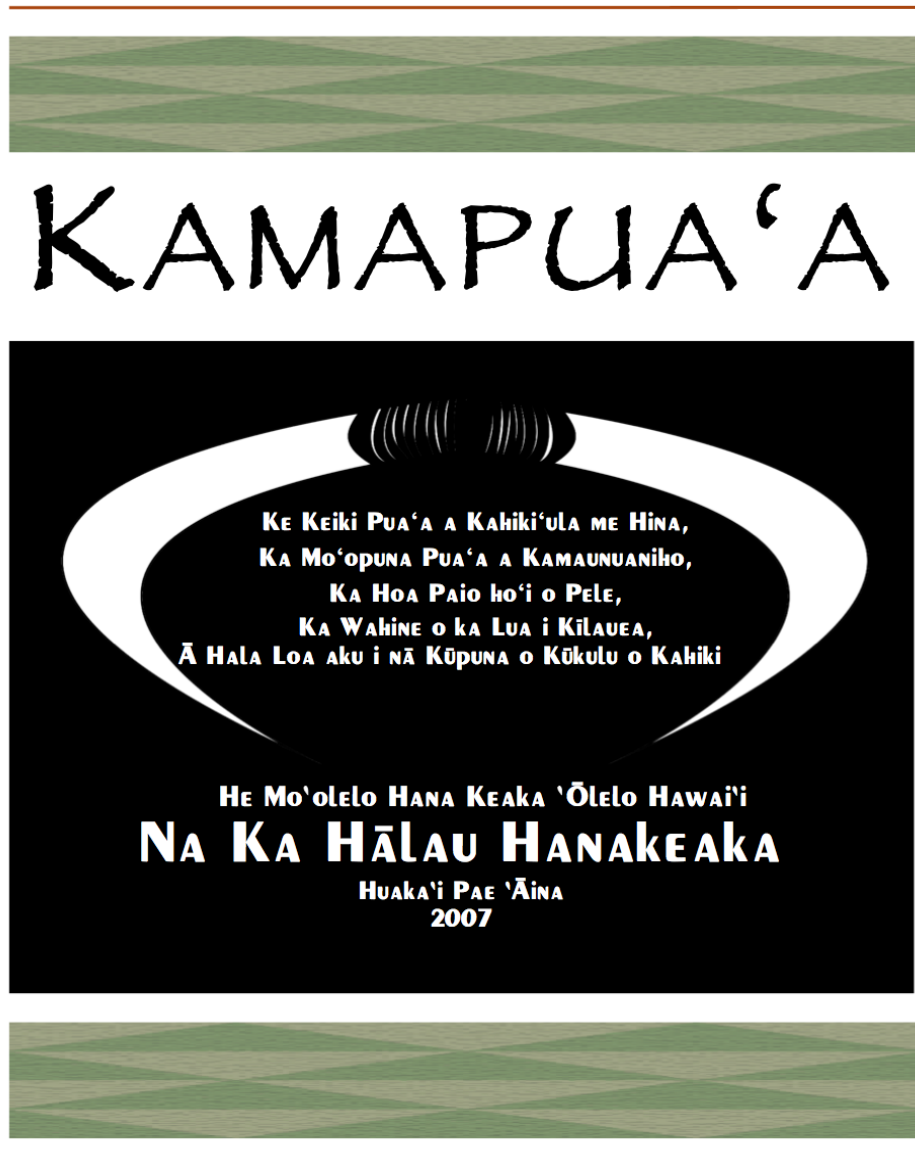


Figure 4.21: Kamapua‘a program for 2007 Pae ‘Āina tour.

4.3.7.6 ‘Akahiakuleanakapiko: An Invited Performance for Ku‘u Ha‘eha‘e

In 2006 Ka Hālau Hanakeeka was invited to present a scene at *Ku‘u Ha‘eha‘e*, a celebration for Ka Lā ‘Ōnohi Mai o Ha‘eha‘e, the internationally renowned hālau under the direction of nā Kumu Hula Keawe and Tracie Lopes. Held at Hawai‘i Theatre the event included hula, music, modern dance, and a hana

keaka honoring the union of the Līloa, ali‘i nui of Hawai‘i Island, and ‘Akahiakuleana. Their union would conceive a son, ‘Umialīloa, who inherited the religious authority from his father and would later become the ali‘i ‘aimoku of Hawai‘i Island.²¹² Named for his mother this hana keaka, ‘*Akahiakuleanaakapiko*, honored kū‘auhau, insignia of royalty, and traditional naming practices. Immediately following the hana keaka, musician Jerry Santos performed his mele, “‘*Akahiakuleanakapiko*,” in honor of the royal union. This mele reinforced the mo‘olelo shared fortifying a connection with our ali‘i.

4.3.7.7 Hawai‘inuiākea: Huaka‘i Aotearoa: Collaboration with Ka Pā Hula o ka Lei Lehua

Hawai‘inuiākea: Huaka‘i Aotearoa was a collaborative production with Ka Pā Hula o ka Lei Lehua, the award winning hālau led by Kumu Hula Snowbird Puananiopaoakalani Bento. This production featured Hawaiian dance, song, and the stories of our ancestors Māui and Kamapua‘a. Kumu Hula Snowbird and I integrated hana keaka into the lineup of traditional and contemporary hula and mele. A total of 58 performers made up the ensemble of dancers, musicians, and actors. The tour consisted of eight performances that traveled through Waikato, Rotorua, Tamaki, and Kaitaia, Aotearoa, New Zealand in June 2008.

4.3.7.8 He ‘Elua mau Me‘e Hawai‘i: Two Hawaiian Heros

He Mo‘olelo Hana Keaka no Māuiakamalo a me Kamapua‘a: ‘Elua mau me‘e Hawai‘i expanded upon the larger bodies of work for these two heros previously produced by Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. This specific production brought four traditional stories of Māuiakamalo and Kamapua‘a into a modern context for the

²¹² ‘Umialīloa (1470 – 1525) ruled as the 14th Ali‘i ‘Aimoku of Hawai‘i 1510 - 1525. He was the sovereign king or chief of the island of Hawai‘i.

Network of Ensemble Theatres MicroFest USA National Summit held in Honolulu, Hawai‘i in June 2013. As the only Hawaiian theatre company producing hana keaka in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, we were invited to perform alongside other ensemble theatre companies featured in the weeklong National Summit. The Summit also featured a hana keaka that I directed and co-authored with the high school students of Ke Kula ‘o Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau Laboratory Public Charter School, that starred the 143 students enrolled at the school. *He Mo‘olelo Hana Keaka no Mānaiakalani* chronicled the life of the school’s namesake and his contributions to Hawaiian knowledge and the repository of such knowledge that he established in the newspapers and other publications. Ka Hālau Hanakeaka provided costumes, setting, stage properties, and artistic direction for this production.

4.3.7.9 Kāko‘o Papahana Kulanui: University Curriculum and Programmatic Support

I would be remiss if I did not mention Ka Hālau Hanakeaka’s support of other hana keaka productions associated with the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Specifically the curriculum in Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language in the Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge, and the Hawaiian Theatre Program in the Department of Theatre and Dance in the College of Arts and Humanities. Productions include *Nā Ali‘i Ho‘oluhi o Ka‘ū* (2007), *He Huaka‘i Naka Moe* (2008), *Hinaikeahi me Hinaiakawai* (2008), *Nā Wiliwili o Pā‘ūla* (2009), *Ka Wahine i Ho‘āo i ka ‘Enuhe* (2010), *Ka U‘i Palaualelo* (2010), *Keahi‘āloa* (2011), *Kunaloa* (2012), *Ka U‘i Keamalu* (2012), *Lelea‘e* (2012), *Kupaianaha Ka Waiakeakua* (2012), and *No Nā Maile a me Kahalaomāpuana* (2014). With the exception of *Lelea‘e*, written by my dear friend the late Matthew Kaleiali‘i “Chuna” Ka‘ōpio, I authored the plays listed above. Besides providing an opportunity to be

entertained in the medium of Hawaiian language, Ka Hālau Hanakeeka holds steadfast to the values of education, knowledge transmission, ancestral knowledge, cultural practices, and the socialization of our people. Each production has been a means to honor kūpuna, to perpetuate ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and raise the level of language fluency in the community, and to empower Kanaka Maoli identity and nationalism.

4.3.8 Ka Papahana Hana Keaka Hawai‘i ma ke Kulanui o Hawai‘i ma Mānoa: Hawaiian Theatre Program, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

The most recent achievement in the advancement of the teaching and practice of hana keaka has been the institutionalization of hana keaka at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. In the fall of 2014 the Department of Theatre and Dance established the new Hawaiian Theatre Program inclusive of a graduate degree, a Master of Fine Arts in Hawaiian Theatre. This degree program is the only indigenous graduate degree of its kind in the world. Program course work includes the history of theatre in Hawai‘i, the study and analysis of indigenous Hawaiian theatre, and training in both traditional and contemporary Hawaiian performance forms. Students now have the opportunity to learn the art form of hana keaka and participate in original Hawaiian medium productions on the Kennedy mainstage that reflect and honor the language, traditions, history and values of the Hawaiian community. The Hawaiian Theatre Program furthermore ensures the regular staging of larger hana keaka productions for the Hawai‘i community.

Two hana keaka have been produced since the establishment of the program; *Lā‘ieikawai* in 2015, and most recently *Nā Kau a Hi‘iaka*, in 2017. The inaugural mainstage Hawaiian production *Lā‘ieikawai* played to sold-out audiences honored nightly with standing ovations. The production also toured command performances on the neighbor islands of Kaua‘i, Hawai‘i, and Moloka‘i. The

production then toured to Aotearoa for He Manawa Whenua Indigenous Research Conference and was a featured showcase production at the 2016 Kennedy Center American College Theatre Festival. Reviews in the local newspapers commended the production, calling it “A cultural and linguistic triumph” (Reyes, 22 February 2015, p. 1). *Nā Kau a Hi‘iaka* written and directed by Kau‘i Kaina was the first Hawaiian Theatre MFA Thesis production of the new program. Kaina graduated in August 2017 with her MFA in Hawaiian Theatre, making her the first graduate of the program. Both *Lā‘ieikawai* and *Nā Kau a Hi‘iaka* presented traditional mo‘olelo with themes highly relevant to today’s world, evoking strong emotions from audience members. The next hana keaka at Kennedy Theatre is scheduled for the fall of 2019.



*Figure 4.22: Cast and kumu of Lā‘ieikawai on Kennedy Theatre mainstage, 2015.*²¹³

4.3.9 He ‘Aha Hana Keaka: A Hawaiian Theatre Symposium

In addition to the mounting of hana keaka productions, the Hawaiian Theatre Program organized an ‘Aha Hana Keaka or Hawaiian Theatre Symposium in the fall of 2016 to bridge the academy with the community. The day-long program consisted of an invocation, a presentation surveying the landscape of hana keaka, short hana keaka performances from Hawaiian immersion schools, a video presentation on the past 20 years of hana keaka produced by Ka Hālau Hanakeaka, three panels on hana keaka, a community dialogue on the future of hana keaka, and closed with a performance of mele and oli as a walk down memory lane, honoring the 20 year anniversary celebration commemorating the establishment of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

The panel presentations featured leaders in Hawaiian education and Kanaka Maoli performing artists. The first panel entitled, “*No ka Waiwai o ka Hana Keaka*” [*The Value of Hana Keaka*], moderated by Dr. C.M. Kaliko Baker, Assistant Professor of Hawaiian at Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, comprised of Dr. Kalehua Krug, Education Specialist of Papahana Kaiapuni ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in the Office of Hawaiian Education for the State of Hawai‘i, Dr. Ku‘uipolani Kanahale Wong, Director of Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, Po‘okula Malia ‘Alohilani Rogers, Principal of Kawaikini Labortory Public Charter School on Kaua‘i, and Dr. R. Keawe Lopes, Jr., Associate Professor of Hawaiian at Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language and Director of Ka Waihona a ke Aloha: The Mele Institute. This panel looked at the value of hana keaka for the Hawaiian language speaking community, the role that hana keaka may play in the

²¹³ Photo courtesy of Maseeh Ganjali.

language revitalization movement, and the power of enacting our mo'olelo. The second panel addressed the art of hana keaka featuring Kameha'ililani Waiiau, Kahipuanani Brooks-Richards, Blake Brutus LaBenz, Kāwika McGuire, Ioane Goodhue, Kauluponookaleihua Lu'uwai, and Ikaika Gante, moderated by Ke'alohe Reppun, Ed.D. Each performing artist on this panel shared about their own personal experiences with hana keaka and the lesson they have gleaned from the practice and process of hana keaka. The final panel of the day focused on the use of hana keaka in the classroom. Kumu Nohealani Stibbard of Ke Kula Kaiapuni 'o Hau'ula served as moderator for the panel that composed of Kumu Jonah Keoni Chang-Purdy of Ke Kula Kaiapuni 'o Ānuenuē, Hope Kahu Kameha'ililani Waiiau of Ke Kula 'o Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, Dr. Ku'ualoha Ho'omanawanui, Associate Professor of English at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and Kumu Ha'amauliola Aiona of Ke Kula 'o Nāwahīokalani'ōpu'u. The featured panelist of educators spoke to their curricular use of hana keaka, their processes, and the outcomes they have observed from their students. This 'Aha Hana Keaka was the first time a concentrated group had assembled to discuss these topics and strategize the implementation of hana keaka for community building and language education.



Figure 4.23: Poster for the 'Aha Hana Keaka, 2016.

4.4 No ka Loa'a 'ana o ka Hana Keaka ma Hawai'i: Timeline

The following timeline is a glance at early theatrical performances by Kānaka Maoli and key events in the development of theatre in Hawai'i.

Theatre in Hawai'i: Key Dates and Events

Mai Kikiloa: Since time immemorial ritual and ceremonial performances dedicated to the gods are the origins of Hana No'eau that is a kūkulu of Hana Keaka.

1810: John Papa 'Ī'i recounts nightly entertainments called *Lōkū* on O'ahu from 7 PM till midnight including storytelling, chant, song and dance.

1820: Hula ki'i documented on the island of Kaua'i by visitors to the island.

1825: Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III, organized and enjoyed theatrical entertainments and hosted the O'ahu Amateur Theatre's productions at his palace.

- 1837 on:** Touring performances from Australia, New Zealand, Japan, China and the United States visit the islands mainly O‘ahu (Honolulu seaport).
- 1838:** Four Kanaka Maoli whalers perform traditional music and dance at the Portland City Music Hall.
- 1847:** The 275-seat Thespian Theatre opens at King and Maunakea Streets becoming Hawai‘i’s first theatre. Opening performances include *The Adopted Child* and *Fortune’s Frolic*. The Thespian closes after just one season.
- 1848:** The Royal Hawaiian Theatre, Hawai‘i’s second theatre, opens at the corner of Hotel and Alakea Streets. Later renamed as the Royal Hawaiian Theatre in 1851 in honor of Kamehameha III, a prominent supporter of the arts.
- 1853:** Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), Lot Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V), and William Lunaliilo perform in *The Lady and the Lake*. (Carr, 2014, p. 128)
- The grand Varieties theatre opens in September and burns down the following year.
- 1859:** Legislation passed requires permits for all types of public performance. This leads to the banning of traditional Hawaiian forms, hula, oli, mele, etc. in public arenas.
- 1862:** Seven Kānaka Maoli tour to California with Charles Derby, the proprietor of the Royal Hawaiian Theatre, and his minstrel troupe. Advertised as *Kanaka Dancing Girls! The Sandwich Islands Hula!*, the playbill lists Hookiekie and Keohohina as wahine hula dancers supported by five kanaka

drummers and chanters; Kanaau, Kaamoku, Naonihinihi, Newa, and Kaili. They perform *Pule ia Laka ke Akua, Hula Paipu, Ke Hookiikii mai nei ke Opuu Lani* (a name chant for Hanakahi, high chief of Hilo), Hula Olapa Kualoloa, Puili, Hula Kii, and Hiiualani (Hawaiian National Bibliography, Volume III, 1862, p. 312).

- 1864:** Joe Taylor, singer/musician and original member of the Backus Mistrels, performs a hana keaka nika, celebrated as *Ka Hiwahiwa o Paliuli [The Cherished One of Paliuli]* in the newspaper advertisements, at Honolulu Hall also known as Hale Pōhaku Hou o Kimopakaka.
- 1865:** Ka Luakini ‘o Kawaiaha‘o and other churches begin to host hana keaka functioning as a theatres.
- 1871:** A production featuring mele, dialogue, and pā‘ani (play/acting) advertised as *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i* is put on by Kānaka Maoli.
- 1874:** Kalākaua elected as King, he lifts the ban on hula.
- 1879:** A hana keaka competition hosted in Honolulu at the Hale Keaka Hawai‘i. E.H. Williams wins the first place gold medal.
- 1880:** A Keaka Hawai‘i (Hawaiian Play) entitled *Hi‘iakaikapoliopole and Lohi‘au* is presented with hula and mele at the Hale Hō‘ole Wai‘ona (Prohibition House).

The Honolulu Dramatic Club is founded.

Moses Ke‘umi performs in a hana keaka with a group of skilled keiki Hawai‘i at the Hale Keaka Nika (Black Theatre/Minstrel House) in April.

1881: The Music Hall Theatre is founded on King Street across from ‘Iolani Palace. The theatre seats 800 patrons and had a secret entrance and private viewing box for King Kalākaua. After closing due to a smallpox epidemic, the theatre reopens as the Royal Opera House or Hale Mele Hou in 1883.

1883: Known as the Merrie Monarch, a true patron of the arts, King Kalākaua orchestrated grand performances of mele, hula, and hula ki‘i for his coronation celebration.

Ka Puali Hana Keaka o nā Keiki Hawai‘i (The Hawaiian Youth Theatre Troupe) performs at the Hale Mele Hou in January.

Ka Hui Pā‘ele Hana Keaka o nā Keiki Hawai‘i (The Black Theatre Company of Hawaiian Youths) performs at the Hale Mele Hou in November.

1886: King Kalākaua’s 50th birthday jubilee celebration includes similar performances to those performed at his coronation celebration with the addition of a four act hana keaka tableaux about Kamehameha.

The ‘Ahahui Ho‘ona‘auao Lili‘uokalani (The Lili‘uokalani Education Association) mounts a production for the youth of Hawai‘i entitled *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i* to celebrate the *pō kukui uwila e hiki mai ana (the electric light that was lit)* at ‘Iolani Palace at the end of July.

1887: Hui Keaka Pā‘ele Honolulu (Honolulu Black Actors Company) performs a hana keaka featuring Kumu Hula Keoni Ma‘ipinepine and his hula dancers.

1888: A *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i* production tours to Kalaupapa, Moloka‘i to entertain those living with leprosy/Hansen’s disease.

1891: An *‘Aha Hana Keaka* (Theatre Conference/Symposium) is held at Kawaiaha‘o Church where a royal Hawaiian opera is performed.

Nā Hana Keaka a nā ‘Ōpio (Plays by Young Adults) are performed at the Hale Mele Hou in the summer.

Ka Mana o ka ‘Anā‘anā a ka Po‘e Ho‘omanamana (The Power of Sorcery of the Superstitious People) is performed by the Pūali Keaka Honolulu (Honolulu Thespians) at the Hale Mele Hou in September.

1892: Ka Hui Mele Hawai‘i No‘eau (The Hawaiian Arts Choral Group) performs a hana keaka at Kawaiaha‘o Church.

Ka Na‘auauwa ‘ana o Ka‘ala (The Mourning of Ka‘ala) is performed at the Hale Mele Hou in the fall.

1893: The Hui Hana Keaka Hawai‘i Pono‘ī performs a theatrical production entitled *Ke Kaikamahine U‘i o Paliuli, Lā‘ieikawai* at the Hale Mele Hou (New Opera House) on King Street ma kai of ‘Iolani Palace. The Hawaiian language production features the Royal Hawaiian Band and runs for five weeks.

Kawaiaha‘o presents a hana keaka during the second week of the run of *Lā‘ieikawai*. Both venues sell out according to the newspapers.

Ka Hui Keaka a Li [Li’s Theatre Company] presents a hana keaka based on the mo‘olelo of *Maika*.

Ka Hui Keaka Hawai‘i presents hana keaka for *Kamehameha*, *Ka Na‘i Aupuni* and *Kanipahu*, *Ke Kuapu‘u Ali‘i* at the Hale Mele Hou over the summer.

Ka Hui Keaka Hawai‘i produces a new hana keaka in October.

The Puali Hana Keaka Kūloko, another Kanaka Maoli theatre troupe, presents “*Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i*” at the Hale Mele Hou in November.

1894: A Portuguese and Hawaiian hana keaka is performed near Pūowaina (Punchbowl).

A collaborative production between Kanaka Maoli and Haole theatre makers on Captain James Cook’s life in England and his arrival in Hawai‘i is presented at the Hale Mele Hou in the late summer. The hana keaka is entitled *He Moolelo Kaa o na Mea i Hooia Ia e pili ana ka Loaa Mua Ana o Hawaii Nei [A Historical Account of Facts Verified Regarding the First Discovery of Hawai‘i]*.

The ‘Ahahui Hana Keaka o nā Hawai‘i a me nā Haole [The Theatre Association of Hawaiians and Foreigners] is established.

1895: Declared as the “Kikowaena o ka Pakipika” [The Center of the Pacific] the Hale Mele Hou is rebuilt with renovations costing \$54,000.

An outdoor *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i* performance produced by Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina records more than 15,000 Kānaka in attendance in April at the grounds of the Hawai‘i Hotel.

Kawaiaha‘o Church and Kaumakapili Church holds a number of fundraising shows that include music, dance, and tabalō performances over the summer months. Similar performances are led by Samuela K. Kamakaia for Kaumakapili in 1897.

1896: Ka Hui Kawaihau presents a hana keaka and ‘aha mele in March.

St. Louis School students present a hana keaka in the summer.

The mo‘olelo of *Hale Paikau Hao me Ha‘imoeipo* is performed three times under the title of *Pō Le‘a a Halāli‘i* in August.

1898: Keiki ‘Ōiwi Pono‘ī: The Hawaiian Glee Club presents a *hana keaka mele* [musical] in April.

Nā Po‘e Akamai Hana Keaka o ka Papa ‘Ekahi [The Skilled Actors of the First Grade] perform at the Orpheum Theatre in December.

1899: The Hui Keaka Kikapu of Lāhaina Maui performs a hana keaka.

1901: ‘Ōpio Kānaka perform their hana keaka at the Opiuma Theatre

1902: Ka Hui a Ernest Ka‘ai and nā Keiki o ke Kula ‘o Kamehameha present an ‘Aha Mele with tableaux scenes as a benefit for those ill with leprosy in January.

In February *Mo‘olelo Mai Kahiko Mai* is produced in Honolulu scenes include *Lā‘ieikawai*, *Captain Cook*, *Lohi‘au*, *Ka‘ala*, and other *ka‘ao* (folktales).

The Hawai‘i Pono‘ī Dramatic Club presents *Lā‘ieikawai*, a Hawaiian Opera or Opela Hawai‘i at the Hale Mele Hou (New Hawaiian Opera House). This production is presented in English with Hawaiian songs in March.

The young women of Kamehameha Schools perform a Keaka at Kapi‘olani Park that includes hula, mele, keaka, and a pageant for the Hawaiian islands in April.

1905: Kamehameha Schools Alumni Association holds a ‘Aha Keaka (Hawaiian Theatre Conference) for young adults.

1907: Ka Hui Hawai‘i Pono‘ī and Hui Hīmeni Kawaihau present a tabalō called *Ka‘ahumanu* in March.

Ka Hui Keaka Hawai‘i Pono‘ī presents *Ka Pō Le‘ale‘a o Halali‘i* a series of scenes dramatizing traditional stories and historical events in Hawai‘i. Produced by Robert K. Nāipo at the Hale Mele Hou in July, the production includes the mo‘olelo of Kapi‘olani, Ka‘ahumanu, Kamehameha I, Lā‘ieikawai, and ‘Aiwohikupua.

Hui Keaka Hawai'i Dramatic Club presents a new hana keaka with scenes for *Lā'ieikawai*, *'Aiwohikupua*, *Kapi'olani*, *Ka'ahumanu*, *Kamehameha I*, *Kamehameha's Attempt to Seize O'ahu and Kaua'i*, *Kamehameha's battle with Kalanikūpule*, *Kaumuali'i*, and *the Five Kamehamehas*. This hana keaka was advertised as a Pō Le'a o Halāli'i event in August.

A tabalō is performed including scenes for the following mo'olelo; *Ka I'a Hāmau Leo o 'Ewa*, *Mo'olelo Baibala*, *Kamehameha*, *Keiki Aniani o Puna*, *La'amaomao*, and *Kalāhikiola*, a mo'olelo for Waiālua in October at the Orpheum Theatre.

In December *Ka Pō Le'a o Halali'i* is held at Kawaiaha'o Church for an evening of song, dance, and theatre. Performers include the Hui Kawaihau, Nā 'Ōlohe o ka Hui Hana Keaka, Rain Tuahine, Uluniu o Pōka'i, Mrs. Alapa'i and Mrs. Louisa Pihi, and the Papa Hīmeni o Kawaiaha'o.

1908: In September a hana keaka is presented in Kalaupapa, Moloka'i.

Ka Hui Keaka o ka Ua Kanilehua from Hilo performs in Honolulu at the Hale Keaka Opiuma in December.

Ka Hui Keaka Kauakūalahale presents a new hana keaka in December.

1909: Hui Ka'ahumanu presents a tabalō on *Ka'ahumanu*, *Keopulani*, *Liholiho* and *Kamāmalu*, *Boki*, *Liliha*, and *Kekaululohi*, and *nā Lede Mokupuni*.

1911: 'Ahahui Ka'ahumanu presents a new tabalō performance in February.

Ka Hui Ka'ahuamnu o Hilo presents a tabalō for *Ka'ahumanu, Kīwala'ō, Makuahine Misionari with Ka'ahumanu and Nahi'ena'ena, Keopulani, and Manono* in June at the Geity Theatre in Hilo.

'Ahahui o Ka'ahumanu presents a tabalō performance for *Keopu(o)lani, Kamehameha, La'amaomao, and Keikianiani o Puna* in July.

1912: Performance of *Othello* in Japanese in Honolulu. First student-presented play produced at the College of Hawai'i (UHM), *The Revolving Wedge*.

'Ahahui Ka'ahumanu mounts a tabalō entitled *Hawai'i: Ke Au i Hala* (Hawai'i: The Past) in February.

A Hawaiian opera featuring original music by D.K. Nāone and R.H. Baker is performed with the Royal Hawaiian band led by Captain Henry Berger at the helm in May. Mrs. Leilehua Hall and Mrs. A.G.M. Robertson are the lead vocalist/actresses for the opera.

A tabalō performance includes *Kahekili, Kahahana, Kamehameha I, Madame Pele, and Hula Ku'i* in June in *Kāne'ohe, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu*.

In July Henry M. Kaniho directs a grand tabalō in He'eia, O'ahu that includes scenes for *Kīwala'ō, Kamehameha at Mokuohai, Kahekili, Kauikeaouli, Kalākaua and Moku Manuwa Ka'imiloa, Kamehameha and Ka'ahumanu,*

Kamehameha at Nāpo‘opo‘o, Kalākaua and Hula Ku‘i, and Ka Lua o Pele.

Another production by H.M. Kaniho with Hui Hula Hawai‘i is performed at Knights of Pythias Hall (K. of P. Hall) on Fort Street in September. Mo‘olelo and scenes include Kamehameha, Kīwala‘ō, and Ka‘ahumanu, Hīmeni by Hui Hi‘ilaniwai, Hula Ho‘omake‘aka, Kamehameha and his fleet of canoes, Liliha and Boki, Liholiho and Kamāmalu, A Drama, ‘Ainoa and Hewahewa, Kekuaokalani and Manono. The performance runs for two weekends.

The Waianapanapa Glee Club of Kalopa‘a o Waiāhole performs tabalō and mele at their hometown fundraiser in December.

1913: Pageants with Hawaiian subject matter become regularly presented in a commercial vein, widened out to deal with ethnic material by the 1920’s. Ban on smoking in Liberty, Princess, and Hawai‘i theatres passed.

1914: Joseph Kuni directs a musical tabalō entitled *Hainakolo me Keanini‘ulaokalani, Ke Keiki U‘i o Kuaihelani* in January. Kuni reprises this production a month later as *Ka U‘i Hainakolo* at K.P. Hall (Knights of Pythias Hall) on Fort Street.

Hui Hīmeni Ulumāhie, Kauluwela Club, K.P. Glee Club, and Ua Kuahine Club form a collective to produce their tabalō under the direction of Charles E. King in February.

The Hui Kōkua a Ho‘okū‘ono‘ono o nā ‘Ōiwi Hawai‘i sponsors a tabalō directed by Henry M. Kaniho featuring Ka ‘Aha Kūpuna o Hainakolo, Lele ma ke Kino Manu/Mo‘o, Ke

Au Miki and Ke Au Kā, The Women of Waipi‘o, Waikahalulu, Keanini‘ulaokalani and Nu‘umealani, and Ka Mō‘ī Kalākaua in May.

In June Charles E. King directs a Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i that features ‘Ahahui Ka‘ahumanu, ‘Ahahui Kānaka ‘Ōpio, and Nā ‘Ōpio o ke Kuahiwi. The event includes tableaux scenes of *ke au kahiko i hala* [the olden days that have passed].

Henry M. Kaniho directs Ka ‘Ahahui o nā Kānaka ‘Ōiwi in their Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i production in July. The performance shares *nā hula like ‘ole o Hawai‘i nei* (all the different types of hula of Hawai‘i) and a segment on 1878, the year that Kanaka Maoli new instruments for *ho‘okani pila* (to play the ‘ukulele/guitar).

The Kōmike Ho‘ohana o nā ‘Ōpio Hawai‘i perform a tabalō entitled *Kaua‘i o Mano* in September. The following month they reprise the show and include scenes for Kaumuali‘i, The Misconceptions of Haole, and Captain Vancouver.

In October Ka ‘Ahahui o nā Ali‘i Kumu o Hawai‘i produces a tabalō for Kūkā‘ilimoku (god of war) and Kākuhihewa (ali‘i of O‘ahu).

1915: Ernest Ka‘ai leads the Honolulu Glee Club in their Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i event in January.

In the same month ‘Ahahui o ka Po‘e ‘Ōpio performs scenes for *Kapi‘olani* and *Pele* at the Hale Mele Hou directed by Charles E. King.

In February the Wahine ‘Ōpio o Hawai‘i [Young Women of Hawai‘i] produces a hana keaka show.

Nā ‘Ōiwi Hawai‘i and Tropical Hawai‘i Glee Club collaborate for their production entitled *Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i* in July.

Honolulu Dramatic Club changed their name to the Footlights Club, origin of Honolulu Community Theatre (1935), founded.

1917: ‘Ahahui Ho‘oikaika Kristiano o Kāne‘ohe produces a Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i event in February.

On the island of Kaua‘i the following mo‘olelo are performed as a Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i; *Anehola, Kawelu and Hiku*, and *Poli‘ahu* in June.

1918: Kanaka Maoli actors/singers Joseph Kekipi, Joseph Nāhale, Henry Makia, and Peter Kaha take their hana keaka on tour to America in February.

1919: In January Nā Kula Sabati and nā C.E. o nā mokupuni o Maui and Moloka‘i perform a tabalō at a church in Kalua‘aha, Moloka‘i that features the best musicians of the land of Hina (Moloka‘i Nui a Hina).

Hui Malu performs a hana keaka to Hale Koa and Lē‘ahi Home in February.

Nā Kaikamāhine a me nā Keiki Kāne o nā Pūkaua present *Nā Hana a me ke ‘Ano o nā Kānaka o ke Au Kahiko o Hawai‘i Nei [The Work and Ways of the People of Old Hawai‘i]* as a tabalō in July.

Kanaka Maoli performing artists William Hema, Sam Kahoe, and Pilipo Kahoe open their hana keaka at the theatre on Vineyard and Rivers Streets in October. Following the O‘ahu performances the hana keaka tours the Hawaiian archipelago

Ka Papa Hawai‘i, Ka Luakini o Kawaiaha‘o, and Ka ‘Ahahui o nā Mamo o nā Pūkaua perform *Lā‘ieikawai* and *Kahekili* in November.

1920: *Ka Hānau ‘ia ‘ana o ka Mesia [The Birth of the Messiah]* is performed in January on the grounds of ‘Iolani Palace. This tabalō is later reprised in 1922.

Hui Malu pairs with a haole theatre company performing at Shriner’s Hospital in February. Sam Kahoe is a featured performer of the show. In addition to singing he performs eating of fire, walking on glass, and other feats of strength.

In April Helen Desha Beamer leads a tabalō performance that includes a pageant for the islands of the Hawaiian chain. In addition to the major eight islands there are also princesses appointed for islands Molokini, Nihoa, Lehua, and Ka‘ala.

1921: In January Ka ‘Ahahui o nā Māmakakaua produce a tabalō covering mo‘olelo for *‘Āinahau and Likelike, Kūahu Heiau, 1555- Ka Pae Mua ‘Ana o nā Paniolo, and Kamehameha and his Kaukauali ‘i.*

Nā ‘Ahahui o Nali‘i ma Hilo Nei produce a Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i event led by David K. Ewaliko in June.

The young women who graduated from Kamehameha Schools perform a hana keaka in December as a part of a fundraiser to build a hale named for Ida M. Pope.

1922: The New Hawai‘i Theatre opens on Bethel Street in Honolulu.

Kula Sabati of Kaimukī performs a Hawaiian tabalō in March.

In June a huge two-day event organized by the American Legion includes a circus, hana keaka presented by *he po‘e lae‘ula wale nō ma kēia hana* [those who are expert in this field], the women of the class of 1922 of Kamehameha Schools, and hula Hawai‘i under the direction of Antone Ka‘o‘o.

The Hui Hawai‘i Holomua hosts two nights of tabalō, music, and hula at the Bell Theatre and Phoenix Hall in Kaka‘ako.

1923: Kalapu Ka‘ōnohiokalā under the direction of David K. Bray presents tabalō performances for Lohi‘au and Pele, Ka‘ahumanu and Kamehameha, Ka Eko (bad-smelling) o Kīlauea, Pele and nā Kaikunāne, and Liliha and Poki [sic. Boki] in May.

1925: The Hui Hīmeni of Mr. Charles E. King presents a musical play entitled *Ke Keikiali‘i o Hawai‘i* [*The Prince of Hawai‘i*] in April.

The Hawaiian Dramatic Club presents *Pele & Lohiau* locally in April. The production tours to Los Angeles and San Francisco under the auspices of Kamehameha Schools later that year.

Ka 'Ahahui Na'i Aupuni produces a tabalō for Kamehameha, Kaipoleimanu, Ha'alilio, and Ka Ipu Kukui o ke Awa o Honolulu in May.

Arranged and led by Mrs. Ahuena Taylor Ka 'Ahahui o nā Māmakakaua performs *Ka Hānau 'ia o ka Mō'ī Kauikeaouli, Kona Noho Mō'ī 'Ana, Pele- e 'imi ana i home e noho ai,* and Ka Wāwahi 'ia 'Ana o ka 'Aikapu in June at the grounds of 'Iolani Palace.

At Ke Akua Ola Church in Kalihi a tabalō entitled *Ka 'ililauokekoa and Kauakahiali'i* is performed in July.

1928: Joseph S. Kuni directs *Kahikilani: Ali'i of Kaua'i* as a tabalō followed by Mele Ekalasia in July.

Joseph S. Kuni directs *Keanini'ulaokalani and Hainakolo* at Kalihi LDS in December.

A Pageant drama in Waikīkī depicts the encounters of Kamehameha I and Kaumuali'i, and Captain Cook's first landing in Hawai'i.

1930: Formation of the Theatre Guild of Hawai'i at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Hawaiian Pageants and *Scrambled Scandals* review staged regularly at UHM.

1932: Ka Hui o Nā Hale o nā Ali'i perform Ka Pō Le'a o Halāli'i in March.

1934: A tabalō entitled *Kamehameha: Mai ka Hānau 'Ana a i ka Makua 'Ana [Kamehameha: From Birth to Adulthood]* is presented in May.

1935: Lei Day University pageant replaced this year by a play *Ke Kuapu'u Ali'i (The Royal Hunchback)*, by Rowland R. Shepardson, the first “historical” Hawaiian play in the Andrew’s Amphitheatre at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (UHM).

More than 900 people attend a one night only Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i event in Kapālama in April. Scenes perform traditional lifestyles of Kānaka Maoli, Chinese, Portuguese, and Europeans.

1936: Mrs. Emma Moniz directs a hula and tabalō production in May.

A tabalō for *Kamehameha* and *Kalākaua* is performed in June.

1937: Beginnings of locally-written play collections at Sinclair (later Hamilton) Library.

1939: A hana keaka Hawai‘i is presented at the Hilo Shopping Center in August.

1940: Mrs. Rose Kuamo‘o directs a Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i event in May.

Mrs. Helen Desha Beamer leads a Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i event that includes the Royal Hawaiian Band in December.

1941: Listed as Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i a hana keaka entitled *Kamehameha- Ka Napoliona o ka Pākīpika [Kamehameha- The Napoleon of the Pacific]* is presented in June.

- 1945:** *Waikīkī Diary*, a musical revue about wartime in Waikīkī, by William Corrigan and David Hughes is presented in Honolulu.
- 1947:** The last big pageant, *Ke Kula Nui (The Big School/University)* by Willard Wilson, UHM playwriting instructor; *Harp in the School* by John Kneubuhl at HCT; *Reunion*, first Pidgin play, at UHM.
- 1946-49:** John Kneubuhl's initiative for a "local" theatre incites collaborations. His manifesto "Pacific Plays for Pacific Playwrights" circulates the Hawai'i theatre community.
- 1955:** Honolulu Theatre for Youth (HTY) founded.
- 1961:** As apart of the Aloha Week Festival a large musical production of *Lā'ieikawai* is performed at the Waikīkī Shell. Mrs. Leila Kī'aha led the chorus of 20, Kumu Hula Tom Hiona was the chanter, musician, and choreographer, and the cast featured Jimmy Mo'ikeha, Milton 'Ī, Leialoha Cunningham, Lordie Kaulili, Ka'upena Wong, Loyal Garner, and Nina Keli'iwahamana as Lā'ieikawai.
- 1962:** Jean Charlot's *Na'auao (The Light Within)* performed by HCT.
- 1963:** *The Damien Letter* by Aldyth Morris at HCT. Opening of the John F. Kennedy Theatre at UHM.
- 1964:** Jean Charlot's bilingual play *Laukiamanuikahiki* sponsored by the Hawaiian Historical Society is performed at McNeil Auditorium at Punahou School.

- 1971:** Kumu Kahua Theatre founded at UHM by a group of graduate students and Professor Dennis Carroll. The mission was to create theatre by and for the people of Hawai‘i. Kumu Kahua continues to be the only theatre in Hawai‘i that produces complete seasons of new original works about Hawai‘i primarily written by residents of Hawai‘i.
- 1974:** *Māui the Trickster* featuring Rap Reiplinger at HTY; James Grant Benton’s *Twelf Nite O Wateva!* at Kumu Kahua/LCC; LCC’s *Hotel Street* begins a tradition of “Hawaiian Style” theatre.
- 1976:** Morris’ *Damien* at Kennedy Theatre; Hawai‘i Theatre Festival revives *Twelf Nite*; Darrell H.Y. Lum’s first play, *Oranges Are Lucky*, staged by Kumu Kahua.
- 1982:** Kumu Kahua becomes a separate 501c(3) organization, moves out of UHM Earle Ernst Lab Theatre.
- 1986:** John Kneubuhl’s production of Victoria Nālani Kneubuhl’s first full-length play, *Emmalehua*.
- 1989:** Honolulu Community Theatre becomes Diamond Head Theatre.
- 1990:** Kumu Kahua’s tour of *Ka‘iulani: A Cantata for the Theatre* and Kneubuhl’s *The Conversion of Ka‘ahumanu* to the Edinburgh Fringe Festival, Washington D.C., and Los Angeles Festival of the Arts.
- 1991:** Hawaiian Style Theatre at Leeward Community College incorporates traditional Hawaiian performance into their production *E Wai‘anae* the first in a series of plays for *wahi pana* mainly on the Leeward coast. Other productions to

follow, *For 'Ewa, Kalapana, Nānākuli, and Mānoa: The Story of Kahalaopuna*.

1993: Victoria Nālani Kneubuhl's *January 1893*, site-specific dramatization of the Overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, on various downtown locations (19 scenes and sites over a 3-day period). This production would later be developed into the annual historical dramatizations called *Mai Poina* and *Trial of a Queen*.

Kumu Kumu Hula John Lake and director Raplee Nobori present a play in English with chanting and hula, *The Death of Keoua*, in Earle Ernst Lab Theatre (UHM). Kumu Lake and Nobori collaborate again in 1994 to produce *'Umialīloa* a bilingual play.

1994: Kumu Kahua moves into new "home" at the restored Kamehameha V Post Office, with a 6-hour performance of Sakamoto's Kamiya family trilogy, *Hawai'i Nō Ka 'Oi* (*Hawai'i is the Best*). The theatre's season also includes two Hawaiian plays the first production of 'Alani Apio's *Kāmau* and Victoria Nālani Kneubuhl's *Ola nā Iwi* (*The Bones Live*) (reprised in 2007).

1995: *Kaluaiko'olau: ke kā'e'a'e'a o nā pali Kalalau* (*Kaluaiko'olau: the hero of the cliff of Kalalau*), performed in the Earle Ernst Lab Theatre in 'ōlelo Hawai'i. Formation of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka, Hawaiian language theatre troupe. The production toured the Hawaiian Islands over the next year.

Hālau o Kekuhi's epic hula drama *Holo Mai Pele* premieres and tours the Hawaiian island chain. Future productions would include *Kamehameha Pai'ea* (1999), *Hānau ka Moku*

(2001) featuring Tau Dance Theatre, *Pagan Pride* (2004, 2005, 2010), *Hi'iaka: Wahinepō'aimoku* (2010), *Hi'iakaikano'eau* (2014), and *Ku'u Lei o Hi'iaka* (2018).

1997: Formation of Nākinimakalehua, a consortium of hālau hula from Maui, they produce their first hula pageant *Kahekili: A Hula Drama of Maui's Paramount Chief*. Future productions are collaborations with Hālau o Kekuhi and Nā Pualei o Likolehua entitled *Kīlohi nā Akua Wāhine* (2001), and their most recent production, *Kūlanihāko'i* (2011).

Alani Apio's sequel to *Kāmau, Kāmau A'e* premieres at Kumu Kahua Theatre (reprised in 2012).

1998: First performance of Lee Cataluna's *Da Mayah* at Kumu Kahua Theatre. Her later plays include; *Ulua: The Musical* (Musical, 1999; 2005), *Aloha Friday* (2000), *You Somebody* (Musical, 2000; 2007), *Super Secret Squad* (2002), *Folks You Meet at Longs* (2003), *Half Dozen Long Stem* (2004), *Kona Town Musicians* (Adaptation Youth Theatre, 2004), *Musubi Man* (Adaptation Youth Theatre, 2005), *The Great Kaua'i Train Robbery* (2010), *Flowers of Hawai'i* (2013), and *Uncle's Regularly Scheduled Garage Party is CANCELED* (2017).

Ka Pā Hula Hawai'i's hula pageant *Lā Ho'olilo* questioning the annexation of Hawai'i to the U.S. presented at the Hawai'i theatre.

The Department of Theatre & Dance at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa produces its first ever MFA thesis production in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, *Māuiakamalo: Ka Ho'okala Kupua o ka Moku*, by Tammy Haili'ōpua Baker who graduates with her MFA in Directing the following year.

- 2000:** The Hawai‘i delegation to the 8th Festival of Pacific Arts includes a theatrical performance for the first time, *Māuiakamalo*, a Hawaiian language play by Ka Hālau Hanakeeka. Future production would include *Nāwahi: A Hero Remembered* (2001), *Kamapua‘a* (2004-2007), *Hawai‘inuiākea* (2008) a collaboration with Ka Pā Hula o Ka Lei Lehua, and *He Mo‘olelo Hana Keaka no Kamapua‘a a me Māuiakamalo: He ‘Elua Mau Me‘e Hawai‘i* (2013).
- 2003:** Mid-Pacific Institute of Arts’ production of *Pele Mā [Pele Folks]* is featured at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival.
- He Leo Hou: A New Voice*, an anthology of Native Hawaiian playwrights featuring Alani Apio, Tammy Haili‘ōpua Baker, Lee Cataluna, and Victoria Nālani Kneubuhl is published by Bamboo Ridge Press.
- 2005:** The Kōmike Kāko‘o Haumāna of Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language (UHM) establishes *Mūkīkī Wai nā Mamo o Mānoa*, an annual Hawaiian Language celebration, which features mele, oli, ha‘i mo‘olelo, hō‘ike‘ike, and hana keaka. Through 2012 a minimum of two new hana keaka are scripted and produced each year for the event.
- 2006:** Tau Dance Theatre presents in collaboration with other hālau hula present *Naupaka: A Hawaiian Love Story* at LCC. Later *Poli‘ahu: Goddess of Mauna Kea* (2010) presented at the Hawai‘i Theatre.
- 2009:** Nā Pualei o Likolehua presents *Keaomelemele* a theatrical production about O‘ahu hula origins at the Hawai‘i Theatre.

The Legend of Kaululā‘au scripted by Keali‘iwahine Hokoana and featuring Kanaka Maoli actor Moses Goods premieres in Honolulu before its tour to Edinburgh Fringe Festival.

2013: Hawaiian Mission Houses presents Cemetery Pupu Theatre with actors dressed in period costumes telling the life events of individuals, both Kanaka Maoli and non-Kanaka Maoli, buried at O‘ahu Cemetery.

2015: Kennedy Theatre Mainstage presents, *Lā‘ieikawai*, the inaugural Hawaiian production of the newly established Hawaiian theatre program at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The program offers a Masters of Fine Arts (MFA) in Hawaiian Theatre. In February 2016 *Lā‘ieikawai* is featured as a showcase production in the Kennedy Center American College Theatre Festival. The production tours to Hawai‘i Island, Moloka‘i, Kaua‘i and Aotearoa/New Zealand through 2016.

Moses Goods writes and directs *The Magic Pū Stealer* for Palikū Theatre at Windward Community College. Future plays include *Tales of Ko‘olaupoko* (2016) and *Nanaue the Teenage Sharkman* (2018).

2016: Ka Hālau Hanakeaka celebrates its 20th year anniversary.

In June the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo (UHH) hosts *KEAKA: Hawaiian Language Theatre Festival* featuring four hana keaka; *Ho‘oulu* (Ke Kula ‘o Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u), *Kakahiaka* (UHH), *Lā‘ieikawai* (UHM), and *Hā‘upu* (Kamehameha Schools Kea‘au Campus). That August *Hā‘upu* tours to the Edinburgh Fringe Festival.

The Hawaiian Theatre Program of UHM bridges the academy with the community with the inaugural *'Aha Hana Keaka (Hawaiian Theatre Symposium)* gathering educators, performing artists, and students from the Hawaiian community in October.

Ryan Okinaka's play about hālau life, *iHula*, opens at Kumu Kahua Theatre in November.

2017: The Hawaiian Theatre Program confers its first MFA degree to graduate Puakahiki Kau'i Kaina in August. Her thesis production, *Nā Kau a Hi'iaka*, plays at BYU- Hawai'i, Chaminade University, and UHH.

Duke, a one-man play about Duke Kahanamoku, originally written by Moses Goods for Honolulu Theatre for Youth in 2015 is remounted at Palikū Theatre to coincide with the opening of 'Inamona Theatre Company, Goods' new theatre company.

4.5 Panina: Chapter Conclusion

In watching modern day practices of hana keaka one may speculate that hana keaka is simply an amalgamation of traditional performing arts and western theatre. This chapter endeavored to define the art form of hana keaka and its origins in a Kanaka Maoli context. Based on my research and scrupulous analysis of Hana Keaka, Ka Pō Le'a o Halāli'i, Tabalō/Kapalō, 'Opela, and Lōkū I propose that these forms are merely iterations of a Kanaka Maoli created theatrical performance aesthetic. All of these iterations to some degree could be classified as hana keaka because they fulfill the four kūkulu of hana keaka; (1) Mo'olelo, (2) Kū'auhau, (3) Hana No'eau, and (4) 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. The mole of hana keaka are the traditional

performance forms that existed since time immemorial, namely ha‘i mo‘olelo, hula, kākā‘ōlelo, mele, oli, and pule. Therefore, it is an innately Kanaka Maoli expression of art that serves the community of Kānaka Maoli. Hana keaka provides a venue for Kānaka Maoli to articulate their voice, recount historical events, and promote Hawaiian epistemology, ontology, cultural values, and practices.

This chapter also made an attempt to collate the various Kanaka Maoli driven theatrical productions from the early 1800’s through contemporary times. The assembly of these productions as a chronological timeline allowed me to identify the troupes, associations, and/or individuals who frequently produced hana keaka. The timeline also illustrates the multitude of hana keaka events that Kānaka Maoli created over the past two centuries. Kānaka Maoli continue to be active in the performing arts and the recent institutionalization of hana keaka at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa assures the regular teaching and performance of hana keaka for the community. In today’s modern era hana keaka is employed as a tool for language learning, storytelling, reclaiming history, and the empowerment of Kanaka Maoli consciousness.

Chapter 5

Mo'olelo

5.1 Wehena: Chapter Introduction

This chapter will define mo'olelo and ka'ao one of the four kūkulu of hana keaka. The traditional practice of *ha'i mo'olelo* (storytelling) will be discussed as to contextualize the contemporary use of mo'olelo in different modes of storytelling paying close attention to the art form of hana keaka. The major resources or repositories that Kānaka Maoli access for mo'olelo and ka'ao will also be covered. The chapter will then look at the impact of mo'olelo on Kanaka Maoli consciousness. I will share how our mo'olelo are the foundations of Kanaka Maoli epistemology and ontology. Finally the chapter details the portrayal of mo'olelo in the creative works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

5.2 No ka Mo'olelo a me ke Ka'ao: Defining Mo'olelo and Ka'ao

Kānaka Maoli refer to their narratives as mo'olelo or ka'ao. Mo'olelo and ka'ao are the foundation of Kanaka Maoli knowledge. It is a means to record and celebrate our history. Embedded in our mo'olelo and ka'ao there are *loina* (social and cultural values), *'ike kupuna* (ancestral knowledge), *ho'ona'auao* (education or knowledge transmission), and *nanea/le'ale'a* (entertainment). In a recent publication on narratives and identity construction in the Pacific, Assistant Professor of Hawaiian at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, C.M. Kaliko Baker clearly explains these terms in correlation with analysis of the story of Kamapua'a. He writes:

Mo'olelo are at times strict and *kapu* depending on the topic, unlike the secular narrative genre of *ka'ao*. Both *mo'olelo* and *ka'ao*

involve the fantastic, which reflects the Hawaiian's worldview in connection to man and nature, and *mo'olelo* are meant to inform of historical events, while *ka'ao* may do the same, *ka'ao* are intended to entertain in more *noa* 'free of taboo' contexts. (2015, p. 121)

The concept of *mo'olelo* incorporates historical accounts from the past, general narratives, discourse, family stories, and *wahi pana* stories for sacred or beloved locations. In this diverse grouping there may be *mo'olelo* that are *kapu* and therefore shared under strict protocols. As noted above by C.M. Kaliko Baker, *ka'ao* are not bound by restrictions and the genre includes historical content, folktales, and fanciful legends. The interesting thing here is that there is a sliding pendulum within these genres. Often *mo'olelo* are also termed as *ka'ao* or you may learn of a "mo'olelo ka'ao," a story or legend based on historical content, such as *He Mo'olelo Ka'ao no Kamapua'a* featured in the 1891 newspaper *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*²¹⁴. The *mo'olelo* of *Kamapua'a* is a historical account laden with spiritual, mystical, and fanciful phenomena that is relatable to *kānaka*. The Kanaka Maoli worldview and belief system embraces the mythical or spiritual aspects of the relationship we as *kānaka* have with our natural environment seen and unseen. *Kamapua'a's* encounters and journey are actual experiences of a genuine *kanaka* who roamed our *'āina* in a not so distant past. *Kamapua'a* like many other heroes in Kanaka Maoli literature is an ancestor that was later deified by his people because of his wondrous feats and abilities. Western perspectives all too often discredit our *mo'olelo* as legends or myths that were conjured up in the minds of a primitive isolated people living on tropical islands with fanciful ideas. My goal here is to present the concept

²¹⁴ For more on this subject see *Constructing Kanaka Maoli Identity Through Narratives*, C.M. Kaliko Baker, 2015.

of mo‘olelo as real tangible chronicles of Kanaka Maoli lives that were passed down for generations. Mo‘olelo essentially filled the multitude of Hawaiian language newspaper pages with this immense body of Kanaka Maoli literature in the nineteenth century. Kānaka Maoli were prolific storytellers and writers. That is evidenced in the robust oral tradition, the superabundance of poetic compositions, the cornucopia of Hawaiian language newspapers, and the plentitude of books in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i that were published between 1834 and 1940. Kānaka Maoli were major contributors in the production of Hawaiian literature.

5.2.1 No ka Ha‘i Mo‘olelo: Oral Tradition

In a paper entitled, “How Legends Were Taught,” scholar Mary Kawena Pukui describes the sharing of mo‘olelo in traditional times, the role of the storyteller, and their capacity. Pukui was the last one in her family line to be trained by her grandmother in traditional oratory. The documentation that she deposited at the Bishop Museum both written and oral recordings are treasured repositories of knowledge for us access today. In this article she writes, “Those who were versed in poetry (mele), story telling (ha‘i kaa), genealogy (mookuauhau) and oratory (kakaolelo) found themselves in the courts of the chiefs” (1940, p. 1). She adds, “A person well versed in all three, story telling, poetry and figurative sayings found himself a favorite of the chief. Especially if the figurative sayings (‘olelo ho‘oka‘au) were humorous (ho‘omake ‘aka) and amused hearers. One versed in both history and legends was said to be pa‘a mo‘olelo” (1940, p. 6). Like many other stations in traditional Kanaka Maoli society, individuals were groomed for particular kuleana from a young age. Kuleana were often passed down in the family, i.e., if your father was a farmer, you would likely be groomed to be a farmer. According to Pukui, “Grandparents who were versed in the lore of their people and their homeland

picked out the grandchildren with the most retentive minds to teach” (1940, p. 1). To explain the rigorous teaching process Pukui also includes her personal experience being trained in the practice of mo‘olelo by her grandmother. She explains the methodology of traditional oratory that consisted of listening to her grandmother over a couple of nights, Pukui’s recitation, and her grandmother’s correction of her mistakes to refine each line of the mo‘olelo. Pukui states that the correct retelling of a story was far more important than how interesting the presentation was. Pukui goes on in the paper to decipher the different types of mo‘olelo and the restrictions or protocol observed for the retelling of particular genres of mo‘olelo. She explains that mo‘olelo that were kapu were told to invited listeners only, they would require strict attention to the story being told, and no unnecessary movement on the part of the listener was allowed, not even heeding the call of nature. For to leave the space to go relieve one’s self would break the kapu. Other stories that had restrictions connected to the retelling of those mo‘olelo were family stories like that of ‘aumakua. She points out that those mo‘olelo were held closely within a ‘ohana relating family kapu and should not be repeated or discussed outside of the family for fear of releasing information that could be used against a ‘ohana or their ‘aumakua. Pukui also mentions that tales of spirits, ghosts, or the dead were not related after nightfall with the belief that those entities may be attracted to the place where their name was invoked. A genre of mo‘olelo that was freely discussed is mo‘olelo wahi pana or stories of place were retold as a matter of pride by the people of that ‘āina. The final genre Pukui discusses in the paper is legends, mo‘olelo ka‘ao. She says that the recitation of these mo‘olelo was, “partly told and partly chanted...No long legend was complete without the recitation of chants” (1940, p. 6). This is evidence that ha‘i mo‘olelo (storytelling) that was

shared with the populace in traditional times employed the performance of chant and song to convey mo‘olelo. This practice is also verified by the publication of mo‘olelo filled with chant and song in the nineteenth century newspapers.

5.2.2 ‘O ka Mo‘olelo ke Kahua: Mo‘olelo as Foundational Knowledge

To expand on the scholarly contributions of Mary Kawena Pukui, I turn to Hawaiian language Professor Emeritus Rubellite Kawena Johnson who taught Hawaiian literature and language at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa for three decades. In her literature course, Hawaiian 261, she presented four *wā* or time periods for mo‘olelo based on the earlier Polynesian model for literary analysis by Māori scholar Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck). The *wā* are as follows; Mythical, Migratory, Settlement, and Historical (Johnson, 2001, pp. 13-14 quoted in ho‘omanawanui, 2017, pp. 73-74). These time periods reflect the genre of mo‘olelo that occurred during the *wā*; i.e., the mythical *wā* is filled with cosmogonic or origin stories, stories of the akua, and the relationship of early kānaka and their foundation and environment. A recent article by Kanaka Maoli scholar and Associate Professor of Hawaiian literature ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui, thoroughly analyzes the foundation of Hawaiian literature building upon Johnson’s earlier literary analysis, and includes the robust literary genres practiced by Kānaka Maoli to establish a cairn of mo‘olelo. In regards to the recovery and study of mo‘olelo, ho‘omanawanui writes:

Scholars of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and mo‘olelo Hawai‘i have worked diligently over the past few decades to recover the core meanings of mo‘olelo, and, in essence, recover its cultural and related values. While such scholars do not always agree on the theories, methods, and practices surrounding this recovering, they are universally united in appreciating the tremendous gift mo‘olelo Hawai‘i is to

Hawai‘i and the world, a true cultural treasure worthy of celebration and ka ‘imi loa (deep, lifelong study). (2017, p. 72)

Lifelong study is indeed the commitment that many of us who engage regularly in the language and works of our kūpuna have made. The over one million pages of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i text in the archives (ho‘omanawanui, 2017) is a massive repository that my contemporaries and I will barely skim the surface of in our lifetime of study. However, the access of mo‘olelo recorded in newspapers and texts written in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is much more readily available today because of the massive recovery work with the digitization of documents and the awareness in libraries, archives, and museums. These resources are invaluable in accessing mo‘olelo. Associate Professor of Hawaiian R. Keawe Lopes explains the importance of accessing mo‘olelo and mele in his doctoral thesis as a means to “reconnect, revitalize, and restore our language and culture” (Lopes, 2011, p. 7). He mentions the ways that these resources benefit us in our academic work and in our lives as Kānaka Maoli in the quote below.

Having access to mele and mo‘olelo that were documented by our kūpuna allows us two important things: one, it gives us the opportunity to learn from the ways our kūpuna expressed themselves giving us insight into the ways they thought and articulated their views, which is important to reviving and restoring our language; and secondly it allows us the opportunity to bring their mele or their mo‘olelo to the fore to help inform and educate our present. The scholars of the Hawaiian language and culture today all glean their information from the many mele and mo‘olelo that were authored by our kūpuna that still for the most part continue to reside in archival resource centers. (Lopes, 2011, p. 33)

Much of what Lopes captures here is the continuum of knowledge that Kānaka Maoli are making valiant efforts to restore. He articulates the fact that mo‘olelo and mele are key to language and cultural revitalization. We can infer that in accessing this body of knowledge we draw from the past to inform our present and utilize that knowledge to carry us into the future and therefore strengthen our progeny.

I would like to briefly mention the continuum of mo‘olelo as it relates to current scholarship. A forthcoming publication from Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge and the University of Hawai‘i Press entitled *Mo‘olelo: The Foundation of Hawaiian Knowledge*, is a collective book with eleven chapters all dealing with the practice and/or use of mo‘olelo in varied academic disciplines and cultural practices. Some of the chapters include personal mo‘olelo weaved into cultural practices that are based in the expression of traditional mo‘olelo such as mele composition or hula. Other chapters delve into literary, linguistic, or political analysis of mo‘olelo and the perpetuation of mo‘olelo. Serving as co-editor for this publication I have seen a diverse approach to utilizing mo‘olelo in a number of disciplines and how mo‘olelo has shaped each contributing author who are all Kānaka Maoli and speakers of our ‘ōlelo. Mo‘olelo is very much alive in our individual works. We draw from the past to create for today and the future.

5.2.3 He Alo a he Alo: Face to Face Sharing of Mo‘olelo

Published mo‘olelo are resources stored in an archive, museum, or websites. With the advent of the Internet and digitization projects many of these published resources are accessible through clicks on a keyboard. At this point I would like to discuss accessing mo‘olelo *he alo a he alo* (face to face) today. Oral tradition as Pukui described was the way that mo‘olelo was passed down prior to the development of orthography. The practice of oral tradition, “He alo a he alo is the

way in which relationships are built and the way knowledge is transmitted, communicated, and received” (Lopes, 2015, p. 35). There is a visceral quality of mo‘olelo that can only be shared he alo a he alo. When we sit in the presence of a kupuna and they share a mo‘olelo with us we are transported by their leo, the intonations, the vocal qualities that they employ to recite chant, song, or character specific dialogue, and their expressions and body language. These things can never be captured or experienced when reading a text. I consider myself very fortunate to have been told mo‘olelo by kupuna, not just by my own but by a number of kūpuna who were also *mānaleo* (native speakers) that were supportive of the interests of a handful of us young college students studying ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in the early 1990’s. Some kūpuna would test our knowledge level before sharing with us. Some waited to evaluate us before imparting any bits of knowledge. Others were so excited to have younger speakers around them that they poured out much more than we could possibly absorb. Over the past 28 years, the length of my committed study of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, the vast majority of mānaleo have passed into pō. Aloha nō. These kūpuna were amazing resources, each a repository of knowledge from times past. The exchanges that we had with one another are etched in my memory. When I think of them I can hear their voice, see their expressions, and recall their subtle gestures. That kind of authentic experience of ha‘i mo‘olelo is very difficult to access today for those who were the keepers of that knowledge are no longer with us. There is still a small population of mānaleo mainly from the island of Ni‘ihau who are vibrant storytellers and continue to infuse ancestral knowledge into our ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i community today. I am grateful to have the privilege to *launa*²¹⁵ with

²¹⁵ Meeting, hangout, spend time with.

members of our Ni‘iahu community.²¹⁶ The practice of he alo a he alo is the ideal means for learning mo‘olelo. As this is not always possible we turn to another form of early media to recreate that experience, which are audio recordings.

5.2.4 No nā Waihona Lipine ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: Audio Recordings of Mo‘olelo

Although certain ‘ohana may have private family collections of recording of their ancestors, the three major collections that most ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i researchers and students study are the Bishop Museum Archives, Clinton Kanahele Collection at Brigham Young University Hawai‘i Campus, and the Ka Leo Hawai‘i Collection at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo. The Bishop Museum Archives audio collection includes thousands of reel-to-reel and cassette tapes that contain chants, songs, and oral histories of kūpuna. The oral histories recorded are from the 1950’s and 1960’s when Mary Kawena Pukui traveled to six of the eight inhabited islands of Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i to interview residents. The content is an extremely valuable resource for language learning and cultural study as most interviews are conducted entirely in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. Most of the subject matter is specific to the interviewee, their *wahi noho* (place of living), their lives, and stories and cultural knowledge passed down in their ‘ohana. Access to these recordings is by appointment only and there is a fee for each audio recording. The Clinton Kanahele Collection holds twenty interviews conducted by Kanahele with the assistance of William Sproat. The native speakers interviewed were knowledgeable about their ‘āina and cultural practitioners who resided on the

²¹⁶ I have a dear friend and colleague who regularly share mo‘olelo and terminology with me from her people of Ni‘ihau. Dr. Annette Ku‘uipolani Kanahele Wong is the first mānaleo from Ni‘ihau to earn a doctoral degree. She is also the first ever native speaker of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i to lead in an administrative position at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. She is the current director of Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language in Hawai‘i inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge, UH Mānoa. Mahalo ā nui iā ‘oe e Ipo.

islands of O‘ahu, Maui, and Kaua‘i. Each interview and the transcripts of the interviews are available on-line to the public.²¹⁷ The Ka Leo Hawai‘i collection is from the radio program *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* (The Hawaiian Voice) that was broadcasted on KCCN 1420 AM radio in two long blocks of time. The first was from 1972 through 1988 led by Larry Kauanoē Kimura. The second block was from 1991 through 2000 hosted by Puakea Nogelmeier, Tuti Kanahēle, and Hau‘oli Akaka. The format of these weekly radio shows, that began as 30-minute show that would increase to a 60-minute program, were the same. The host gathered mānāleo to be interviewed on the show to share their personal stories, history, cultural practices, and views on the evolving landscape of Hawai‘i. The host also encouraged listeners to call in and speak to the featured mānāleo at the radio station. It is through this program that the dwindling population of mānāleo was recorded in conversation for perpetuity over a 16 year period with Kimura and a 9 year period with Nogelmeier, Kanahēle, and Akaka. Both the 1972-1988²¹⁸ and the 1991-2000²¹⁹ collections are now available online. The original show is in the transcription process with many transcripts and lipine already available on a website connected to Ulukau.org called Kani‘āina. In total there are 783 recordings from the 1972 and the 1991 runs of Ka Leo Hawai‘i. These recordings in no way substitute the experience of he alo a he alo exchanges with kūpuna, however the recordings are major resources that we draw from today to reconstruct or to understand practices and concepts of *ka wā i hala* (the past).

²¹⁷ <https://library.byuh.edu/library/archives/kanahēle> retrieved on 5 February 2018.

²¹⁸ <http://ulukau.org/kaniaina/cgi-bin/kaniaina?a=p&p=home&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN%7ctxTI%7ctxTA%7ctxCO%7ctxTY%7ctxLA%7ctxKE%7ctxPR%7ctxSG%7ctxTO%7ctxTG%7ctxSM%7ctxTR%7ctxSP%7ctxCT%7ctxET%7ctxHT-----+>

²¹⁹ <https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/47857>

5.2.5 No ia mea he Wahi Pana: Mo‘olelo Revealed Through ‘Āina

Similar to learning stories directly from our kūpuna we often turn to our ‘āina as kūpuna to guide us in understanding phenomena and mo‘olelo. Our wahi pana tend to speak to us through the elements and revealing *hō‘ailona* (signs). This is yet another way in which we learn mo‘olelo. As Kānaka Maoli we understand our connection to the ‘āina and are sharply aware of the ability of the ‘āina to educate us. Wahi pana have a certain level of spirituality that resonates from the location. If we are open to learning from these wahi pana where our *‘ike* (knowledge) may be elevated, even life changing experiences can happen. All of our mo‘olelo are connected to place. Each mo‘olelo comes from a particular ‘āina and when researching mo‘olelo we feel a need to visit the place. Upon visiting the location, specific elements in a mo‘olelo are often revealed to us. The natural environment elaborates on the mo‘olelo in ways that words are unable to. In the process of embodying and understanding mo‘olelo, our kūpuna who are manifested in the natural environment speak to us through *hō‘ailona*. Therefore wahi pana are resources for learning mo‘olelo just as a newspaper article or audio recordings are. Mo‘olelo come from various resources; oral, written, and ‘āina. All of which have a connection to our kūpuna. Later in this chapter I will speak to the spirituality of mo‘olelo and how mo‘olelo may be learned through dreams.

5.3 No ka ‘Iliina Mo‘olelo: How Mo‘olelo Impacts on Kanaka Maoli Consciousness?

Coming from the belief that mo‘olelo is the basis for Kanaka Maoli knowledge, it is easy to see how mo‘olelo is directly connected to and greatly influences Kanaka Maoli consciousness. In the book *Narrative and Identity Construction in the Pacific Islands* C.M. Kaliko Baker maintains that mo‘olelo or

Hawaiian narratives are conduits of Hawaiian identity. He writes that the narratives inform, "...Kānaka Maoli on how we should move through this life by looking to and invoking our ancestors, our *kupuna*" (CMK Baker, 2015, p. 120). Mo'olelo then carry the history and culture of Kānaka Maoli while also offering timeless guiding principles for kānaka to live by. Baker elaborates on this relationship of kānaka to their mo'olelo with the following statement, "Our traditional *mo'olelo maoli* 'indigenous stories' are filled with not only plots and characters, but also codes of conduct in connection to general life and extending to high ceremony" (2015, p. 123). Building upon this Baker postulates that Kanaka Maoli identity is in fact constructed through mo'olelo and ka'ao. The concept of mo'olelo being tied to identity has surfaced in other recent publications written by Kānaka Maoli. This too is evidence of the raising of a Kanaka Maoli consciousness through the study of and realization that mo'olelo is the underlying foundation of what makes a Kanaka Maoli. Upcoming scholar Kaipulaumakaniolono Baker writes in the Mānoa Horizons journal, "In today's modern world, Kanaka Maoli are taking steps to reinvigorate our maui in the reintroduction of traditional mo'olelo, thus returning the integrity to our identity" (K. Baker, 2017, p. 173). Here he connects mo'olelo to identity and also our *maui*; our spirit, our life force. The very essence of Kānaka Maoli is our maui, which is taught in our mo'olelo. In this vein Baker talks about the battle of erasure and imperialism that continues today not just for Kānaka Maoli but also for all indigenous peoples actively decolonizing their world. The reclaiming of mo'olelo and the revitalization of language are key components to restoring our maui. He adds, "Integration and normalization of Kanaka Maoli ideologies, values, and language is paramount to the reinvigoration of maui and

undoing of erasure” (K. Baker, 2017, p. 173). Mo‘olelo is the catalyst for decolonization.

Since mo‘olelo encompasses historical events but also reaches into the future to steer kānaka in the most righteous path, the perception of mo‘olelo from a Kanaka Maoli worldview is that mo‘olelo is innately connected to our awareness of identity, history, culture, values, and our overall consciousness as Kānaka Maoli. Mo‘olelo informs consciousness.

There is an obvious correlation between intact mo‘olelo and the practice of mo‘olelo with the overall health of a people. In various disciplines and traditional practices, mo‘olelo are primary sources for the methodology and the pedagogy of those disciplines. Mo‘olelo also serve as justification for the work that is being done. Many of my contemporaries utilize mo‘olelo to inform their academic work and cultural practices. At a recent conference on Hawaiian language translation, Kū Kahakalau Kanaka Maoli education advocate, spoke about how she uses mo‘olelo in her community work to help disenfranchised Kānaka Maoli to reconnect to their ‘āina and identity. She followed that with a declaration that Hawaiian identity is priority one and connected that to language and mo‘olelo. Kahakalau stated, “In order for a Hawaiian child to thrive, they must know their identity and language” (23 February 2018). There is variation in mo‘olelo and that variation is culturally acknowledged and accepted. We have a proverb that gives credence to the multiplicity of mo‘olelo and beliefs, “*A‘ole pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho‘okahi*. [Not all knowledge is learned in one house.]” Our ancestors recognized the existence and strength of multiple bases of knowledge. There is an understanding that we can and should learn from multiple sources. It also acknowledges that there is more than one way to practice, more than one version to a story. This proverb is cited often

today when there are varying opinions on practices in our Kanaka Maoli world. The proverb calls attention to the possibility that there may be other interpretations and to recognize the validity of those interpretations. As I have foregrounded this belief with a proverbial saying that all kānaka recite and accept, I now introduce the term *mana mo‘olelo*, which are versions of a story or history. For each mo‘olelo that exists today there are versions of that particular mo‘olelo that were passed down in different ‘ohana, on different islands, in different district. The Kanaka Maoli worldview allowed for these variations. Mo‘olelo were localized for a particular island, district, or ‘ohana. In her most recent book *The Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen, Reconstructing Native Hawaiian Intellectual History*, Noenoe K. Silva examines the concept of written accounts of history versus oral accounts. Her claims below touch on the recognition of mana mo‘olelo.

The assumption that written historical accounts are more truthful and correct is important to note because oral accounts may be equally or more reliable, and, of course, each is a selection from innumerable points of view, dependent on innumerable variables, and none can really be termed more objectively factual than another. The assumption that written accounts are more truthful is a discursive ploy to denigrate native ways of keeping history. (2017, p. 178)

Embedded in the western value of written history is the idea that there is only one correct rendition of a story. Kānaka Maoli reject this concept. We celebrate mana mo‘olelo acknowledging that this is one of the ways that we connect with our mo‘olelo. Place based identity is inherent to each mana mo‘olelo. In her book *Voices of Fire*, ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui analyzes the use of mo‘olelo to identify one’s ‘āina and self within a family lineage. This kind of analysis reveals the variation of mo‘olelo per locale and the perspective of the keeper of the story. For

example, the Kaua‘i version of the story of Pele and Lohi‘au paints Pele in a different light than the stories that originate from her ‘āina. In the popularized renditions of this mo‘olelo the pahu drum of Kaua‘i that she hears in her dream intrigues Pele. She, her spirit self, follows the drum that leads her to the high chief of Kaua‘i Lohi‘au, they met, they make love, Pele returns home and later sends her sister Hi‘iakaikapoliopole to fetch Lohi‘au. In the Kaua‘i rendition, Pele travels there but is not immediately embraced by the people of Kaua‘i. When she enters the hālau where Lohi‘au is dancing the people are suspect of her arrival during the ‘aha hula for she is a malihini. Pele is not glorified in this mana mo‘olelo, and it is true that the feelings that were experienced during the actual events of this mo‘olelo have been passed down generation after generation. The Kaua‘i mana of this mo‘olelo mentions Lohi‘au being seduced and taken away from his people by a visitor. That mana mo‘olelo orients the *piko* (center) of the story with Lohi‘au and his people of Kaua‘i. The orientation of mo‘olelo to a land base is common practice in our mo‘olelo. The people are an extension of the land, related through genealogy, and therefore identify intrinsically connected with that land base. In the introduction to his book *Nā Pua Ali‘i o Kaua‘i Ruling Chiefs of Kaua‘i*, Frederick B. Wichman writes, “The highest chiefs, the *pua ali‘i*, the brightest flowers of royalty, were living gods on earth. Their genealogies, memorized and recited on significant occasions, proved their descent from Kāne, Lono, Kū, and Kanaloa” (2003, p. IX). The connection of the ali‘i to akua links Kānaka Maoli once again to ‘āina created by the akua. The mo‘olelo is the means in which the consanguinity is communicated. Wichman goes on to explain that the stories contained in his book, including songs and narratives previously recited by trained storytellers, have been:

...passed intact from generation to generation, were answered to the questions Who are we? Where did we come from? Who are our

ancestors, and what did they do? What lessons can we learn from their conduct? Their lives, then and now, were held up as models of proper behavior and actions. (2003, p. IX)

The quote above ties into application of mo‘olelo in addition to identity and sense of place. Wichman expresses Kanaka Maoli consciousness in this introduction of his book. Comprehending the value of mo‘olelo and how compelling mo‘olelo serve as lessons for life is the epitome of Kanaka Maoli consciousness. It grounds us and stimulates a higher awareness within ourselves. Kanaka consciousness encompasses our connection to our ancestors (akua, ‘āina, kānaka), our intellect, and our spiritual growth. Upon harnessing this consciousness, one attempts to channel the knowledge of that awakened self into their daily lives and work to benefit their community. In the following section I will explain how Ka Hālau Hanakeaka has done that through the application of mo‘olelo in their plays.

5.4 No ka Hō‘ike ‘ana a Ka Hālau Hanakeaka i ka Mo‘olelo: Ka Hālau Hanakeaka’s Portrayal of Mo‘olelo

As mo‘olelo is the foundation of Hawaiian knowledge, mo‘olelo is the foundation of every production ever conceived by Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. Whether in written or oral form mo‘olelo and ka‘ao are where the creation process begins. Very often it is a combination of written and oral renditions of a mo‘olelo that yields a synergetic base for the development of each hana keaka. In this section I will detail the use of mo‘olelo in the research and development process for hana keaka and the portrayal of mo‘olelo in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

In our process we privilege stories written and told in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i over their English counterparts, for the desire to draw from authentic resource materials and learn from elders who are a link in the long chain of storytelling that was passed

down through the generations. Fundamentally, Ka Hālau Hanakeeka has always pursued authentic, credible ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i resources in their research and development processes. Kumu Hula and Professor Taupōuri Tangarō of Hawai‘i Community College, states in the preface of his book *Lele Kawa Fire Rituals of Pele*, “Before the Hawaiian language of mythic metaphor was conveyed and debilitated by foreign typography and literalization, the language was dynamic, entertaining a plethora of interpretations, fostering a panoply of significant experiences unique to the individual” (Tangarō, 2009, p. XIX). Tangarō references the images, ideas, and kaona conveyed in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i that only exists within the language itself. Therefore by prioritizing ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i renditions of mo‘olelo, Ka Hālau Hanakeeka maintains the richness and the often layered intended meaning(s) conveyed in mo‘olelo.

In the creation process of hana keeka stories told by our ancestors resonate in our memories. Our minds conjure up images of times past, the landscape, the elements of nature, and the interactions amongst the people of old. We imagine the sound of voices, the sound of wind, rain, and ocean. The recreation of these concepts is what fuels the creative process of hana keeka. The organic artistic process of scripting, directing, and producing Hawaiian medium theatre draws upon ha‘i mo‘olelo and other modes of storytelling in the repertoire of Kanaka Maoli performing arts. Marrying the contemporary performance genre of Hawaiian medium theatre with the tradition-based repertoire of performing arts such as hula, mele, and oli makes for a current expression of deeply rooted mo‘olelo. ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui, writes extensively on mo‘olelo and the modes of storytelling practiced by Kānaka Maoli. In a book chapter entitled “*Ka Ola Hou ‘Ana o ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i i ka Ha‘i ‘Ana o ka Mo‘olelo i Kēia Au Hou: The Revival of the*

Hawaiian Language in Contemporary Storytelling,” she explains the other modes of expression Kānaka Maoli employ for storytelling stating that:

Hawaiian storytelling has always been more than just a single storyteller on a stage. In traditional times *oli* (chant) and *hula* (dance) were often the main vehicles of storytelling. The main part of storytelling in these contexts is the Hawaiian language...Dances are choreographed to the words of a song or chant and timed to the beat; without spoken words, no meaningful choreography would (or could) exist. (ho‘omanawanui, 2004, p. 166)

In the article ho‘omanawanui continues to emphasize the importance of language in storytelling citing scholars of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and language revitalization to validate her claims. In example she quotes Professor Larry Kauanoe Kimura of Ka Haka ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani Hawaiian Language College at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, “Hawaiian culture placed great emphasis on language as the means of human artistic development” (quoted in ho‘omanawanui, 2004, p. 163). Kimura is also known for his pivotal role in the resurgence of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. I completely agree with his statement. The language, ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, is the source of our mo‘olelo and the essence of who we are as Kānaka Maoli. This concept echoes the earlier section on identity and consciousness.

5.4.1 No ka Mo‘olelo ma ka Haku Hana Keaka: Staging Mo‘olelo

Transitioning to the actual application of mo‘olelo in the theatre making process, I’ll begin with the staging of mo‘olelo and then speak to the specific processes involved in the research and development of a play. The staging of mo‘olelo is in many ways a gift to our community that recognizes and validates our ancestral stories, history, and cultural practices. When we perform we commune with our audience through the reenactment of mo‘olelo. Over the years I have

known that the process of staging stories by other indigenous peoples parallel our experiences. However very little scholarship has been generated by indigenous theatre makers about their work. This is one of the major reasons I have committed to this doctoral thesis; to document the work that we have been doing for the past twenty-two years from the perspective of the indigenous theatre maker, who is conscious of the needs and values of their community and holds steadfast to the ways of our kūpuna in the process of staging our mo‘olelo. That being said I share the following quote to illustrate the process of Indigenous theatre making from a book entitled *Medicine Shows* written by Yvette Nolan, Algonquin playwright, director, dramaturg, actor, educator, and Artistic Director of Native Earth Performing Arts in Canada.

Indigenous theatre artists make medicine by reconnecting through ceremony, through the act of remembering, through building community, and by negotiating solidarities across communities. The act of staging these things reconnects who we are as Indigenous people with where we have come from, with our stories, with our ancestors. The things we know and the values we hold that are manifest in the contemporary work that we put upon the stage make the Indigenous artist a conduit between the past and the future. Ceremony. Remembrance. Making Community. Survivance. (Nolan, 2015, p. 3)

Nolan’s words resonate with the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka that we have produced over the past twenty years as Kanaka Maoli theatre practitioners. At its core hana keaka is about community and reconnecting to our identity through language, through storytelling, and through our ancestors inclusive of land, environment, animals, sea life, and kānaka. As *mea hana keaka* (actors/theatre makers) who have emotional connections to our ancestors featured in these

mo‘olelo, we are the vessels for reestablishing our relationship to our past that in turn grounds us and guides us into the future. Indigenous theatre making mirrors our storytelling practices. For us, mo‘olelo is about space and place, so too are our theatre practices. The retelling of our mo‘olelo is embodied in our language and culture, which expresses our values, worldviews, norms, idiosyncrasies, humor, cultural dimensions, and the quiriness of our culture. In a performance there are moments that are formal similar to ceremony or exchanges that may have taken place in the high courts of the ali‘i where we observe specific kapu or protocol. Then there are also moments that are informal filled with interactions that replicate the mundane, i.e., humorous moments at a family gathering. The way we frame and tell a story is based on traditional storytelling practices and the particular story being told. Performances are not ad-hoc and decisions on staging mo‘olelo are not serendipitous. We follow the mo‘olelo as a guiding context. Bridging this conversation of mo‘olelo into the world of theatre I find the following quote from theatre scholar Marvin Carlson useful. He writes:

The retelling of stories already told, the reenactment of events already enacted, the re-experience of emotions already experienced, these are and have always been the central concerns of theatre in all times and places, but closely allied to these central concerns are the particular productions dynamics of theatre: the stories it chooses to tell, the bodies and other physical materials it utilizes to tell them, and the places in which they are told. Each of these production elements are [*sic*] also, to a striking degree, composed of material “that we have seen before,” and the memory of that recycled material as it moves through new and different productions contributes in no small measure to the richness and density of the operations of theatre in general as a site of memory, both personal and cultural. (2003, pp. 3-4)

Mo‘olelo have been passed down from one generation to the next and each mo‘olelo engages memory of events that are significant to our culture. The retelling of these mo‘olelo are indeed a means to remember the past while connecting that history to the modern era. Looser points out that,

Communicating stories of the past in many different forms has always been a way for communities to educate, to entertain, and to remember; to maintain and reinvent cultural heritage; to produce, perpetuate, and challenge cultural norms; and to guide future behavior. (2014, p. 13)

The Kanaka Maoli practice of ha‘i mo‘olelo as well as hana keaka exemplifies these functions described here by Looser.

5.4.2 Na nā Kūpuna e Alaka‘i mai: Guided by Ancestors

In this next section I will share specific examples discussing the process of staging hana keaka guided by mo‘olelo, the application of mo‘olelo that reconnects us to our place (‘āina) and ancestors, and finally the impact of the staging of mo‘olelo through hana keaka. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, mo‘olelo are related through oratory, written narratives, chant, song, and dance. My first example of mo‘olelo guiding our hana keaka is from the 1998 production of *Māuiakamalo: Ka Ho‘okala Kupua o ka Moku*. This particular hana keaka was based on the fifteenth era of the Kumulipo that recounts the Ulu and Nanaulu genealogies from whence Māuiakamalo and his brothers Māuimua, Māuihope, and Māuiki‘iki‘i come. In the research and development process for scripting this hana keaka we sought out a variety of resources. The diverse source materials included newspaper articles, short stories primarily illustrated texts written for young audiences, audio recordings, chants such as the Kumulipo, and conversations with kūpuna who retold versions of the many stories of Māuiakamalo. The gathering, reviewing, and

digesting of these source materials commences the research process that lays the foundation for the development phase. I must make a note about initial steps that include the selection process of a mo‘olelo covered in chapter two, where I explain the concept of koho ‘ia. In that chapter I described how mo‘olelo reveal themselves when they wish to be told and how we are vessels for those stories to be told, we heed and follow the guidance of our kūpuna. Koho ‘ia is a gateway into the world of a mo‘olelo and the research process. The research and development phases pushes us to exhaust every possible resource that’s available in order to capture the totality of a mo‘olelo. The interesting thing here is that very often the renditions of a particular mo‘olelo finds its way to us with minimal effort. By this I mean that we are often handed materials or guided to materials through personal connections, perchance, visions, and dreams. Mo‘olelo that reveal themselves in *moe ‘uhane* (dreams) or *hihi‘o* (visions) are respected as divine guidance or instruction from our ancestors. In a Kanaka Maoli context it is generally accepted that we are genealogically connected to the spiritual entities who reach out to us. In our culture the alignment of these resources with our lives as the creators of a hana keaka are considered *hō‘ailona* or *ouli* (signs or omens) that the mo‘olelo is speaking to us and wanting the story to be told. We are receptive to these hō‘ailona and carefully observe each one as another means to validate our creative choices. Pukui devotes an entire chapter to dreams and symbols in *Nānā i ke Kumu (Look to the Source)*. She states that, “Hō‘ailona described anything from a physical or natural sign, such as clouds as a sign of rain, to mystic and supernatural omens” (1972, p. 169). Dreams and visions like hō‘ailona may also provide instruction or inspiration. In relation to composers and *kahuna* (priests) Lopes cites a newspaper article by Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau in 1867 on the spiritual inspiration for composing

mele and pule. Expounding on Kamakau's article Lopes writes, "Haku mele were sometimes taught and guided by the pō and were instructed in dreams," (2011, p. 78). The compositions inspired from these dreams,

are considered special messages from the unseen and therefore they are usually the first mele performed in a hula performance. As a result haku mele were extremely receptive and attentive both to the physical as well as the spiritual realm. (Lopes, 2011, p. 78)

With regard to Kanaka Maoli theatre making, *haku hana keaka* (playwrights) like haku mele have similar experiences and adhere to the instruction from the spiritual realm and to similar protocols surrounding composition and performance.

Once all of the resources have been gathered, processed (read, listened to, etc.), and digested we begin preliminary discussion and charting of storylines. In more recent years we have had the opportunity to do this as an artistic team. For instance with the production of *Lā'ieikawai*, our four-member team of Kumu Hula Snowbird Puananiopaoakalani Bento, Kumu Hula and Professor of Hawaiian R. Keawe Lopes, Jr., Professor of Hawaiian C.M. Kaliko Baker, and myself sat with the myriad of resource materials for that mo'olelo over a five month period and had fruitful discussions on the renditions of *Lā'ieikawai* debating the major themes, fleshing out characters, selecting the material that was to be staged, and collaborating on musical compositions. In contrast for *Māuiakamalo: Ka Ho'okala Kupua o ka Moku* I conducted the primary research in consultation with colleagues, professors, kumu, and kūpuna. I was very fortunate to be working for the Hawai'i State Department of Education Kupuna Program at that time, because it provided access to a thriving community of Kanaka Maoli elders who enjoyed sharing mo'olelo. It was through this connection that I learned a few mo'olelo for

Māuiakamalo that were passed down through oral tradition and never published or even recorded on paper. Kupuna Leolani Pratt shared the mo‘olelo of Kunaloa, the freshwater eel that attempted to seduce Māuiakamalo’s mother Hinaakeahi at her cave Kāneana. When Hinaakeahi rejected Kunaloa’s advances he became more aggressive attempting to sexually violate her. Hinaakeahi calls out to her son Māuiakamalo who rescues her and obliterates Kunaloa. Kupuna Pratt showed us the wahi pana on O‘ahu where Māuiakamalo slayed Kunaloa and the remains of his petrified body are visible till this day. For Kānaka Maoli the wahi pana validates the mo‘olelo. The existence of that place and the features of that environment authenticate the story, which we view as a historical event. After learning about Māuiakamalo’s encounter with Kunaloa and seeing the wahi pana we were compelled to include this mo‘olelo in our hana keaka. We believed then that there was a reason why the mo‘olelo was shared with us and that the hana keaka was a platform to share it widely with our community.

In 1997 when Kaliko Baker and I were working through the storyline for this play we meet with Professor of Hawaiian Studies Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa at Harpo’s restaurant in Kapāhulu to discuss the fifteenth era of the Kumulipo. It was at that meeting that Kame‘eleihiwa helped me to recognize that it was no mistake that this mo‘olelo was calling to me. We began with the specific feats that Māui accomplished detailed in the cosmogonic chant. Then I shared a dream that I had about Māui. Kame‘eleihiwa said to me, “This is your kupuna, they’re calling out to you.” She went on to explain that the reason why I was gravitating to the material was because I was connected to the material. She added that my ancestors were reaching out to connect with me, and that there was likely something they wanted me to do. Soon thereafter I would begin to understand and embrace the concept of

koho 'ia. At this point Kaliko and I were settled on the Kumulipo being the framework for the retelling of Māuiakamalo's journey. Also utilizing the Kumulipo as the blueprint for the play steered us away from the western popularized version of Māui as a mischievous trickster who pops up here and there in stories. Perhaps there is no better example of this in today's modern media than Disney's *Moana*. The trickster character of Māui in the animated film is personified as a self-righteous buffoon²²⁰ who is ostracized by his people. Drawing from the many Māui traditions in the Pacific, Disney's Māui is not specifically of any particular Pacific Island people or culture. Much of the costuming and tattoo work is indicative of Sāmoa, song lyrics are done in Tokelau, chants are in Māori, dance moves are reminiscent of Tahiti, and so they have created a hodgepodge, the ultimate homogenization of the Pacific. This is extremely problematic as specificity is the key to our identity. In the animated film, Māui eventually redeems himself by teaching wayfinding to Moana and helping to restore the heart of Te Fiti, a factious name for the Mother Earth character. This film may be the epitome of misrepresentation of the Māui tradition that we as Pacific peoples share. The masters of cultural appropriation for their financial gain have exploited our ancestor Māui, our cultures, our languages, and our ancestral knowledge. The Kumulipo was a means to position this retelling of Māuiakamalo's mo'olelo as a Kanaka Maoli ancestor who contributed to his community during his human journey on this earth and was later deified by his people. The mo'olelo embedded in the Kumulipo guided us to honor Māuiakamalo through the retelling of his story.

²²⁰ <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/how-story-moana-and-maui-holds-against-cultural-truths-180961258/> retrieved on 16 September 2018.

During the development process, we worked very closely with lines 1975 through 2048²²¹ of the fifteenth era of the Kumulipo to decipher the meaning of each line. Working line by line we decrypted code language and archaic vocabulary. We then extracted metaphor and deduced allegory and illusion in order to have a more comprehensive understanding of the events of Māui's journey. For example, line 2001 of the chant references Māuiakamalo's first feat or exploit, '*Ki'i i ka pu awa a Kane ma laua o Kanaloa*' [The root portion of the kava plant belonging to gods Kāne and Kanaloa is taken]. This line aligns with oral tradition of how Māuiakamalo brings the '*awa hiwa* (sacred dark kava of the gods) to the people of Wai'anae. To stage this line in the chant we built up to the moment of when Māui sneaks back to the realm of the gods to fetch the '*awa hiwa* by first showing his learning about the '*awa hiwa* from Kāne and Kanaloa in an earlier scene. In Act I, Scene One, Kāne and Kanaloa instruct Māui on protocol with the consumption of this drink of the gods including preparation, proper incantations, and the ceremonial aspects of '*awa* drinking. This scene established Māui's relationship to the '*awa* and the origin of '*awa* consumption which the gods Kāne and Kanaloa created. Then in Act I, Scene Five, Māui returns to Kuaihelani to fetch the '*awa hiwa* from the gods. In the following scene, Act I, Scene Six, we portrayed his sharing of the '*awa hiwa* to the people of Wai'anae through replicating the preparation of the kava root for an '*awa* ceremony followed by Māui reciting an incantation to honor Kāne and consecrate the drink in the bowl. In staging this scene Māui offers the '*awa* to his brothers and clansmen. They all partake in the drinking of '*awa*, speak of its taste and calming effects. The staging of these three scenes which culminates in the

²²¹ The fifteenth era of the Kumulipo consists of 1,018 lines. It begins with line 1930 through line 2048. The birth of the Māui brothers are recounted from line 1985. Māuiakamalo's major feats are recorded in the remainder of the chant.

consumption of ‘awa by the people of Wai‘anae was how we illustrated line 2001 in the Kumulipo.

For an example on how the lines in the Kumulipo influenced costuming and staging, I point to the following four lines that reference Pe‘ape‘amakawalu, the deity of bats from Moanalaha, Waimānalo.

2030. Lilo Hina-ke-ka ia Pe‘ape‘a	<i>Hina-ke-kā is abducted by Pe‘ape‘a</i>
2031. O ke akua pe‘ape‘a o Pe‘ape‘a	<i>Pe‘ape‘a is the god of bats</i>
2032. O ka ua ho‘olawa ia a Maui	<i>This is the final feat of Māui</i>
2033. I waluhia ka maka o Pe‘ape‘a-makawalu	<i>The eyes of Pe‘ape‘amakawalu are clawed out</i>

As stated above, Māuiakamalo’s wife Hinakekā is abducted by Pe‘ape‘a. The word *pe‘ape‘a* refers to our native bat (*Lasiurus cinereus*) but the term figuratively means entangled or perplexed. Another meaning of the word is the crossing of something, as in the arms. Pe‘ape‘a can also be used to describe something that is filthy, or unclean such as slime. We drew from the meanings of the word *pe‘ape‘a* for costume design to portray the character of Pe‘ape‘amakawalu. The concept of a bat was a key component to who Pe‘ape‘a was, however he was the akua of all *pe‘ape‘a* so that elevated his status. Being that we were dealing with traditional garments we decided to use *kīhei* to indicate his status. A *kīhei* is typically a cloak, cape, or rectangular tapa garment worn over one shoulder and tied in a knot. In order to incorporate the idea of crossing or entangled we chose to use two *kīhei* placed and knotted on opposite shoulders which created a *pe‘a* (cross or crossing effect). To invoke the bat we used black fabric and created an added feature on the *kīhei* that the actor could manipulate to simulate wings. Here we can see how the mo‘olelo

has shaped the hana keaka. Pe‘ape‘a was a mysterious individual so we selected costume pieces to reflect that personality. I briefly want to explain the second part of Pe‘ape‘amakawalu’s name, *makawalu*. *Makawalu* literally means eight eyes. Figuratively makawalu references numerous, or great quantities of something. The term may be used with the implication of chiefly mana. Because Pe‘ape‘amakawalu is an akua I am inclined to believe that makawalu here speaks to his mana and not the literal eight eyes. According to David Malo the term makawalu is also a type of fighting with irregularly grouped warriors on plains covered with brush. Both the idea of mana and Malo’s reference to fighting styles influenced our choices for fight choreography and staging the battle scene between Māuiakamalo and Pe‘ape‘amakawalu.

For the staging of the abduction scene and the retrieval scene, we coupled the information given to us in these four lines of the Kumulipo with oral tradition that led us to Pe‘ape‘amakawalu’s ‘āina, Moanaliha in Waimānalo. Moanaliha was only accessible through flight over the edge of the island to the remote cave. This isolated location guided our approach to staging Māui’s arrival at Moanaliha in his quest to rescue his wife and the final battle that would take place between Māui and Pe‘ape‘a. In the mo‘olelo, Māui fastens a *lupe* (kite) with the assistance of his grandfather Kūlokele to glide over Waimānalo to the hidden cave of Moanaliha. Using platforms we created an upstage area for Māui to enter the space of Moanaliha as if he was flying. For the staging of Māui’s flight and descent to Moanaliha the actor who played Māui, Kelikokauaikekai Hoe, traveled across the upstage platforms with the oversized lupe attached to his arms and made his way downstage to a dimly lit corner that represented the edge of the cave where Pe‘ape‘a kept Hinakekā hostage.

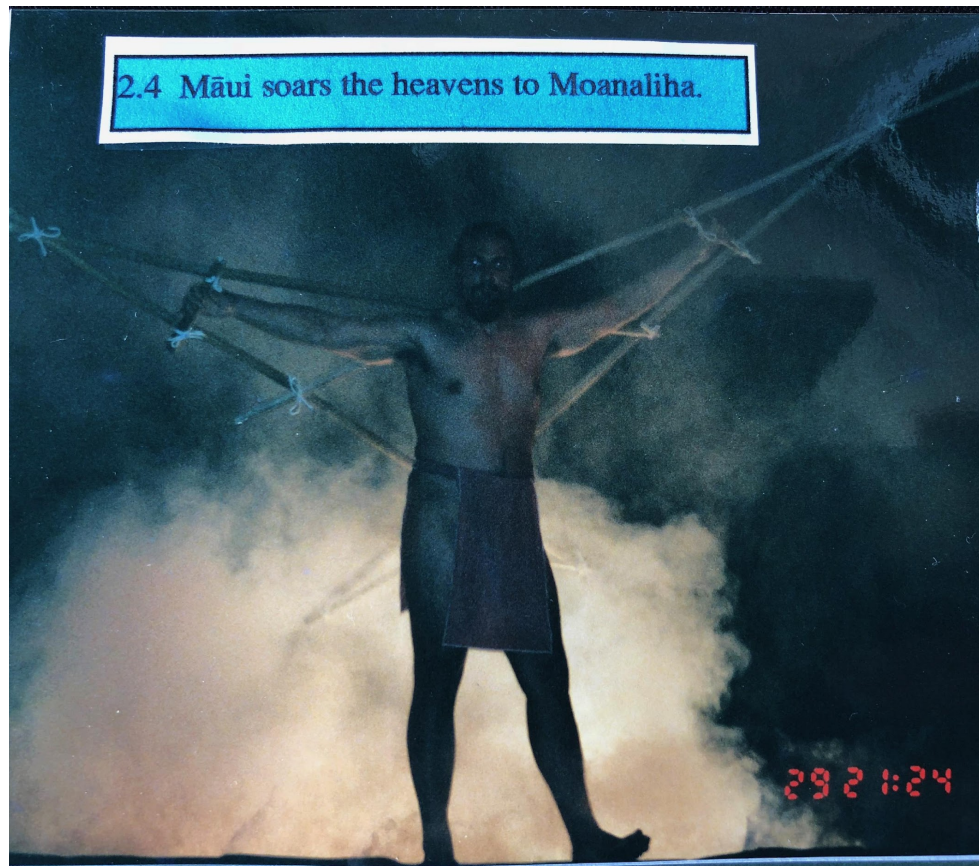


Figure 5.1: Māuiakamalo (Hoe) travels to Moanalaha, 1998.²²²

The encounter between these two men in Act II, Scene Four, began with inquiry and oratory. After that brief exchange they engage in a fighting sequence punctuated by a pahu drum. Māuiakamalo is triumphant and decapitates his opponent. The reenactment of this fight was choreographed with the knowledge of *lua* (Hawaiian martial arts). The decapitation was staged with a theatre prop, a mannequin head fashioned in the likes of the actor who played Pe‘ape‘amakawalu (Kekoa Wong). Hinakekā (Heidi Kaumaka McMillan Wong) is rescued and both she and Māui escape Moanalaha using the lupe to fly away. Both actors Hoe and McMillan Wong ascended the platforms using syncopated movement underscored by wind instruments while sharing the oversized lupe to travel back home. Lights

²²² Photo courtesy of author.

faded out as the actors reached the final and highest platform upstage center. The artistic decisions for staging this scene were heavily informed by the mo‘olelo.



Figure 5.2: *Māuiakamalo (Hoe) rescues his wahine, Hinakekā (McMillan-Wong), 1998.*²²³

The lines in our chants reaffirm major landmarks, events, and names of ancestors. For Kānaka Maoli that reaffirmation is our identity, it validates where we come from and who we are as a people. Another example of this is our understanding and the origin of the seasons. Māuiakamalo is the one who creates the two seasons that we have, *Kau* (summer) and *Ho‘oilo* (winter or rainy season). The creation of seasons is mentioned in the fifteenth era of the Kumulipo as one of Māui’s feats. In this section of the mo‘olelo his actions are attributed to his desire

²²³ Photo courtesy of author.

to slow down the sun so that his mother Hinaakeahi (Hau‘oli Busby) can dry her tapa cloth. This encounter with the sun is recorded in the following lines.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 2035. Kilika ke kaua a Maui i ka La | <i>Māui moves into war with the sun</i> |
| 2036. I kipuka ’ahele a Maui | <i>Into the lasso of Māui</i> |
| 2037. Lilo makali’i i ka La | <i>Winter season is given to the sun</i> |
| 2038. Lilo ke kau ia Maui | <i>The summer is Māui’s</i> |

In staging this feat of Māui’s we cast an actor as the sun, Kameha‘ililani Waiau, who entered the stage twice prior to the actual encounter with Māui. Since we decided to set the entire play on O‘ahu, Māui traveled to the peak of Heleakalā in Nānākuli as his grandmother Mahuie (Puanani Akim Tuulima) instructed him to do. In the staging Māui travels up the platforms and awaits the sun’s ascent. Using a stylized hula, the actor playing the sun entered the eastern side of the platforms and made their way to the center. There Māui lassoes the sun with a magical rope woven from his grandmother’s hair. The two struggle and negotiate a truce so that Māui who represented his people and the sun could coexist in harmony sharing resources. An agreement is made creating two seasons; Māui would preside over the season of kau, during that period known as the summer the sun would extend the hours of the day traveling slowly through the sky; and the time of Makali‘i, the ho‘oilo, ruled by the sun. This mo‘olelo has been passed down for generations by Kanaka Maoli families. Of interest here is the location of this event. The name for this mountain Heleakalā in Nānākuli is the exact site where Māui snared the sun. Heleakalā is often translated as ‘the path of the sun’ however the term *helea* means to tie, bind, lash, make fast; to make a noose, or to snare. The name of this mountain may also be interpreted as ‘be snared the sun.’ The act of snaring the sun is one of Māui’s major contributions to his people. This act is recognized to this day when ceremonies are observed for the changing of seasons.

The final lines of the fifteenth era connect Māui's birth and death to the 'āina from whence he comes. Line 2044, *'I Kahalu'u ka ewe i Waikane ka piko,*' places Māui's placenta in Kahalu'u and his *piko* (umbilical cord) in Waikāne. Line 2045 reads, *'Ha'ule i Hakipu'u i Kualoa,*' which translates as, he falls in Hakipu'u at Kualoa. This is where he leaves his human life and form. These locations were very important to us when we were working on this production for a number of reasons. First and foremost was the connection that many of us have with these places in the district of Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu. Perhaps no one experienced a stronger connection than Kelikokauaikekai Hoe who is from Hakipu'u and who portrayed Māuiakamalo. The Hoe family are lineal descendants from Hakipu'u and Kualoa from the time of the great navigator Kaha'i. It was through this family connection that we were able to expand our research and development of this play. For instance we were able to visit their family lands in Hakipu'u to observe the 'alae²²⁴ at the shrimp farm there. We spent time at Hakipu'u watching the 'alae for movement, sound, and the interactions among the 'alae in order to replicate those mannerisms on stage with the 'alae sisters. These visits also informed choices for character vocalizations and costume design, specifically textures and colors. In addition to learning about the 'alae movement for staging and character vocalization, this time spent at Hakipu'u deepened our connection and appreciation of the 'āina that we were led to through this mo'olelo. We were able to embody that appreciation in our performances for each retelling of the story paid homage to the land, the gods, and our ancestors. As the fifteenth era of the Kumulipo served as the framework for retelling this mo'olelo, we decided to open up the play with this section of the

²²⁴ Lines 2016. Kii [a]na ka alae nui a Hina [The large mud hen of Hina is fetched], and 2017. Ke kaikuahine manu [The bird sister], references the mud hens that Māui learns the secret of fire from.

Kumulipo chant. For each performance, lines 1975 through 2048 of the fifteenth era consecrated the stage and opened up the space for the retelling of Māuiakamalo’s story through our hana keaka. The chant also served as a means to pay tribute to the Ulu and Nanaulu genealogies, honoring all their descendants. Serendipitously through this choice we provided a synopsis of the mo‘olelo that served as a gateway into the realm of our ancestors. In closing this series of examples from the production of *Māuiakamalo*, I want to mention that the final three lines of the era are honorific celebrating Māui as a great descendant. The lines at the end of this era constitute the deification of Māui. Reciting these lines gives mana once again to Māuiakamalo, which in turn raises our consciousness of our roots and identity.

2046. O Maui-a-ka-malo	<i>Māui of the loincloth</i>
2047. O ka ho‘okala kupua o ka moku	<i>The magical one of island(s)</i>
2048. He moku no	<i>A chief indeed</i>

Since I have given several examples of mo‘olelo influencing hana keaka from the 1998 production of *Māuiakamalo: Ka Ho‘okala Kupua o ka Moku*, I would like to share an example from the 2004 production of *Kamapua‘a*. In the mo‘olelo of *Kamapua‘a* Pele pursues Kamapua‘a from afar while he is in Kahiki. During this section of the mo‘olelo the narrative includes a short chant that Kamapua‘a recites when he experiences Pele physically affecting him that prompts his to return to Hawai‘i. While Kamapua‘a sleeps, Pele creates a burning sensation in his eyes with the intention to not only disturb his slumber but to also force his departure from his wahine and child in Kahiki. Upon experiencing this agonizing pain Kamapua‘a calls out:

Ke ki‘i mai nei ke ahi a ke Akua wahine	<i>The fire of the goddess of Puna</i>
o Puna ia‘u e hele-	<i>is summoning me-</i>

E hele au ē- e hele au.	<i>I shall go- I shall go.</i>
E ho‘opale au i ka lā o Ha‘eha‘e ē-	<i>I shall ward off the sun of Ha‘eha‘e-</i>
‘O ke koili a ka lā aia ma Puna,	<i>It is in Puna where the sun beats</i>
	<i>down,</i>
Ma Puna ke aloha ē-	<i>In Puna the aloha-</i>
Aloha wale.	<i>Simply aloha.</i>

After chanting Kamapua‘a returns to sleep only to be awoken by a fiercer, scorching pain in his eyes that compels him to return to Hawai‘i. He chants:

Ke ki‘i mai ke ahi o ka pō ia‘u	<i>The fire of the night summons me</i>
E kono ia‘u e hele au	<i>It invites me to go</i>
E hele au.	<i>I must go.</i>
‘O ku‘u kino kai luhi,	<i>My body is exhausted,</i>
‘O ku‘u wāwae kai hu‘i i ka hele,	<i>My feet is what aches to go,</i>
E hele ana nō au.	<i>I shall go indeed.</i>

Maintaining these chants in the play reinforces a particular positioning of the mo‘olelo. The inclusion of the chants in the retelling of this mo‘olelo illustrates that Pele was indeed the one who first shows interest and pursues Kamapua‘a. This is in contrast to the popularized tales of Kamapua‘a and Pele that depict Kamapua‘a as a man who insistently pursues and exploits women. Both the Kahiolo version of this mo‘olelo, *He Moolelo no Kamapuaa*, printed in 1861 and the version published in *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* newspaper in 1891, *He Molelo Kaa no Kamapuaa*, present Pele as the instigator who incites their forthcoming volatile exchanges. These chants shared above are a vital part in understanding the relationship of these two characters. Leading to the next part of the story the chants also set up the subsequent series of interactions between Pele and Kamapua‘a.

In order to enhance the words in the chants above and physicalize Kamapua‘a’s experience during this segment of the play, we used a fog machine to

replicate *uahi* (smoke) creeping low on the stage into the suggested hale where Kamapua‘a and his family were sleeping. The *uahi* would have signaled the smoldering *ahi* (fire) sent by Pele. For the lighting we selected red and amber gels with gobo²²⁵ patterns to represent the fire and torment Kamapua‘a felt. The gobo patterns also added texture to the stage breaking up the stage area where the action took place. Sound was employed as well to enhance the scene. For our soundscape each character was given a signature instrument to represent their presence on stage. In this moment we slowly introduced Pele presence with a low rumbling pahu drum that seemed to invade Kamapua‘a’s peaceful slumber and home in Kahiki. The sound was yet another clue for the audience members to connect the *ahi* and *uahi* to the *akua wahine o Puna* (goddess of Puna) as referenced in Kamapua‘a’s chant. This particular scene of the play was built from all of the pieces of information that we pulled out of the mo‘olelo. We utilized text, sound, lighting, and special effects to create a visceral moment for the audience aiming to replicate the encounter that Kamapua‘a had with the *akua wahine* of Puna who enticed his return to Hawai‘i. The example above demonstrates how both the mo‘olelo narrative and the chants contained in that narrative guided the design and staging process for the hana keaka of *Kamapua‘a*.

5.4.3 No ka Wā o ka Mo‘olelo: Deciphering Temporal Indicators in Mo‘olelo

At this point I would like to touch upon a general observation that is made during the research process for hana keaka. As mentioned earlier, a primary resource during the research process is the massive repository of Hawaiian language newspapers left to us by our ancestors who were amazing producers and stewards of knowledge. In researching mo‘olelo I am always very mindful of the season that

²²⁵ In the theatre a gobo is a partial screen used in front of a spotlight to project a shape.

the mo‘olelo occurs in. The season is significant because it can dictate the types of events and practices that are acceptable during a particular time of the year. This information is essential for stage design and the crafting of the script. Expanding on the two major seasons given to us by Māui, our ho‘oilo season runs roughly from mid October to early February. This is a time dedicated to our god Lono in which the Makahiki, a time of renewal, takes place. Our other season kau spans from mid February into early October and is associated with our god Kū, the god of war and political strategy. I will now show how the seasons indicated in the mo‘olelo may inform artistic design choices for the hana keaka and the staging of those mo‘olelo.

My first example concerns transoceanic travel and travel protocols. As Epeli Hau‘ofa reminds us in his reconceptualization of the Pacific, *Our Sea of Islands*, the Pacific Ocean was a superhighway that our ancestors traveled regularly. Our people never considered large bodies of water an obstacle. In fact the ocean connected us as Pacific peoples. There were many reasons for transoceanic travel such as trade, visiting relatives, fishing, finding a mate, or seeking out new land. Evidence of a particular season in traditional stories such as the behaviors and protocols that the visitors and hosts observe may be extracted and analyzed. The exchanges that transpire between the travelers on these wa‘a and those situated on the islands are key pieces of information for this kind of study. Traditionally travel protocols are recognized and enforced with very little room for negotiation. In the story of Kamapuaa‘a, a *wa‘a ‘ula* or red canoe from the island of Maui carrying royalty approaches the windward side of O‘ahu. The wa‘a is stopped out at sea because of the kapu observed on land. During this time when the canoe approached Kāne‘ohe, temple building for the Ali‘i nui of O‘ahu, Olopana, was in progress. Olopana was the grandson of Maweke, expert navigator from Kahiki who settled in

O‘ahu and became a ruling chief. Kawa‘ewa‘e, the temple in progress was built during the twelfth century when Kamaunuaniho and her daughter Hina arrive on the royal canoe in Kāne‘ohe Bay. Following the indicators embedded in the mo‘olelo we deduce that this travel must have occurred during the season of Kū. The building of temples, especially sacrificial temples, would have only taken place during the season of Kū. The rendition of the mo‘olelo for Kamapua‘a published in *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* actually honed in further, with information provided in the mo‘olelo that identifies the moon phase in which the canoe disembarked from Maui traveling to O‘ahu. Each and every moon phase is significant, the characteristics of a moon could dictate and affect the practices or activities of the time.²²⁶ These signs or evidence in a mo‘olelo reveal important details for a deeper understanding of traditional times. All of this information guides the processes of theatre making from the development process, to rehearsals, staging, design, and even performances and touring.

I would like to share another example of deciphering time from a mo‘olelo that took place in the research and development process for the 2015 production of *Lā‘ieikawai*. This particular mo‘olelo contained frequent transoceanic travel up and down the Hawaiian island chain. In the retelling of this story in the Hawaiian language newspapers there are numerous clues about the seasons throughout the story. In example, ‘Aiwohikupua travels from the island of Kaua‘i to Kohala on Hawai‘i Island in pursuit of Lā‘ieikawai. When they arrive, ‘Aiwohikupua and his entourage eyewitnesses the gentlemen of Kohala engaged in sparring such as boxing and wrestling. The camaraderie described among the natives there after each

²²⁶ <http://kohalacenter.org/spawning-guide/culture-and-history/hawaiian-moon-phases> retrieved on 16 September 2018.

bout indicates that this is a friendly encounter of sparring. The descriptions of the events happening in Kohala at this time indicate that this is probably makahiki season, when warriors would be training through healthy competitions showcasing their skills. This knowledge obtained from the narrative of *Lā‘ieikawai* steered the design choices and staging for this scene.



*Figure 5.3: Sparring in Kohala during makahiki.*²²⁷

The lighting design color choices and patterns reflected the season of ho‘oilō indicated in the mo‘olelo. The set design created a space for the activities described in the mo‘olelo to unfold such as the use of the *hanamichi* to represent the ocean and travel across the sea. The *hanamichi* is an extra stage section used in Japanese kabuki theatre. It is a long, raised platform that runs, left of center, from the back of the theatre, through the audience, to connect with the main stage. The frequent ocean travel in this story required a designated space to symbolize the sea. The

²²⁷ Sparring scene in Act I of *Lā‘ieikawai*, 2015. Photo courtesy of Chesley Cannon.

hanamichi convention was an ideal way for us to suggest a passageway and to bridge the performance space between the house and the stage.



Figure 5.4: Set design model for Lā'ieikawai.²²⁸

The image above is a photo of the stage design model created by Set Designer Jennifer Eccles, MFA. The following image depicts Eccels' design realized on Kennedy Theatre stage.

²²⁸ Photo courtesy of author.



Figure 5.5: Set design realized on Kennedy Theatre Mainstage, 2015.²²⁹

In *Lā'ieikawai* there was also a surfing scene that took place on the hanamichi expanding the performance space into this ocean area that included the audience. In a sense the audience sitting in the house proper represented the islands in the vast ocean from where our kūpuna came. Featured here is the surfing hula where the dancers emulate the ocean as the two principal actors, Lā'ieikawai (Kau'ī Kaina) and Halaaniani (Ernest Kalikoaloha Martin), share an intimate moment while surfing on the billowing waves. Kumu Hula, Musician, and Haku Mele Kimo Keaulana composed the mele for this hula. Kumu Hula Keawe Lopes choreographed the hula.

²²⁹ Photo courtesy of Chesley Cannon.



Figure 5.6: Hula he‘enalu on hanamichi.²³⁰

5.4.4 Ma o ka Mo‘olelo: Theatre-Making Guided by Mo‘olelo

As I have shared here in the creation of hana keaka we allow the mo‘olelo to lead the theatre making processes. I believe that this is a Kanaka Maoli way of constructing theatre. Relying on the mo‘olelo to guide the work grounds hana keaka in an innately indigenous theatre aesthetic. The entire process is steeped in Kanaka Maoli beliefs and practices that undeniably creates a consciously Kanaka Maoli production for Kānaka Maoli. This does not exclude non-Kanaka Maoli from experiencing these productions however; our target audience is our people. There is a saying that has been floating around for a few years now; *Na ka Hawai‘i, no ka Hawai‘i* (By Hawaiians, for Hawaiians). The concept for us to create for ourselves is a powerful position that I have adopted as a mantra. This is one way in which we can reclaim our history, language, culture, and identity. Hana keaka is a movement to empower all of these aspects of Kanaka Maoli-ness. Staging productions based

²³⁰ Photo courtesy of Chesley Cannon.

on our mo‘olelo in our language for our people emboldens our identity and mana. The productions of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka have had an influence on present day Kanaka Maoli consciousness as the productions reinforce mo‘olelo, language, and identity. The audience response is perhaps the most important impact that modern day hana keeka has achieved. Mo‘olelo are reinvigorated by virtue of hana keeka performance and response is immediate. For example, students from the Kula Kaiapuni program who attended the production of *Lā‘ieikawai* in 2015, began singing the new compositions from the production minutes after the performance as they exited the theatre. The laughter, tears, recognition of mo‘olelo, and pride that the audience members have expressed during and following a hana keeka performance is testimony to the profound impact of this art form.

5.5 Panina: Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explain mo‘olelo and ka‘ao and detail the ways mo‘olelo and ka‘ao were passed down. We looked at oral tradition, the repository of Hawaiian language newspapers, and the collections of audio recordings of storytelling that are primary resources for mo‘olelo and current day research of mo‘olelo. The chapter then explored the impact of mo‘olelo on Kanaka Maoli consciousness. Finally the chapter described how mo‘olelo are utilized and portrayed in the hana keeka produced by Ka Hālau Hanakeeka.

Chapter 6

Kū‘auhau

6.1 Wehena: Chapter Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to define the concept and practice of *kū‘auhau* (genealogy) for Kānaka Maoli. Beginning with the epistemology of *kū‘auhau*, I will draw from oral tradition and nineteenth century Hawaiian language newspapers to illustrate the role and function of *kū‘auhau* in traditional society. I will then move into modern day application of *kū‘auhau* and the impact that *kū‘auhau* has on Kanaka Maoli consciousness. There will be a brief discussion on the *kū‘auhau* of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka followed by examples to illustrate the portrayal of *kū‘auhau* in the work of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka.

6.2 No ke Kū‘auhau: Defining Kū‘auhau

The term *kū‘auhau* for Kānaka Maoli is synonymous with the Māori concept of *whakapapa* referring to genealogy and lineage. As a fundamental principle in Kanaka Maoli epistemology, *kū‘auhau* is our connection to our ancestors that includes our *akua*, *‘āina*, *ali‘i*, and *kānaka*. The *Kumulipo* is an illustration of a primary source for this paradigm of our genealogical connection to all living things. Simply stated *kū‘auhau* is our identity defining who we are and where we come from. It is also through *kū‘auhau* that we have access to knowledge and learning processes that traditionally we were born into. In her book *Native Land and Foreign Desires Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?*, Likikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, the leading scholar on Kanaka Maoli genealogy, uses *kū‘auhau* as the framework for revealing the infamous expropriation of Kanaka Maoli lands by the Euro-American foreigners.

In the opening chapter she defines the relationship of Kanaka Maoli identity to the ‘āina, which is one’s genealogy.

Hawaiian identity is, in fact, derived from the Kumulipo, the great cosmogonic genealogy. Its essential lesson is that every aspect of the Hawaiian concept of the world is related by birth, and as such, all parts of the Hawaiian world are one indivisible lineage. Conceived in this way, the genealogy of the Land, the Gods, Chiefs, and people intertwine with one another, and with all the myriad aspects of the universe. For if someone were to ask a Hawaiian, “Who are you?” he or she could only meaningfully answer by referring to his or her beginnings, to his or her genealogy and lineage, which is like a map that guides each Hawaiian’s relationship with the world. In traditional times, Hawaiians patterned their behavior after the ancestral example found in their genealogy. Today, we Hawaiians use genealogical relationships to establish our collective identity via a social network of extended *‘ohana* (family). Our shared genealogy helps us define our *Lāhui* (nation) as an entity distinct from the waves of foreigners that have inundated our islands. (1992, pp. 2-3)

As Kame‘eleihiwa explains, *kū‘auhau* is the fiber that connects all Kānaka Maoli, we are united as a *lāhui* because of our genealogy. Through *kū‘auhau* we find our identity and ultimately our place in this world that is intrinsically connected to our lineage. Knowing one’s *kū‘auhau* establishes a firm foundation for the individual to draw from and grow. This foundation is a source of personal *mana* playing an integral part in self-awareness, self-worth, and self-confidence. It is through understanding our *kū‘auhau*, our *mo‘olelo* and the many complex connections that exist by means of *kū‘auhau*, that we are able link in to a network of ancestral *mana* that contributes to the interconnected Kanaka Maoli world. *ho‘omanawanui* reiterates Kame‘eleihiwa’s position connecting *kū‘auhau* to worldview. She writes:

Kanaka Maoli are genealogically related to our ‘āina, literally born from the land. Kumulipo establishes Kanaka Maoli as the younger siblings of the ‘āina (represented as gods); embodied as ali‘i, they were intermediaries between the people and the divine. Within this framework of cosmological kinship, a sense of pono—balance, harmony, dualism—is an integral part of Kanaka Maoli worldview. (ho‘omanawanui, 2014, p. 6)

The dualism spoken of here is in the *pō* (darkness) and *ao* (light) that make up the Kumulipo as well as the kāne and wahine attributes in this cosmogonic origin story. The concepts put forth by ho‘omanawanui about pono depicts a society that strives for *lōkahi* (harmony), which is a major tenet of Kanaka Maoli worldview and practices. Our worldview is based on complex philosophies that are all connected to our land that we descend from; Papahānaumoku (Mother Earth) and Wākea (Sky Father). Professor Daviana Pōmaika‘i McGregor has written about how worldview and culture are connected to the wellbeing of Kānaka Maoli (2003). Her ecological model for wellbeing depicts the link between ‘āina wellbeing to the nation, community, ‘ohana, and the individual Kanaka Maoli. Returning to and healing the ‘āina is a reciprocal process for healing and strengthening kanaka identity and self. The connection here with kū‘auhau is reflective of our value systems, i.e., caring for our elders in this case the ‘āina. The topic of genealogy resonates with many Kanaka Maoli scholars today some of which have used kū‘auhau as the methodology in their academic research and publications such as Maya Kawaihana Saffery, Associate Specialist at Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, who writes about her personal genealogy and hula lineage in *Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Methodologies* published by University of Hawai‘i Press. She echoes the claims of

Kame‘eleihiwa and ho‘omanawanui, while putting forth the practice of genealogy as a means to acquire mana and strengthen identity.

Genealogy has and always will be a cornerstone of our Hawaiian worldview. It is through genealogy that my ancestors articulated the creation of the world from darkness to the coral polyps, the creators of the ocean and land, the gods, and eventually the first human. It is through genealogy that my people understand our familial and reciprocal relationship to the natural world including the land, sea, sky, and all creatures that live in these environments. It is through genealogy and spiritual practices that the great chiefs of Hawai‘i validated their authority to rule and questioned the authority of their rivals. It is through genealogy that the histories of our ancestors are remembered, reenacted, and readjusted in the present time by their descendants for the purposes of acquiring mana and strengthening identity (Kame‘eleihiwa 1992; Kikiloi 2012). (Saffery, 2015, pp. 112-113)

Saffery denotes that the idea of knowing one’s genealogy as a means to empower one’s identity is not a new concept. Citing Kame‘eleihiwa and Kikiloi for their contributions on this subject, she reaffirms the practice of remembering, reenacting, and readjusting genealogical stories. Kū‘auhau is the bedrock of Kanaka Maoli society. It informs us of our history and our genetic makeup. Silva quotes Kame‘eleihiwa’s discussion on the practical applications of kū‘auhau stating that:

The genealogies *are* the Hawaiian concept of time, and they order the space around us. Through them we learn of the exploits and identities of our ancestors...Even though the great genealogies are of the Ali‘i Nui and not of the commoners, these Ali‘i Nui are the collective ancestors, and their mo‘olelo...are histories of all Hawaiians, too. (Silva, 2004, p. 93)

Through the *Kumulipo* and other genealogical chants we can implement systems for charting the order and time, of historical events such as migrations and the births of ali'i to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of our history. Kame'elehiwa points out that kū'auhau is the Kanaka Maoli way of organizing our world as opposed to the linear western timeline. For Kānaka Maoli mo'olelo are embedded in the recitation of kū'auhau and are equally important.

The practice of *ha'i kupuna* (reciting genealogy) is a centerpiece in Kanaka Maoli oratory that over time made its way to written forms. In traditional times kū'auhau would have been chanted at a child's birth, especially the birth of ali'i. For example the *Kumulipo* was recited to sanctify the birth of Kalaninui'ī'iamamao honoring his sacred lineage. Born to Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku and Lonoma'aikanaka the child was named by his paternal grandfather Lonoikamakahiki and his grandmother. The *Kumulipo* was recited as a *pule ho'ola'a* (prayer of sanctity) for this occasion that ushered the new royal child into this realm honoring his chiefly lineage. Kalaninui'ī'iamamao, also known as Ka'ī'iamamao, eventually became the Ali'i Nui of Hawai'i Island and his son Kalani'ōpu'u reigned as Ali'i Nui as well. Kalākaua linked himself to this genealogy to prove his royal lineage when it was questioned. He organized the performance of the *Kumulipo* that was passed down to him as a transcription recorded by one of Kalākaua's ancestors and later translated by Lili'uokalani. Knowing the value of kū'auhau and how the mana of the ali'i was validated through kū'auhau, Kalākaua appointed Po'omaikelani, older sister of his wife Kapi'olani, to establish and lead Ka Papa Kū'auhau o nā Ali'i (Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs Board) in 1880. Silva explains, "One of the main reasons for these goals was to identify the ali'i nui and verify their genealogical claims, which constituted claims

to leadership such as appointments to the House of Nobles” (2004, p. 94). The establishment of this board preceded Kalākaua’s reinterpretation of the Hale Nauā in 1886 as an effort to further preserve and document genealogies, kahuna practices, and all aspects of cultural practices and beliefs. These were vanishing all too rapidly during this period of influx of malihini to the Pae ‘Āina, and the attempts of haole foreigners to take control of the government. It is believed that Kalākaua was inspired by the Masonic movement in Europe and that resulted in this iteration of the Hale Nauā, referred to by some as the “Temple of Sciences.” Ali‘i Nui Haho of Maui, son of Paumakua, established the initial Hale Nauā in the 11th century to receive the genealogical credentials of persons desiring admittance to the ‘Aha Ali‘i (Council of Chiefs) or “to come under the protection of the tribe proper.”²³¹ According to oral tradition, the Hale Nauā of 1886²³² was forced underground when Kalākaua died in 1891. The study of kū‘auhau was at the core of this organization as was the Papa Kū‘auhau Ali‘i o nā Ali‘i Hawai‘i. The search to find and verify ali‘i descendants was of great importance to Kalākaua and he made sure that the establishment of this board and its duties were released to the public, which consisted of advertisements in the newspaper. Kalākaua empowered Po‘omaikelani and her team to mobilize and document the existing ali‘i of the time. Silva discusses this endeavor in depth in her book *Aloha Betrayed*. Below is one such advertisement that spells out the responsibilities and tasks the board were to undertake.

²³¹ <http://www.punawelewele.com/halepai/kepakemapa/kepakemapa10a.htm> retrieved on 3 May 2018.

²³² In 1973, Rocky Ka‘iouiokahihikolo‘ehu Jensen, descendant from various members of Kalakaua's original group, re-established Hale Nauā. By means of contemporary visual arts, lectures, literature, and films, the members spread awareness and appreciation of Hawaiian philosophy, culture, and traditions. During the past two decades, the society had coordinated and presented more than 100 exhibits, sponsored seminars & lectures, published cultural books, involved itself with native galleries, and consulted with documentary & feature film producers. To establish a native perspective, Hale Nauā continues to re-translate old manuscripts and document genealogies & family histories. It also remains active in the language, symbols, and traditions of the Kānaka Maoli (Hale Pai Pacific American-News Journal, 1996).

The principal duties of the Board shall be, viz: 1. - To gather, revise, correct and record the Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs. 2. - To gather, revise, correct and record all published and unpublished Ancient Hawaiian History. 3. - To gather, revise, correct and record all published and unpublished Meles, and also to ascertain the object and spirit of the Meles, the age and the History of the period when composed and to note the same on the Record Book. 4. - To record all the tabu customs of the Mois and chiefs. (Quoted in Silva, 2004, p. 94)

In 1883 Po‘omaikelani, president of Papa Kū‘auhau Ali‘i, and the secretary of the board J.A. Nāhaku advertised an open call for Kānaka Maoli to submit their genealogy to be reviewed and recorded in a forthcoming book on all of the ali‘i descendants. The advertisement states that each Monday for the entire year kanaka with a chiefly pedigree were invited to submit their genealogy for review at the board’s business office on the Palace grounds. The image below is from the 1883 newspaper *Ka Elele*. Translation is provided below.

KUAUHAU ALII.

Ke hoolaha a ke hōkēia aku nei ka lehu-lehu, ua nūkaūkūka ka Papa Kuauhau Alii e nōho e hoolohie i nō kuauhau o ka poe e waiho mai ana i ka lakou mau moō-kūauhau e pili ana i ka Papa Alii, i na Poakahi mua o kela me keia mālama o ka makahiki, me ka waiho pu ana mai i ka papa kuauhau me ka moō-ka, e hoopas ana i ke kuauhau pe- nei.

MAKUAHANE ——— MAKUAHINE
 KUPUNAKANE ——— KUPUNAWAHINE
 KUALUAKANE ——— KUALUAWAHINE
 KUAKOLUKANE ——— KUAKOLUWAHINE

A pela aku a ke kumu e hiki ana i ka mea kuauhau ke hoike.

E hoolaha a e hookawale ia nā no ka wa a me ka manawa e hele mai ai ka poe kua i ka papa kuauhau, e hoopuka ia aku ana, o ka poe i pannaau na moolelo kahiko a me na mēle, e hele mai no. E hookawale ia no ka manawa no lakou ke hele mai ma ke Kēua Oihana o ka Papa Kuauhau Alii, ma ka Pa Alii ma ke kulanakauhale o Honolulu, Oahu. E hoomaka ana mai ka hora 9 o ke kakahiaka, a hiki i ka hora 2 o ka auina la o na Poakahi i olelo mua ia.

Kakouinoa ia i keia la 26 o Iune, M. H. 1883. J A NAHAKU,
 Kakauolelo o ka Papa Kuauhau Alii o Ha-
 waii. Apono ia:
 POOMAIKELANI,
 Peresideng.

iul 4 '83 6m

Figure 6.1: Kū‘auhau Ali‘i call to public, 1883.²³³

[ROYAL GENEALOGIES.]

It is being advertised and shown to the public that the Board of Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs [Papa Kuauhau Alii] is prepared to hear the genealogies of those who put forward their pedigree as related to the Chiefly Class, every first Monday of the months of the year, where they put before us the clear genealogy written down in this fashion:

²³³ *Ka Elele*, 1 August 1883, p. 4.

FATHER [makuakane]—— MOTHER [makuahine]

*GRANDFATHER [kupunakane] —— GRANDMOTHER
[kupunawahine]*

*GREAT GRANDFATHER [kualuakane] —— GREAT
GRANDMOTHER [kualuawahine]*

*GREAT GREAT GRANDFATHER [kuakolukane]—— GREAT
GREAT GRANDMOTHER [kuakoluwahine]*

And so forth until the earliest that the genealogist can show.

A notice will be given and time will be set aside for those who object to the genealogies that will be published, for those who know the old stories and mele, you come as well. Time will be set aside for them to come to the Business Office of the Papa Kuauhau Alii, on the Palace Grounds in the town of Honolulu, Oahu. Commencing at 9 o'clock in the morning, until 2 o'clock in the afternoon on the Mondays mentioned previously.

*Signed on this day the 26th of June, 1883. J. A. Nahaku,
Secretary of the Papa Kuauhau Alii. Approved by:
Poomaikelani,
President.] (Ka Elele, 1 August 1883, p. 4)*

The following year, 1884, a 59 page book, *Ka Papa Kū‘āuhau o nā Ali‘i*, was published with all of the genealogies that Po‘omaikelani and her team had collected through the monthly recording sessions advertised above. This act was a means of promoting kū‘āuhau to (re)claim mana over the Pae ‘Aina o Hawai‘i and *Ke Aupuni Mō‘ī* (the Kingdom). As testament to this display of mana by the ali‘i, ho‘omanawanui writes, “Beyond the onslaught of Western invasion, traditional

‘Ōiwi society was organized around mo‘okū‘auhau and the kinship between the ‘āina, akua, ali‘i, and maka‘āinana (the working class)” (ho‘omanawanui, 2014, p. 7). Kū‘auhau was a means to unite as a lāhui promoting Kanaka Maoli ideology and stimulating consciousness. The focus and social discourse around substantiating kū‘auhau ali‘i in the 1880’s lent itself to engaging dialogue and forthright responses in the ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i newspapers that continued through the early 1900’s. For instance, letters were written to the newspaper editors and published verifying kū‘auhau while others demanded the correction of kū‘auhau presented by imposters who falsely claimed genealogical lineages that were not theirs. In November 1901 an article was published in *Home Rula Repubalika* that called out the misrepresentation of certain royal genealogies. The article was entitled “*Ke Kū‘auhau Ho‘opunipuni,*” [Deceitful Genealogy] and opens with the following statement:

Ua puka hou aenei ma ka Advertiser o ka la 5 nei ke kuauhau hakuwale no Emma Detries. No ka nui o ka lalau, ua waiwai ole ka pane ana ku. Aka, e hoike aku wau maanei i kahi mahele o ua alaala palu nei. (*Home Rula Repubalika*, 6 November 1901)

[*The falsified genealogy of Emma Detries has been published again in the Advertiser on the 5th (of November). Because there is such misleading information, there is no value in responding. However, I will show here a section of this worthless bait.*]

The article follows with a clear recitation of kū‘auhau linked to ‘āina from whence the ali‘i came indicating exactly where the false claims of lineage occurred. The article closes with a rhetorical question to the populace, “*Ahea pau ae na hana epa wale au e Hawaii?*” [When will these acts of deception end, Hawai‘i?]. This article

demonstrates the steadfast determination of Kānaka Maoli to properly represent their kū‘auhau as it is the defining aspect of their identity.

6.3 No ka ‘Iliina Kū‘auhau: How Kū‘auhau Impacts on Kanaka Maoli Consciousness?

Professor Noenoe Silva writes that, “The age and artistry of the *Kumulipo* were and are sources of pride and identity for the Kanaka Maoli” (2004, p. 98). As discussed above the *Kumulipo* is the fundamental source that accords Kānaka Maoli the distinctive characteristics of our identity, which positions us in this world and in our society. This positioning of selfhood is intrinsically connected to our awareness and consciousness as Kānaka Maoli. To quote the great Maya Angelou, “If you don't know where you've come from, you don't know where you're going.”²³⁴ Having a sense of our history, language, religion, and cultural practice is crucial for understanding our cultural heritage and identity.

Cultural heritage affirms our identity as a people because it creates a comprehensive framework for the preservation of cultural heritage including cultural sites, old buildings, monuments, shrines, and landmarks that have cultural significance and historical value. Culture and its heritage reflect and shape values, beliefs, and aspirations, thereby defining a people’s national identity. It is important to preserve our cultural heritage, because it keeps our integrity as a people.²³⁵

The quote above taken from a forum on preserving culture and heritage in Istanbul Turkey, resonates with the efforts of Kānaka Maoli to preserve knowledge and to uphold our integrity as the indigenous people of the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i, who are

²³⁴ *The Very Best of Maya Angelou: The Voice of Inspiration* by Frank Johnson, 2014.

²³⁵(http://amf.net.au/library/uploads/files/Diversity_Matters_Forum_overview_and_theme_summaries_2014.pdf retrieved on 5 May 2018)

all to often ignored or marginalized in the social discourse of today. Kū‘auhau demands integrity; in practice and in theory. Kū‘auhau is a pillar for Kānaka Maoli that we honor and draw strength from, for the cognizance of our history and ancestors propels us into our future endeavors.

In thinking about kū‘auhau there is a tendency to become fixated with the past and the ancients who lived during that time, however Kanahale in his book *Kū Kanaka* on a section about genealogy stated, “The knowledge of ourselves is not limited to the past...” (GHS Kanahale, 1986, p. 5). Kanahale’s theory here is similar to the words of Angelou connecting the understanding of our ancestors and history to project into the future. Our endeavor to maintain the knowledge and legacy of our ancestors allows their kū‘auhau to manifest through our descendants in times to come. Kū‘auhau is in the present and the future; it is not restricted to the time of our kūpuna and past events. We do however look back for guidance on contemporary issues, which can inform future practices and outcomes. In addition to conveying our genealogy, kū‘auhau also represents a massive repository of knowledge accumulated by our kūpuna.

6.3.1 No ke Ala e Loa‘a ai ka ‘Ike: Access to Knowledge

I would like to transition here to discuss how access to knowledge is made possible through kū‘auhau. In traditional times it was very common for individuals to be born into a discipline upheld by their family members. That child would be reared with regular exposure to the skills and knowledge that are required to practice that discipline. Kanaka Maoli historian Zepherin “Kapelino” Kahō‘āli‘i Keauokalani (c. 1830 – c. 1878) explained:

Ka poe moolelo, oia ka poe nana e malama pololei na moolelo
aupuni a pau, a e hoopaa naau a paa pono i ole ai e nalowale ka

moolelo o kela kau keia kau, kela alii keia alii. Oi ka hana a ka poe moolelo; a oia welo, he welo hanau.²³⁶ (In Beckwith, 2007, p. 135)

[*The Historians or Poe-mo'o-olelo, were persons who kept correctly all the genealogies of each district, memorizing them all well so as not to lose the record of each chief from generation to generation. The family of genealogists was born to the post.*] (Beckwith 2007, p. 134)

In the passage above Kepelino speaks to the discipline or order of *po'e mo'olelo* (historians and genealogists) to explain the practice of maintaining knowledge within a particular family line. The same is said about *mahi'ai* (farmers), *lawai'a* (fisherman), *kahuna kālai wa'a* (master canoe carvers), and so forth (Malo, 1951). To be reared as *po'e mo'olelo* is a privilege that would require years of study and training in order to obtain the knowledge in a particular family's repository. The *mo'olelo* are an inheritance and legacy that survive because of the commitment to preserve that knowledge and observe the *kapu* that is part and parcel of assuming that repository of knowledge. That being said, *kū'auhau* grants access to bodies of knowledge that may be retrieved by an individual of that genealogical line. It is with this traditional understanding that many contemporary Kanaka Maoli institutions uphold a policy of *kū'auhau* to enter the institution and acquire training and knowledge. That is, in order to be considered and admitted or given membership an individual must provide their birth certificate to authenticate their *kū'auhau Hawai'i*. In some cases it is necessary to provide three to four generations of birth certificates to verify your *kū'auhau Hawai'i* and be declared as Kanaka

²³⁶ Extracted from *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*, transcribed and translated by Martha Warren Beckwith.

Maoli. I mention these institutions here because each in its own way performs an act of sovereignty purely by way of its existence.

One of the most recognizable and the largest Kanaka Maoli serving educational institution that requires kū‘auhau to be considered for enrollment. Kamehameha Schools admissions policy is set up “to give preference to applicants of Hawaiian ancestry to the extent permitted by law.”²³⁷ It is the birthright of all Kānaka Maoli to apply to Kamehameha Schools and the many scholarships for higher education that the institution offers. In recent years the admissions policy was challenged in the Hawai‘i State judiciary system when a non-Hawaiian child with falsified records applied and was accepted to the school. Upon investigation of the genealogical claims the child was denied enrollment and his mother filed a suit of discrimination against Kamehameha Schools. However, the legacy of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop preserved through Pauahi’s wills that stated her estate and lands were to be used to educate “nā pua o Hawai‘i” [Hawaiian children]. Her intentions are clear as she states the school should be, “giving the preference to Hawaiians of pure or part aboriginal blood.”²³⁸ The Ho‘oulu Database was established soon after the court cases to create a full proof system of verifying Kanaka Maoli genealogy. Kamehameha Schools is one of the wealthiest landowners; its current endowment is valued at \$11.1 billion dollars.²³⁹ The estate of Ke Ali‘i Pauahi continues to impact the lives of thousands of young Kānaka Maoli each year striving for excellence and the betterment of Kānaka Maoli.

²³⁷ <http://apps.ksbe.edu/admissions/k-12-admissions/> retrieved on 19 September 2018.

²³⁸ https://www.ksbe.edu/about_us/about_pauahi/will/ retrieved on 19 September 2018.

²³⁹ <https://www.bizjournals.com/pacific/news/2016/01/05/kamehameha-schools-endowment-reaches-11-1b-annual.html> retrieved on 19 September 2018.

The other institutions that uphold a kū‘āuhau policy for its members are a collective of social organizations, religious groups, and cultural associations. The examples I discuss here are a sampling of the institutions that I am familiar with and others may in fact exist. Lili‘uokalani Trust, formally known as the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center, was established to uphold the mission of Queen Lili‘ūokalani which was “to ensure the wellbeing of Hawaiian children and ‘ohana.”²⁴⁰ The institution provides child and family services for Kānaka Maoli who are the beneficiaries of this trust. Land rich Lili‘uokalani Trust has set up *Kīpuka* (children’s centers, literally an opening in the forest, an oasis) in communities across the Pae ‘Āina to serve the diverse needs of each community. Some of the programs include youth development, case management, ‘ohana strengthening, grief, loss and trauma support, financial stability, arts education, and ‘āina education programs. All services and outreach provided to Kānaka Maoli through Lili‘uokalani Trust “is supported by revenues and income derived from the trust’s real estate holdings and investments; no fees are charged for services to beneficiary children and their families.”²⁴¹

The ‘Aha Hīpu‘u is a modern consortium of four Royal Hawaiian Benevolent Societies – The Royal Order of Kamehameha I, The ‘Ahahui Ka‘ahumanu, The Hale O Nā Ali‘i O Hawai‘i, and The Daughters and Sons of Hawaiian Warriors – Māmakakaua. The original establishment of the ‘Aha Hīpu‘u finds its origin in Hāna, Maui in 400 A.D. around the time of one of the final migration from the South Pacific to the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i.²⁴² According to the

²⁴⁰ <http://onipaa.org/pages/what-we-do> retrieved on 8 May 2018.

²⁴¹ <http://onipaa.org/pages/programs> retrieved on 8 May 2018.

²⁴² <http://www.ahahipuu.org/about/> retrieved on 8 May 2018.

Royal Societies website,²⁴³ oral history tells of the formation of the ‘Aha Hīpu‘u by a group of kahuna nui who were fearful that “the contemporaries of that period would turn their backs on the true traditions left in their care.”²⁴⁴ Since the origination of this group there have been multiple attempts to reinstitute the ‘Aha. First in 1865 by Lot Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V) along side of his establishment of The Royal Order of Kamehameha I to honor the legacy of his grandfather Kamehameha the Great. Kapuāiwa coupled his society with the Ka‘ahumanu Society that his sister Princess Victoria Kamamalu founded in 1863. Other attempts to re-establish the ‘Aha Hīpu‘u occurred in 1902 led by Prince Kūhiō, who reorganizes the Royal Societies while developing the Hawaiian Civic Clubs and then in 1948 by a group of Hawaiian organizations. The current iteration of the ‘Aha Hīpu‘u was formed in 2003. It is an active society with regular activities that serves as an umbrella organization for the four societies that have been bound together through this hīpu‘u (tied together as a lei or bond of matrimony). Kānaka Maoli lead all of the Royal Societies referenced here and membership is by invitation only presumably restricted to those with kū‘auhau ali‘i.

After the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani in 1893, The Royal Order of Kamehameha I was declared a threat by the provisional government forcing the Order to go underground like Kalākaua’s Hale Nauā. The Royal Societies experienced a rebirth in 1902 under the leadership of Prince Kūhiō who supported the development of new civic clubs, the Daughters and Sons of Hawaiian Warriors- ‘Ahahui o nā Māmakakaua²⁴⁵ in 1912, and Hale O Nā Ali‘i O Hawai‘i re-

²⁴³ <http://www.ahahipuu.org/about/> retrieved on 19 September 2018.

²⁴⁴ <http://www.ahahipuu.org/about/> retrieved on 8 May 2018.

²⁴⁵ Today, Māmakakaua is a non-profit organization dedicated to perpetuating Hawaiian principles, crafts, traditions, and Hawaiian education. Also, to support the restoration of the Royal Mausoleum.

established in 1918.²⁴⁶ Today The Royal Order of Kamehameha I is a robust society with nine chapters²⁴⁷ across the archipelago. The organization “continues to guard, maintain, and preserve the rituals and the memory of the ruling Chiefs of Hawaii.”²⁴⁸ The ‘Ahahui Ka‘ahumanu continues as well with nine chapters similar to the Royal Order. The ‘Ahahui Ka‘ahumanu’s work is devoted “to commemorate important historical figures of Hawaiian heritage,” and “provides it members financial assistance for medical needs, death benefits, and operates a cemetery for its members.”²⁴⁹ The Royal Societies maintain and uphold traditional knowledge which is passed down to its members as a part of perpetuating the legacy of the ali‘i. That legacy and all of the mo‘olelo that hold the history of our ali‘i are accessible to the members of these organizations with kū‘auhau ali‘i, genealogy is a means to access knowledge. In addition to the Royal Societies, the Hawaiian Civic Clubs are a confederation of 58 civic clubs across the islands and in ten states in America. The vision of the civic clubs is to “Remain a recognized voice of the Native Hawaiian people and make the organization self-sustaining.”²⁵⁰ The mission points to ideals of self-governance, it reads “Serve with pono in advocacy of culture,

²⁴⁶ Kalākaua originally established Hale O Nā Ali‘i O Hawai‘i in 1886 as the Hale Nauā Scientific Society. Led today by Princess Abigail Wahīka‘ahu‘ula Kawānanakoa the organization aims to preserves and celebrates our culture by carrying on the practices our ancestors while honoring our ali‘i, or chiefs and royals, in addition to providing bereavement benefits to members. For further information see <http://www.haleonaalii.com/ahahuipo-o/about/>.

²⁴⁷ Moku o Hawai‘i – Chapter 1 (Central O‘ahu)
Moku o Māmalahoa – Chapter 2 (Hilo, Hawai‘i)
Moku O Kaumuali‘i – Chapter 3 (Kaua‘i)
Moku O Kahekili – Chapter 4 (Maui)
Moku O Kalaniana‘ole – Chapter 5 (Moloka‘i)
Moku O Kūhiō – Chapter 6 (Windward O‘ahu)
Moku O Kona – Chapter 7 (Kona, Hawai‘i)
Moku O Kapuāiwa – Chapter 8 (Leeward O‘ahu)
Moku O Kohala – Chapter 9 (Kohala, Hawai‘i)

²⁴⁸ (<http://www.ahahipuu.org/about/royal-order-of-kamehameha-i/> retrieved on 9 May 2018).

²⁴⁹ (<https://www.guidestar.org/profile/99-0105426> retrieved on 9 May 2018).

²⁵⁰ (<https://www.aohcc.org/index.php/en/> retrieved on 9 May 2018).

health, economic development, education, social welfare and nationhood.”²⁵¹ The civic clubs are very active and visible in the community today regularly organizing events and fundraising for projects focused on the betterment of Kānaka Maoli. All of these organizations that I have mentioned here are kū‘auhau based, members are unified and driven to uphold the missions of these organizations because of their kū‘auhau.

In researching the early productions of hana keaka, many of these organizations are frequently associated with the performances that were created in the late 1800’s into the 1900’s (see the timeline in Chapter 4 for a complete listing of performances organized by these societies). The Kanaka Maoli theatrical history accounts for ‘aha mele (concerts), tabalō (tableau performances), hana keaka (plays), Ka Pō Le‘a o Halāli‘i (nights of entertainments), and hō‘ike (shows). A good majority of these theatrical events were in fact sponsored by, organized by, and/or performed by the organizations mentioned above. This is further verification that those theatrical productions were indeed Kanaka Maoli initiated and led endeavors in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

I want to mention two other organizations that require kū‘auhau for training in martial arts and spiritual practices. The art of lua (Hawaiian martial arts) continues to be maintained in two *pā lua* (martial arts schools) strictly for those of Kanaka Maoli descent. This vow to uphold a policy for learning based on kū‘auhau stems from traditional practices that preserves the ‘ihi and kapu of learning for those who are selected to study an art or skill. At a conference on language translation and repositories of knowledge in February 2018, Dr. Kalehua Krug talked about knowledge learning as a sacred process. Krug stated that kapu and ‘ihi must be

²⁵¹ (<https://www.aohcc.org/index.php/en/> retrieved on 9 May 2018).

observed in Kanaka Maoli learning processes, which is the burden of acquiring knowledge that we carry as Kānaka Maoli. Our learning processes require specific protocols to enter the space of learning and throughout the different phases of that learning. These protocols and learning systems are the very essence of our culture. Pā Ku‘i a Lua and Pā Ku‘i a Holo are two schools of Kanaka Maoli martial arts that continues the practices passed down from their lua master, Charles W. Kenn. Kenn was born in 1907 learning the art of lua “from several teachers—including two who had trained at a royal lua school established by King Kalakaua in the late 1800s.”²⁵² In 1978 he “anointed his five students as olohe (literally "hairless," because the bodies of master warriors used to be plucked bare and oiled to prevent an enemy from obtaining a sure grip).”²⁵³ Kenn’s students Richard Paglinawan, Jerry Walker, Mitchell and Dennis Eli, and Moses Kalauokalani head the two pā lua today and are considered to be the masters of today. Upon the five assuming the role of ‘ōlohe Kenn, “required of them a promise that they would teach lua only to Hawaiians, to help restore their connection with their culture.”²⁵⁴ Both pā continue to honor this oath by maintaining the strict kū‘auhau policy till this day training men and women of Kanaka Maoli descent. In the world of lua, it is a privilege to be invited to be in the presence of the ‘ōlohe, and to be trained in the art that was developed by the akua and was passed down from ancient warriors generation after generation. The training comes with kapu, ‘ihi, and pride that imbue an intrinsic connection to great lineage of Kānaka Maoli.

²⁵² <https://hanahou.com/6.2/way-of-the-warrior> retrieved on 19 September 2018.

²⁵³ <https://hanahou.com/6.2/way-of-the-warrior> retrieved on 19 September 2018.

²⁵⁴ <https://hanahou.com/6.2/way-of-the-warrior> retrieved on 19 September 2018.

The Hale Mua is a similar institution to that of the pā lua requiring kū‘auhau for membership and training. The modern-day Hale Mua is based on the traditional Hale Mua that was

...the institution where Hawaiian men learned the roles and responsibilities of being a successful father, husband, and warrior, and basic occupations like farming and fishing. Elders and master practitioners served as educators. This emphasized moral character development and adherence to kapu (taboos) governing forbidden or inappropriate behavior. The education received in the Hale Mua also encouraged the preservation and maintenance of mana (power). By sustaining one's mana, each kāne fulfilled his kuleana (responsibilities) by honoring his kūpuna (elders).²⁵⁵

Today the Hale Mua endeavors to address “the issues of socio-cultural disconnectedness and increased health risks among Native Hawaiian kāne” and to teach customary rituals, life skills, and spiritual growth while reestablishing “intergenerational traditions in contemporary Hawaiian communities so today's kāne prepare ‘ōpio (young men) for roles as contributing members of society.”²⁵⁶ The Hale Mua has worked primarily with the communities of Keaukaha, Papakōlea, and Wai‘anae fostering the mana of kāne.

Here we have another institution that has oriented its work around kū‘auhau and the training and imparting of knowledge to those who are Kānaka Maoli. The ceremonial practices are taught with ‘ihi and kapu. The members of the Hale Mua have access to sacred knowledge and practices because of their kū‘auhau.

There is a concept that recently has surfaced as a hot topic of discussion among Kanaka Maoli educators and academics that is, ‘ike is not noa, meaning that

²⁵⁵ https://www.ahakane.org/events/hale_mua_initiative retrieved on 8 May 2018.

²⁵⁶ https://www.ahakane.org/events/hale_mua_initiative retrieved on 19 September 2018.

knowledge is not free or open for all. This concept ties into the idea of kapu and ‘ihi in learning processes mentioned by Krug. It also speaks to the modern day restriction of training those with kū‘auhau Hawai‘i in Kanaka Maoli customs and practices. The idea that Kanaka Maoli knowledge is not for public consumption does not sit well with many but I am certain that our kūpuna refrained from sharing certain types of knowledge. They were often selective of whom they would teach and what would be taught to each individual. It is a Kanaka Maoli trait to protect or ‘au‘a knowledge as the keeper of that knowledge feels fit. Those of us who affirm that ‘ike is not noa are mindful of the students and communities that we nurture with the knowledge we steward today.

6.4 No ka Hō‘ike ‘Ana a Ka Hālau Hanakeeka i ke Kū‘auhau: Ka Hālau Hanakeeka’s Portrayal of Kū‘auhau

Since we have covered the concept of kū‘auhau as a major kūkulu in the creation of hana keaka, I will begin this next section with the kū‘auhau of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka and its contributions to the modern day practice of hana keaka. Shortly after the premiere of *Kaluaiko‘olau: Ke Kā‘e‘a‘e‘a o nā Pali Kalalau* in December 1995, the members of the cast and creators of the production established Ka Hālau Hanakeeka to formally constitute the Hawaiian language medium theatre troupe. Kameha‘ililani Waiau, a founding member, has publicly stated on numerous occasions²⁵⁷ that the group consisted of activists not actors who supported and participated in the creation of this troupe as a means to raise awareness about language and cultural revitalization. The establishment of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka allowed for the seeking of grants and fundraising necessary to tour productions and

²⁵⁷ Waiau, Hope Kahu of Ke Kula ‘o S.M. Kamakau, shared these comments on a panel at the Hawai‘inuiākea Native Film Showcase (2006), the Worlds Indigenous Peoples Conference on Education (2014), the Network of Ensemble Theatre’s National Summit (2013), and the ‘Aha Hana Keaka: Hawaiian Theatre Symposium (2016).

present workshops for the Kula Kaiapuni (Hawaiian Immersion Schools) and the community. The hālau has been a place for the fostering and development of Kanaka Maoli theatre making based on our worldviews, principles, and aesthetics. The creation and mounting of these ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i productions went hand in hand with language learning curriculum and language revitalization efforts, specifically through Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. During the late 1990’s through to 2012, I used drama education techniques in my ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i courses to aid language acquisition. As the kumu for these courses I authored the plays so that students would model vocabulary, linguistic forms, and idiomatic expressions from mo‘olelo that the students were exposed to that semester. The primary goal of these hana keaka was to improve fluency for second language learners. Each semester a hō‘ike was held as a culmination oral project for these courses. The venue for the spring hō‘ike was Kawaihuelani’s annual language celebration and competition, *Mūkkī Wai nā Mamo o Mānoa*, held at Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies in Hālau Haumea. C.M. Kaliko Baker describes this curriculum in a recent book chapter in *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*.

At the end of Kumu Haili‘ōpua’s second-year, second-term Hawaiian language courses, she would provide scripts to the students that she authored for them. The students would memorize these scripts, stage, and perform these pieces. These scripts were focused on the grammar and vocabulary that the students learned over the semester as well as the course of their study of Hawaiian language. Not only was this a great review tool in her curriculum, but it also taught students about pragmatics and semiotic practice in Hawaiian. Students would learn that words and expressions, inclusive of actions, tend to have *kaona*, or have meaning more than

their translations and often have more than a single reference.
(Baker, 2018, p. 232)

As Baker describes here, the use of hana keaka in my curriculum enabled students to embody language and culture to express themselves in specific contexts that were scripted to be as authentic as possible. There will be more discussion on hana keaka as a tool for language revitalization and the authenticity of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in Chapter 8. The magic of these assignments was the sharing of the work with an audience through performance. Theatre as a living breathing work of art requires the physical presence of an audience. The audience is the final and necessary element that completes the preparation and creation processes. An audience can influence a performance by their reactions, which often inspire the actors. On occasion my students were surprised when audience members laughed or gasped at the dialogue they uttered on stage. These experiences were moments where ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i transcended the performance space uniting all in attendance through language and culture. The retelling of mo‘olelo as hana keaka brought the stories to life and to a new generation of speakers and learners of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. That was and always will be the validation of this work. For these performances under the auspices of Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, Ka Hālau Hanakeaka supported the one-act plays with costume and stage properties. Students who excelled in the hana keaka curriculum were invited to join Ka Hālau Hanakeaka for our regular productions.

A decade after the founding of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka, the troupe became a project of Halele‘a Arts Foundation “a non-profit organization dedicated to the perpetuation and expansion of traditional and modern forms of Indigenous Arts, focusing on but not limited to Hawaiian medium theatre, film and literary arts”

(Halele‘a Arts Foundation By-Laws, 2006, p. 1). The non-profit entity helped to generate more funding for the creation and touring of original hana keaka. Halele‘a Arts Foundation has also facilitated the logistics for these productions. The executive board members of the foundation are all founding members of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka who have been involved in the production development process to varying degrees over the past twenty-two years. The dedication of the board members to language revitalization and their unique understanding of the creation process of hana keaka, and its need in the Kanaka Maoli community has steered the work of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka since the foundation’s inception. In recent years Halele‘a Arts Foundation has partnered with the Hawaiian Theatre Program in the Department of Theatre and Dance at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa to support the community outreach efforts of the program. This outreach consisted of production showings for students enrolled in Kula Kaiapuni and Hawaiian-Focused Charter Schools and tours to the islands of Kaua‘i and Moloka‘i. All outreach was made possible through grants secured by Halele‘a Arts Foundation, for example Halele‘a Arts Foundation received funding from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and the Office of Hawaiian Education, specifically the Papahana Kaiapuni.

6.4.1 Nā Hana Keaka: The Production History of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka

Below I have provided a chart to show Ka Hālau Hanakeaka’s production history including supported performances at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. These productions represent the kū‘auhau of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka from its inception to the present day. Each of the following plays listed here are color coded to distinguish them from each other. Plays that have been remounted over various years have the same color.

Table 6.1: Ka Hālau Hanakeaka Production History.

<u>Play Title</u>	<u>Performance Venue</u>	<u>Date</u>
Kaluaiko‘olau: ke kā‘e‘a‘e‘a o nā pali Kalalau	Earl Ernst Lab Theatre, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, O‘ahu	December 1995
	Kaua‘i Performing Arts Center, Kaua‘i Community College, Puhi, Kaua‘i	February 1996
	Ke Kula Kaiapuni ‘o Ānuenue, Pālolo, O‘ahu	February 1996
	Wailuku Elementary, Maui and Ke Kula Kaiapuni ‘o Pa‘ia, Maui	May 1996
Māuiiakalana	Kapi‘olani Community College, O‘ahu; Pūnana Leo o Honolulu, O‘ahu; Pūnana Leo o Kawaiaha‘o, O‘ahu; Pūnana Leo o Wai‘anae, O‘ahu; and Kapi‘olani Park, O‘ahu	February 1997
Māuiakamalo: ka ho‘okala kupua o ka moku	Ke‘elikōlani Theatre, Kamehameha Schools, O‘ahu; Kapa‘a Elementary School, Kaua‘i; Kualapu‘u Elementary School, Moloka‘i; and Hilo High School, Hawai‘i	May 1998
	Castle Theatre, Maui Arts and Cultural Center, Wailuku, Maui	June 1998
	Performed at the Regional Theatre and the South Pacific Consulate for the Festival of Pacific Arts, Noumea, New Caledonia	November 2000
Nāwahī, A Hero Remembered	Kapi‘olani Community College, O‘ahu and Hale Noa, Kapāhulu, O‘ahu	January 2001
Kamapua‘a	Kaua‘i performing Arts Center, Puhi, Kaua‘i	April 2004
	Palikū Theatre, Windward Community College, Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu	May 2004
	Performed at the Festival of Pacific Arts, Ngarachamayong Cultural Center, Koror, Palau	July 2004
Hulihia ke Ahi*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa	May 2005
Ka Huaka‘i i Kahiki	Performed at the Hawai‘inuiākea Native Film Showcase, Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa	October 2005
Kamapua‘a	Castle Theatre, Maui Arts and Cultural Center, Wailuku, Maui	November 2005
Kaua ‘o Kamapua‘a iā Lonoka‘eho	Performed at Ihi- A Night of Passion in conjunction with the World Indigenous People’s Conference on Education, Waikato Stadium, Aotearoa, New Zealand	December 2005
‘Akahiakuleanaakapiko	Performed at Ku‘u Ha‘eha‘e at the Hawai‘i Theatre, Honolulu, O‘ahu	March 2006

Kā'ilihia ka Lā*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2006
Limaloa me nā Kuikui	Performed at the Hawai'inuiākea Native Film Showcase, Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	September 2006
Nā Ali'i Ho'oluhi o Ka'ū*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2007
Ka Launa 'Ana Iā Pele	Performed at the Hawai'inuiākea Native Film Showcase at Emalehua Theatre, Hawai'i Convention Center, O'ahu	August 2007
Kamapua'a	University of Hawai'i at Hilo Performing Arts Center, Hawai'i	October 2007
	Hawai'i Theatre, Honolulu, O'ahu	November 2007
	Kūlana 'Ōiwi, Kaunakakai, Moloka'i and Kualapu'u Elementary, Moloka'i	December 2007
Hinaikeahi a me Hinaikawai*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2008
Hawai'inuiākea: Aotearoa	Huaka'i Collaboration with Ka Pā Hula o ka Lei Lehua. Touring performance in Waikato, Rotorua, Auckland and Kaitaia, Aotearoa/New Zealand	June 2008
He Huaka'i na ka Moe**	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	December 2008
Nā Wiliwili o Pā'ula*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2009
Ka Wahine i Ho'āo i ka 'Enuhe*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2010
Ka U'i Palaualelo*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2010
Puhi me Loli*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2010
No ka 'Aihue Moa*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2011
No Limaloa*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2011
No nā Kuikui o Kaua'i*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2011
No ka Launa 'ana iā Pele*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2011
Keahi'āloa*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2011
Kunaloa*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa	May 2012
Ka U'i Keamalu*	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani,	May 2012

University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa		
Kupaianaha Ka Waiakeakua	As a part of the program, “I Ka Makahiki, a celebration of Hawaiian performing arts,” University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa	October 2012
Lelea‘e** (Written by Matthew Ka‘ōpio)	Hālau o Haumea, Kamakakūokalani, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa	December 2012
He Mo‘olelo Hana Keaka no Māuiakamalo a me Kamapua‘a: ‘Elua mau me‘e Hawai‘i	Network of Ensemble Theatres MicroFest USA National Summit, Honolulu, Hawai‘i	June 2013
No nā Maile a me Lā‘ieikawai**	Tour to Hawaiian Immersion Schools, O‘ahu	May 2014
Lā‘ieikawai***	Kennedy Theatre Mainstage, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa	February - March 2015
	University of Hawai‘i at Hilo Performing Arts Center	April 2015
	Gallagher Academy of Performing Arts, Te Whare Tapere, University of Waikato Aotearoa/New Zealand	June 2015
	Kā Moloka‘i Makahiki, Mitchell Pau‘ole Center, Ho‘olehua, Moloka‘i	January 2016
	Kennedy Center American College Theatre Festival, Region 8. Kennedy Theatre, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa	February 2016
	Kaua‘i Performing Arts Center, Kaua‘i Community College, Puhi, Kaua‘i	February 2016

*Performed by students enrolled in Hawaiian 201 or 202 at Mūkīkī Wai Nā Mamo o Mānoa, Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

** Performed by students enrolled in Hawaiian 486, Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

***Performed through the Hawaiian Theatre Program, Department of Theatre and Dance, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa with the support of Halele‘a Arts Foundation

6.4.2 No nā Kūpuna ma ka Hana Keaka: The Depection of Ancestors and Historical Figures as Characters in Hana Keaka

Moving into the portrayal of ancestors as featured characters in the plays of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka I begin with the obvious, the subject matter. In each hana keaka we retell the mo‘olelo of our ancestors portraying our kūpuna. I might add that even though we may refer to them as characters, kū‘auhau connects us to these individuals and therefore they are much more than a typical character in a play that is forgotten once the performance is completed. We carry these kūpuna with us far beyond the production of a play. We carry them for our lifetime and pass that lineage on to our descendants one generation after the other. Hana keaka allows us to honor the kū‘auhau of our kūpuna while strengthening our understanding of them, which inevitably fortifies our foundation and heightens our consciousness as Kānaka Maoli.

The Ka Hālau Hanakeaka production history list in the previous section recounts the various ancestors and traditional figures that have been portrayed in our work. Kaluaiko‘olau, Māuiakamalo, Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u, Kamapua‘a, Pele, and Lā‘ieikawai are some of the more recognizable kūpuna whose stories have been foundational in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. All of these kūpuna have massive narratives that are connected to so many places, each one culturally significant worthy of a thesis done on each of them individually. However due to the limitations of this doctoral thesis and the confines of this section of this chapter, I could not possibly do justice to covering the significance of kū‘auhau for each of these featured kūpuna and the ways their kū‘auhau has influenced, impacted, and informed our work. Therefore I focus on Kamapua‘a and use his character and our portrayal of him as a case study of how we incorporate traditional figures and ancestors in our work. Kū‘auhau informs genealogical connections, an individual’s

personality, qualities, and traits, and their connection to ‘āina. There is a depth of application within the characterization space directly drawn from the research of kū‘auhau and in this section I aim to show this research guides our interpretation, development, and portrayal of our kūpuna in our hana keaka productions.



Figure 6.2: Kuiuokalani Lee Gapero portrayed Kamapua‘a in both the original 2004 production of Kamapua‘a and the remount in 2007.²⁵⁸

When analyzing a play script a playwright reveals character through the following five ways —(1) by way of the environment, (2) by stage directions and direct descriptions, (3) by what others say about the character, (4) by what the

²⁵⁸ Image courtesy of author taken at Ka Papa Lo‘i o Kānewai in the fall of 2007.

character himself says, and (5) by what the character does. The last is the most important. The information given in the stage directions about the character is similar to the narrative of a mo‘olelo where kū‘auhau, ‘āina, physical appearance, personality, and traits may be revealed. The dialogue of other characters may provide variation in the information or perspective of these characters. What a character says about themselves reveals their perspective about themselves which could be based on truth or a persona that they wish to project. A character’s actions will always point to their true intentions and desires. A counterpoint can be found when evaluating all other sources of information in order to analyze whom the character actually is. The counterpoint is especially definable between what others say about the character, what s/he says and what s/he does. Playwright and theatre scholar Sam Smiley developed a list of character traits divided into categories that assist in finding definition and contrast when working on character development. As a playwright myself I am cognizant of these trait categories and utilize them when researching mo‘olelo and crafting a play script. The following is my paraphrasing of Smiley’s trait system (2005, pp. 128-134).

- **BIOLOGICAL:** physical features, voice quality, physical handicaps as well as the obvious physical characteristics of age, ethnicity, sex and height.
- **MOTIVATIONAL:** what a character wants to do in the scene (or play as a whole), consciously or unconsciously, expressed as a verb.
- **DISPOSITIONAL:** customary mood and attitude to life as demonstrated in speech and activity, controlled by a character’s temperamental makeup, expressed as a mood adjective.
- **DELIBERATIVE:** the amount and quality of a character’s thought expressed through dialogue: planning, pondering, remembering, determining, devising, imagining, suspecting, meditating, reasoning, etc. Often considering what to do and how to do it.
- **DECISIVE:** making decisions, taking action.

Crisis and Conflict are also important for the revelation of character and are disseminated in the mo‘olelo narrative. In researching mo‘olelo and kū‘auhau for

play development we are able to extract details about a kupuna in a similar fashion to conducting play analysis and character development.

In the narratives of Kamapua‘a, he is known as *Ke Keiki Pua‘a a Kahiki‘ula me Hina* (the son of Kahiki‘ula and Hina), *Ka Moopuna Puaa A Kamaunuanoho* (the Hog Grandchild of Kamaunuanoho)—*Ka Hoa Paio Hoi O Pele*, *Ka Wahine O Ka Lua I Kilauea*, (the opponent of Pele, the woman of the pit of Kilauea) *A Hala Loa Aku i na Kupuna O Kukulu o Kahiki* (connected way back to the ancestors of the pillars of Kahiki). The image below lists his kū‘auhau and connections to the other kupuna in the narrative.

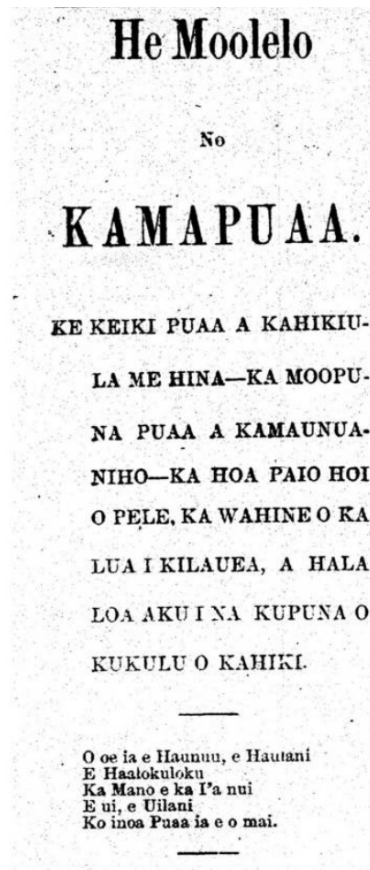


Figure 6.3: Kamapua‘a published in Ka Leo o ka Lahui, 1891.

Every installment of the story of Kamapua‘a in the newspapers opens with these four identifying phrases that orient the character of Kamapua‘a for the reader connecting him to his parents, grandmother, the infamous relationship he had with

Pele, and his genealogical connection to the ancestors in the Kūkulu o Kahiki.²⁵⁹ Kamapua‘a’s genealogy is detailed in the charts below. Name variations²⁶⁰ exist in the two renditions of this mo‘olelo appearing first in *Ka Hae Hawai‘i* in 1861 and then in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* in 1891.

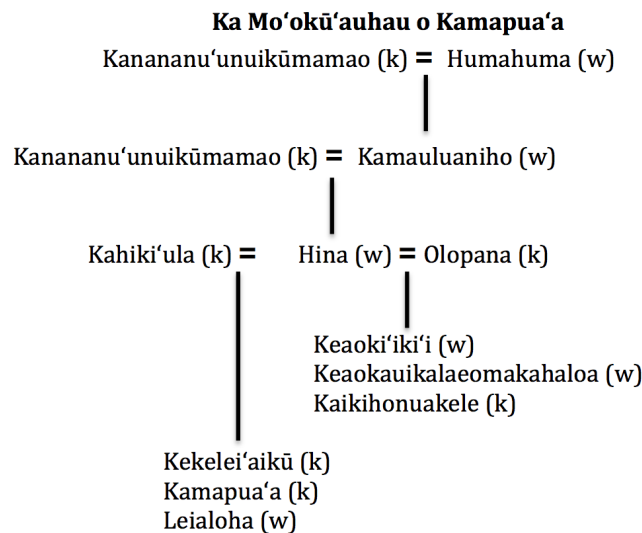


Figure 6.4: Genealogy chart²⁶¹ for Kamapua‘a as presented in the newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 26 June 1861, p. 1.

²⁵⁹ Kūkulu o Kahiki is a place in the South Pacific that connects Kānaka Maoli to the islands there. This is marked in mo‘olelo, oral tradition, and the Tahitian migration to Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i around 1200 AD. There is another aspect to this term that is believed to connect Kānaka Maoli to the spiritual realm of the ancestors.

²⁶⁰ The major name variations occurs with Kamapua‘a’s great grandparents. The 1861 version of the mo‘olelo cites Kanananu‘unuikūmamao and Humahuma as his great grandparents whereas the 1891 rendition names Kanananu‘aimoku and Haumealani. Both Kanananu‘unuikūmamao and Kanananu‘aimoku are known to be from Waihe‘e, Maui. Haumealani like Humahuma are from Kuaihelani, located in the pillars of Kahiki. In both renditions of the mo‘olelo there is a nī‘aupi‘o mating of father and daughter which bears a high kapu ali‘i nī‘aupi‘o, their daughter Hina. In the *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* version Hina has children with Olopana, ali‘i nui of O‘ahu and his younger brother Kahiki‘ula.

²⁶¹ On these genealogy charts (w) represents wahine (female) and (k) represents kāne (male).

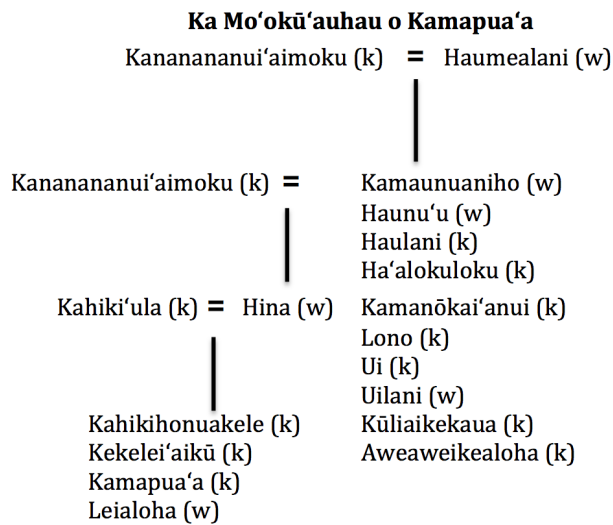


Figure 6.5: Genealogy chart for Kamapua'a as printed in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 22 June 1891, p. 4; 4 June 1891, p. 4; and 23 June 1891, p. 4.²⁶²

Kamapua'a's genealogical connections to his ancestors are a pivotal piece of information that plays out in his life journey highlighting his abilities and challenges. Through name chants included in the narrative, primarily performed by his grandmother Kamaunuanoho, Kamapua'a's kū'auhau is revealed in the mo'olelo. His ancestors serve as his fundamental strengths and basis of knowledge throughout his journey. The narrative also speaks to Kamapua'a's various *kinolau* (body forms), which illustrates his biological traits. As a child he is a pua'a reared by his grandmother Kamaunuanoho and his older brother Kekelei'aikū. Kamapua'a is recognized as a skillful *mahi'ai* (farmer) as describes in the sentence below.

Mākaukau loa a mikimiki nō ho'i 'o Kamapua'a i ia hana mahi'ai.
 'O'i loa aku kona miki ma mua o kona mau kaikua'ana. (*Ka Hae Hawai'i* 1861; *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* 1891, quoted in Baker, 2004, p. 15)

²⁶² Both genealogy diagrams created by author.

[Kamapua‘a was very skilled and energetic at the aforementioned task of farming. His nimbleness far exceeded his older brothers.]

Using his snout to ‘eku, root, into the ground he surpasses the abilities of his older brothers in planting kalo. In the mo‘olelo Kekelei‘aikū says to Kamapua‘a:

...ua pa‘a a‘ela kā kāua mahina ‘ai i ka nui o kō ikaika i ke kanu, no laila, ua ola nō kāua iā ‘oe a me ko kāua mau mākua, a me ko kākou kupunawahine. (*Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 24 June 1891, p. 4)

[...our crops are planted because of your strength in farming, therefore, you’ve secured our livelihood (yours and mine), our parents’, and our grandmother’s.]

Kekeli‘aikū acknowledges his younger brother’s strength and expertise as a mahi‘ai, which is a part of his lineage, Kahiki‘ula their father is also a farmer. For the production of Kamapua‘a Act I, Scene Four was designed to demonstrate Kamapua‘a’s exceptional aptitude in farming kalo in his pua‘a form. Another section of the mo‘olelo that deals with the characterization of him as a pua‘a is in the story of the stealing and eating of chickens in Ko‘olaupoko, the windward side of O‘ahu. This story is linked to Kamapua‘a’s attempts to challenge his uncle Olopana, high chief of O‘ahu, who ostracized Kamapua‘a’s parents resulting in the isolation of the couple from their family and the divestment of their mana as ali‘i. This portion of the mo‘olelo emphasizes genealogy and the rightful rule of those with chiefly genealogy.



Figure 6.6: *Kamapua‘a is carried on the ‘auamo by the warriors of Olopana.*²⁶³

As Kamapua‘a matures the narrative reveals his other kinolau, that is his *kino kanaka* (human form). Kamapua‘a’s handsome muscular body was irresistible to the Hi‘iaka sisters, younger sisters of Pele. Upon seeing Kamapua‘a above Akaniakōlea Hi‘iakaika‘ale‘ī calls out to Pele, “*E ke kaikua‘ana, aia he kanaka maika‘i e kū maila i luna o Akaniakōlea*” [Hey older sister, a good man is standing above Akaniakōlea]. The other sisters swoon proclaiming his statuesque body and striking looks. They beg Pele to receive Kamapua‘a so that they too may enjoy him stating, “*O kō ‘ili kapu a noa iā ia, a na mākou ke kāne a kākou na nā wāhine u‘i*” [Surrender your taboo self to him, so that we, the beautiful women, may enjoy him].

Pele opposes their claims. She counters:

Mai kuhihewa aku ‘oukou e o‘u mau kaikaina, he kanaka i‘o kēlā, ‘a‘ole kēlā he kanaka, he pua‘a e kū maila i luna o Akaniakōlea. Mai makehehi kuhihewa aku ‘oukou i kēlā kanaka e kū mai i luna. ‘A‘ole kēlā he kanaka maoli, ‘o ka pua‘a huluhulu kēlā. He mau hana na‘aupō kēnā a ‘oukou, e nā kaikaina, ‘o ka ho‘omāunauna wale aku nō o ko ‘oukou mau kino maika‘i, ‘o ka ‘upu ‘ana o ke kāne ia e ola

²⁶³ Image courtesy of author taken November 2007 at Hawai‘i Theatre.

ai nā iwi. Mai huki, e nā kaikaina, i ko ‘oukou mana‘o uilani, ‘a‘ole au e pāpā aku ana iā ‘oukou, e nā kaikaina, ke ‘ike aku au i ke kūpono o ia kāne. (*Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 6 July 1891, p. 4)

[Don't be delusional my dear younger sisters that that is a real man, that is not a man, that's a pig standing there up at Akaniakōlea. Don't give in to the erroneous illusion that there's a man standing there. That is not a real man; it is but a hairy pig. Such ignorant acts of yours, little sisters, to merely waste your good bodies, the expectation that it is a man who will determines the survival of our people. Be not seduced, young sisters, by your restless thoughts, for I will not restrict you, sisters, if I see the decency of the aforementioned man.]



Figure 6.7: *Hi‘iakaika‘ale‘ī (Kahipuanani Brooks-Richards), Hi‘iakawāwahilani (Kaluapi ‘ilāhaina Castro), and Hi‘iakaikapuako‘olau (Noelle Kauanoë Takemoto) plead with their older sister Pele (Kameha ‘ililani Waiāu).*²⁶⁴

The sisters insist that Kamapua‘a’s features are that of a man and accuse Pele of selfishly wanting him all to herself. Pele retorts with a *kūamuamu* or reviling chant

²⁶⁴ Image courtesy of author taken May 2004 at Palikū Theatre.

delivered directly to Kamapua‘a.

‘O Kamapua‘a nō ‘oe,	<i>You are Kamapua‘a,</i>
‘O kanaka o ka pali kū,	<i>The one of the vertical cliff,</i>
‘O kanaka o ka pali moe,	<i>The one of the horizontal cliff,</i>
Ka pali kūhōhō,	<i>The deep cliff,</i>
‘O ka ‘elemu papalahe,	<i>The sagging soft buttocks,</i>
‘O ka ihu i hou ‘ia i ka ‘aha,	<i>The snout pierced by the sennit,</i>
A ‘o ka huelo i pili i ka ‘elemu,	<i>The tail attached to the buttocks,</i>
A ‘o ka ma‘i i pili i ka ‘ōpū,	<i>The penis attached to the stomach,</i>
Me kō ihu ho‘i e Kamapua‘a,	<i>With your snout Kamapua‘a,</i>
‘O Ihu ‘eku‘eku,	<i>Snout penetrating the earth,</i>
Me kō pāpālina ho‘i e Kamapua‘a,	<i>With your cheeks Kamapua‘a,</i>
‘O Pāpālina hole maka,	<i>Scarred cheeks/face,</i>
Me kou ku‘i ho‘i e Kamapua‘a,	<i>With your tusks Kamapua‘a,</i>
‘O Ku‘i lenalena,	<i>Yellowed tusks,</i>
Me kō lae ho‘i e Kamapua‘a,	<i>With your forehead Kamapua‘a,</i>
‘O Lae kāhanahana,	<i>Forest clearing forehead,</i>
Me kō po‘o ho‘i e Kamapua‘a,	<i>With your head Kamapua‘a,</i>
‘O Po‘o i lolea,	<i>Weathered head,</i>
Me kō maka ho‘i e Kamapua‘a,	<i>With your eyes Kamapua‘a,</i>
‘O Maka ‘ālawalawa,	<i>Eyes glancing up and away,</i>
Me kō ‘auwae ho‘i e Kamapua‘a,	<i>With your chin Kamapua‘a,</i>
‘O ‘Auwae lewa,	<i>Long pendulous chin,</i>
Me kō umauma ho‘i e Kamapua‘a lā,	<i>With your chest Kamapua‘a,</i>
Ua umauma lahalaha,	<i>Broad chest,</i>
Me kō ‘ōpū ho‘i i ‘ai ai	<i>With your stomach that devoured</i>

i ke kapu moa a Olopana,	<i>the sacred chickens of Olopana,</i>
‘O ‘Ōpū ‘ōhua,	<i>Passenger carrying stomach,</i>
Me kō ma‘i ho‘i e Kamapua‘a,	<i>With your genitals Kamapua‘a,</i>
‘O Ha‘akōlū,	<i>Scattering about,</i>
Me kō ‘ōpe‘a,	<i>With your scrotum,</i>
‘O Huahua kanana,	<i>Young testicles,</i>
Me kō ‘elemu ho‘i,	<i>With your buttocks,</i>
‘O Hāmamailuna,	<i>Opened up above,</i>
Me kō kuli ho‘i,	<i>With your knees,</i>
‘O Ha‘akulikuli,	<i>Low deafening knees.</i>
Me kō kapua‘i ho‘i e Kamapua‘a,	<i>With your footsteps Kamapua‘a,</i>
‘O ‘Ōilowai.	<i>Water seedling.</i>

(*Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 7 July 1891, p. 4)

In this chant Pele reviles Kamapua‘a, pointing out his kū‘auhau with the ‘āina and his physical hog like qualities. She mentions his soft, sagging buttocks, his tail adjoined to his buttocks, his penis that is stuck to his stomach, and so forth, each disparaging statement are biological traits of a pua‘a. For the production we used these passages of dialogue and the chant above to illustrate Kamapua‘a’s kinolau and the response of others to both his kino pua‘a and kino kanaka. In Act I, Scene 13 when Pele (Kameha‘ililani Waiiau) chanted the oli kūamuamu above. Upon hearing the chant the actor portraying Kamapua‘a (Kuiokalani Lee Gaperio) became self-conscious of his hidden pua‘a kinolau. This kinolau was veiled through an incantation that his uncle and political advisor Kūliaikekaua (Braven Kalama Cabigon) performed prior to Kamapua‘a’s attempt to wake up Pele and confront her for summoning him. A series of insulting chants that invokes one another’s

kū‘auhau are exchanged between Kamapua‘a and Pele throughout this scene, resulting in Kamapua‘a doing the unthinkable, he performs *ho‘opohoho*, he sticks out his buttocks as a sign of contempt.



Figure 6.8: *Kamapua‘a insults Pele by exposing his backside.*²⁶⁵

This act propels the two into a battle. They both conjure up their akua and with the forces of nature manipulate their environment as tools of warfare. Kamapua‘a is scorched by the fires of Lonomakua, Pele’s brother, while Pele is covered with Kamapua‘a’s forms of vegetation kinolau²⁶⁶ and her home is flooded with the sudden heavy rains of Leialoha, Kamapua‘a’s sister. This heated exchange between Kamapua‘a and Pele culminates in a battle of families. The two ultimately rely on their kū‘auhau for this fight calling upon their siblings, elders, akua, and kinolau to combat their opponent. For this scene of the production, actors who engaged with Kamapua‘a and Pele embodied the kinolau and siblings. The kinolau were portrayed by male cast members²⁶⁷ who wore elongated malo of various shades of

²⁶⁵ Photo courtesy of the author.

²⁶⁶ Kamapua‘a’s kinolau in vegetation consist of kukui, ama‘uma‘u, hala ‘uhaloa, ‘olomea, and ‘i‘i‘i.

²⁶⁷ Kinolau actors featured in the photo above are Ed Kalā Duncan, Ioane Goodhue, Kūkaho‘omalū Souza, Kaipū Baker, and Blake Brutus LaBenz. Pele is portrayed by Kameha‘ililani Waiāu. Image courtesy of author taken November 2007 at Hawai‘i Theatre.

green and were adorned with a mask painted to resemble *kukui* (candlenut), *'ama'uma'u* (young *Sadleria* fern), *hala 'uhaloa* (*Waltheria indica*), *'olomea* (*Perrottetia sandwicensis*), and *'i'i'i* (short ferns). Their limbs were decorated with strips of fabric and artificial *lau* (leaves) of the *nāhelehele* (forest) to suggest the kinolau mentioned above. Kinolau were viewed as extensions of Kamapua'a who came to his aid in time of need.



Figure 6.9: Actors representing the kinolau of Kamapua'a surround Pele.²⁶⁸

Since these kinolau were forms of vegetation in the *nāhelehele*, we choreographed their movement to bear resemblance to the natural growth of these forms. For example, the *'i'i'i* being a moss grows on top of rocks and trees in a crawling fashion so those who portrayed the *'i'i'i* entered the stage creeping along the floor until they arrived at Pele's presence. There they began to inch their way up Pele's

²⁶⁸ Image courtesy of author taken May 2004 at Palikū Theatre.

feet and legs. Pele and the Hi‘iaka sisters on stage were eventually dominated by an ensemble of kinolau that dragged them down to the stage floor symbolically dismantling the mana of their ‘āina pele (volcanic home).

As for the siblings, when Pele summons her brother Lonomakua, the keeper of fire portrayed by Ioane Ho‘omanawanui, he entered the stage from the same upper right area that Pele had entered, linking their entry points as a means to connect them. Lonomakua was adorned with a massive 24-yard kīhei that he carried on his right arm. The outside of the kīhei was a charcoal satin while the inside was a fiery red sequence similar to a blazing fire. The kīhei was fastened on his shoulder and waist as an anchor, which allowed the actor to hurl the long heavy costume piece across the stage. Pele commands her brother:

E ku‘u kaikunāne ē, ka mea nona ka mana o ke ahi welawela lā ē, e Lonomakua, e ho‘oku‘i i ke ahi. E hao a‘ela ke ahi o ka lua, ke hele lā a pā i ka lani. E ho‘ā i ke ahi. (*Ka Leo o ka Lāhui*, 7 July 1891: 4)

[My beloved brother, the one who holds the power of the hot fires, Lonomakua, smite the fire. Deliver the fire of the pit, let it reach the heavens. Ignite the fire.]

Upon receiving this command the actor conjured up his fire located in the kīhei and dispatched it across the stage landing on Kampua‘a burning his *hulu pua‘a* (pig fur). This movement was punctuated with fire like lighting and smoke from the fog machine. Leialoha, played by Kahipuanani Brooks-Richards, is summoned by Kūliaikekaua to extinguish the fire. The actor playing Leialoha arrived on upstage left and descended from a high platform with an equally lengthily costume held in her arms to represent her kinolau of rain. Leialoha floats across stage left dousing the fire with the shimmery pearl iridescent fabric draping over Kamapua‘a and his

kinolau saving their lives. The mise-en-scène captured the various mana in both Kamapua‘a and Pele’s kū‘auhau displayed in the closing moments of Act I.



Figure 6.10: *The culmination of Act I concludes with the final showdown between Kamapua‘a (Kuiokalani Lee Gapero) and Pele (Kameha‘ililani Waiiau) supported by their siblings, Lonomakua (Ioane Ho‘omanawanui) and Leialoha (Kahipuanani Brooks-Richards).²⁶⁹*

I would like to speak to one final kinolau of Kamapua‘a, that is his *kino i‘a* or fish body. In a name chant composed by his grandmother (see below), Kampaua‘a is referred to as the *manō* (shark), the *i‘a nui* (big fish).

‘O ‘oe ia e Haunu‘u,	<i>You are Haunu‘u,</i>
E Haulani, e Ha‘alokuloku,	<i>Haulani, Ha‘alokuloku,</i>
Ka manō, ka i‘a nui,	<i>The shark, the big fish,</i>
E Ui, e Uilani,	<i>Ui, Uilani,</i>
Kō inoa pua‘a ia,	<i>It’s your pig name,</i>
E ō mai.	<i>Respond.</i>

(Ka Leo o ka Lahui, 22 June 1891, p. 4)

²⁶⁹ Image courtesy of author taken May 2004 at Palikū Theatre.

Kamapua‘a is also known to morph into a *humuhumu* (surgeon fish) or *humuhumunukunukuāpua‘a* (surgeonfish with a pig-like snout) in some versions of this mo‘olelo.



Figure 6.11: *Humuhumunukunukuapua‘a.*²⁷⁰

In the 1891 version of *He Moolelo no Kamapuaa* in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* newspaper, Kamapua‘a invokes Humuhumu in a battle with Lonoka‘eho (1891). This kinolau is mentioned in a passage about Kamapua‘a’s traveling to Kahiki as detailed below.

Ho‘ololi a‘ela kona kino kanaka i kino i‘a. Iho akula ‘o ia i loko o ke kai a komo akula i ke kino i‘a ‘o ia ho‘i ka Humuhumunukunukuapua‘a. Holo-ā-i‘a ‘o KAMAPUA‘A no Kūkulu o Kahiki. (Ka Hālau Hanakeaka, 2004, p. 119)

[*His human body morphs into a fish body. He travels down to the sea entering the ocean transforming into a surgeonfish with a pig-like snout. KAMAPUA‘A swims as a fish for the pillars of Kahiki.*]

²⁷⁰ <https://www.waikikiaquarium.org/experience/animal-guide/fishes/triggerfishes/reef-riggerfish/> retrieved on 30 September 2018.

The same description is given for his travel to Kaua‘i from O‘ahu.

...a ua iho aku la oia iloko o ke kai, a komo ma kona kino ia, oia hoi, ka Humuhumunukunukuapuaa. Me ia kino ua puua nei a kaula i haulani aku ai i na ale kualoloa o Kaieiewaho, a hiki i kona pae ana aku i ka aina kaili la, oia hoi o Kauai o Manokalanipo. (*Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 26 August 1891, p. 1)

[...and he traveled into the sea, entering his fish body, namely surgeonfish with a pig-like snout. With the aforementioned pig body of his he plunged into the cresting long backed waves of the Ka‘ie‘iewaho channel, until his landing at the place that snares the sun, that is Kaua‘i of Manokalanipō.]

In the production of Kamapua‘a we chose to pay homage to the humuhumunukunukuāpua‘a, through the use of its color pattern on a stage property that was manipulated by an actor (Ioane Goodhue) to represent the kino i‘a and ocean travel. The stage prop was a dowel with fabric painted in the pattern and color of the humuhumunukunukuāpua‘a. We developed a convention to indicate ocean travel to and fro that was emphasized with the sound of ocean waves and ‘ili‘ili (handheld stone implements). To symbolize ocean travel the actor playing Kamapua‘a would leap towards the apron of the stage. The actor who manipulated the prop in a circular motion snapping the fabric back towards himself to indicate landing on shore accompanied Kamapua‘a’s movement. The image below depicts the abstract design and staging of the kino i‘a for our production of *Kamapua‘a*.



Figure 6.12: The Kino I'a of Kamapua'a portrayed by Ioane Goodhue.²⁷¹

The multiple kinolau of Kamapua'a are linked to his kū'auhau and collectively makeup his identity. He is a kanaka, a pua'a, an i'a, and numerous ululā'au that manifests itself in the natural environment. These kinolau are mentioned in his name chants and in the narratives written about him. His genealogy informs the multidimensional aspects of his identity and persona. Therefore the creation of hana keaka requires investigation and application of kū'auhau as a means to legitimize the production. We conduct research on the mo'olelo, the

²⁷¹ Set and stage property design by Angela Price, MFA. Image courtesy of author taken May 2004 at Palikū Theatre.

kūpuna in the mo‘olelo, and the place names mentioned in mo‘olelo, all of which have kū‘auhau that reveal meticulous details influencing artistic choices. Kū‘auhau is instrumental in developing a hana keaka script, the stage and dance choreography, musical compositions and their arrangement, and the design processes for costume, setting, lights, sound, makeup, stage properties, and special effects. Simply said, hana keaka would not be a true hana keaka without kū‘auhau as a foundational element of this form of performance.

6.5 Panina: Chapter Conclusion

In her discussion on the publication of traditional mo‘olelo in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Hawaiian language newspapers Professor ho‘omanawanui writes, “...the writers, editors, and newspapers had a mo‘okū‘auhau and kuleana to publish mo‘olelo ku‘una like Pele and Hi‘iaka” (2014, p. 167). I analogize the creation of hana keaka to this quote on publishing mo‘olelo in the newspapers. As Kanaka Maoli theatre makers we too have a kū‘auhau and kuleana to produce the mo‘olelo of our kūpuna as hana keaka. We call on the wisdom of our ancestors to create for our future. The work comes from us, is about us, and will always have kū‘auhau at its core. The practice of hana keaka is done by and for Kānaka Maoli about Kanaka Maoli issues, which is inevitably connected to our kū‘auhau. This chapter explains the concept and significance of kū‘auhau for Kānaka Maoli as it is the basis for our identity. I have explained the practice of kū‘auhau in traditional and contemporary times looking at the impact of kū‘auhau on Kanaka Maoli consciousness. Kū‘auhau was important to our ancestors permeating the different facets of traditional life. Even in modern times kū‘auhau serves as the foundation of particular organizations and associations guiding their work, and kū‘auhau may also be a requirement for participation in these organizations. The final section of

this chapter looked at the application of kū‘auhau in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka, namely the portrayal of ancestors as characters in our productions. This chapter has shown that kū‘auhau is a major kūkulu of, and must be present in order to truly create hana keaka.

Chapter 7

Hana No‘eau

7.1 Wehena: Chapter Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to identify the various forms of performing arts that exist in the Kanaka Maoli repertoire. The term *hana no ‘eau* is the Hawaiian term often used when referring to the arts. Generally speaking *hana no ‘eau* as understood and used today tends to reference visual arts. I challenge that concept and will broaden the use of this term to include the performing arts genres.²⁷² There are eight major genres of performance that I will cover here; *pule* (prayer, incantations), *oli* (chant), *mele* (poetry/song), *ha ‘a* (sacred ritual dance), *hula* (dance), *hula ki ‘i* (image dancing/puppetry), *kākā ‘ōlelo* (oratory/orator), and *ha ‘i mo ‘olelo* (storytelling). I will speak to the origins of these forms; describe the uniqueness of each form of artistic expression, the patronage of gods per form, and the practice of the form. When possible I will comment on modern day practices of these *hana no ‘eau*. After looking at these forms individually I will discuss the impact that *hana no ‘eau* has on Kanaka Maoli consciousness. The chapter will conclude with specific examples of how *hana no ‘eau* are portrayed in the creative works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

²⁷² *Hana* is to do or practice and *no ‘eau* means clever, skillful, dexterous, wise, artistic, talented, expert, technical. Together the compound verb *hana no ‘eau* literally means to make art or to sharpen a skill or talent. Also in 2009 Kamehameha Schools produced a document on *‘Ike Hawai ‘i* (Hawaiian Knowledge) Curriculum Alignment that listed the following forms of *hana no ‘eau*; written expression, physical object and performance; e.g. *hula*, *oli*, *mele*, athletics, cooking, etc., *mele*, *oli*, *pule*, oratory; i.e. Visual arts, Literary arts, Performing Arts.

7.1.1 Pule: Prayers and Incantations

The idea of pule as hana no‘eau may seem jarring, however, pule are crafted skillfully in an artistic fashion and always composed with the intention of performance. Scholar George H.S. Kanahale in his book *Kū Kanaka* explains that Kānaka Maoli are a very prayerful people. He states that Kānaka Maoli performed ritual and non-ritual prayers regularly, citing Mary Kawena Pukui who wrote that Hawaiians prayed all day long for every occasion (1972 p. 121). Pukui states, “Long before the missionaries came, Hawaiians were *haipule*, religious. Everything they did, they did with prayer” (Pukui, Heartig, Lee, & McDermott 1972, p. 121). This constant engagement with akua through prayer is reflective of our relationship with our environment. That is our genealogical connection to ‘āina and akua and the ever present nature of the akua. Supernatural beings inhabit the features of our landscape, waterways, and skies. They are visible everywhere we look from the plants, to rocks, to the ocean, we see the physical manifestations of our akua in our environment. In pule we honor our ancestors who in turn maintain a reciprocal relationship with us. This relationship bears obligations for all involved (Kanahale, 1986, p. 125). We are accountable to the akua and ‘āina who are accountable to us, kānaka. From the beginning of time when this relationship was established between akua and kānaka, pule have been performed with reverence, humility, and “a note of arrogance” (Kanahale, 1986, p. 125). The latter quality is indicative of certain types of Hawaiian prayer that “almost demands the attention of the gods” (Pukui et al., 1972, pp. 121-134). Pukui further explains that, “In memorized chants or spontaneous words, Hawaiians praised, petitioned, and reasoned with their gods” (Pukui et al., 1972 p. 126). Kanahale analyzes the stylistic choices and lessons found in the many *kau*, prayers, performed by Hi‘iaka from the epic saga of

Hi'iakaikapoliopole. Following this analysis he provides a brief guide for the performance of prayer as demonstrated by Hi'iaka. He writes:

One, the prayer must be irresistible, supported by the absolute faith of the supplicant in himself or herself, as well as the gods; two, as mentioned previously, the manner in which the prayer is given is vital --- it must not be hurried, insincere, or mechanical, and, above all, it must be "faultless"; three, care must be taken to create the right mood, both mentally and physically; and, finally, even the place must be conducive to prayer, that is, it must be free of noise and disturbance, "a god inviting place." (1986, p. 124)

These four recommendations for the proper delivery of pule seem universal. Most people would likely agree to a similar practice where prayer is performed with the utmost respect, unwavering faith, with proper tone, and in an undisturbed space to entice and appease the akua. I would like to mention another aspect of pule that the goddess Hi'iaka observes and that is the inclusion of her traveling companion to evaluate and comment on the effectiveness of her pule (Lopes, 2011, pp. 87-88). In the story, Hi'iaka composes a prayer for resurrecting Lohi'au. She performs her prayer and asks Wahine'ōma'o, "Pehea kuu pule? (How's my prayer?)" As this practice of *paka*²⁷³ is done multiple times during her journey, Wahine'ōma'o's answer varies. However, Wahine'ōma'o's insight is respected each time. Most pule are incantations composed and performed for the akua. This is one of the reasons why I decided to include pule as one of the genres of hana no'eau in this chapter. Prayer is often featured in hana keaka and informs the production as well. Pule are also practiced regularly in the preparation process for all hana keaka from the research and development phases right through the production phase. Referring to

²⁷³ To criticize constructively, as chanting; to look for flaws in order to perfect; to teach, correct.

prayer as a spiritual bulldozer (1986, p. 127), Kanahale sums up the essence of prayer for Kānaka Maoli with one word, *ho'okuakāhi*, to clear the way of any obstacle that may impede, “endanger or delay a project or activity” (1986, p. 127). It is for this very reason that Ka Hālau Hanakeaka utilizes pule with each and every hana keaka. Later in this chapter I will cite specific examples of pule in the productions of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

There are many types of pule.²⁷⁴ The Hawaiian Dictionary lists thirty five different kinds of pule²⁷⁵ and this is not a definitive list. In his dissertation on Hawaiian poetic composition Associate Professor of Hawaiian R. Keawe Lopes Jr. writes extensively on the various types of pule, oli, and mele that our kūpuna composed and recited. In a section on pule he summarizes the catalog of pule recorded by revered Kanaka Maoli scholar and historian David Malo (1793-1853) on ancient Hawaiian civilization. Referring to the genres of pule Lopes writes:

These included such mele as Pule Hoola (Prayer of healing); Pule Huikala (Prayer for a dispensation); Pule Ipu (Gourd prayer); Pule Anaana (Incantation to cause death); Pule Hoohiki (Prayer of Blessing); Pule Kuni (Prayer result in the death of a sorcerer); Pule Hui (Prayer on the morning after ‘anā‘anā sorcery); Kanaenae (A complementary address which stands as a prelude to the more serious prayers or mele); Maui-ola (Prayer or vow which brought life); Pule He‘e (Octopus Prayer used in healing); Pule Kala (Prayer of forgiveness); Wanana (Prophecy); Kupenu (Prayer to sponge the wound to remove the blood after circumcision); and Koihonua (Genealogical prayer). (2011, p. 46)

²⁷⁴ The term mele pule is also used to refer to prayers and incantations.

²⁷⁵ In the 1986 publication of the Hawaiian Dictionary, Pukui and Elbert list thirty-five types of pule on page 353.

Of course, the list above is not definitive, other pule exist. Rather, this list is evidence that in Kanaka Maoli society specificity was of the utmost importance. The following chart details the pule that are listed in Pukui and Elbert' Hawaiian Language Dictionary.

Table 7.1: Genres of Pule.²⁷⁶

Type of Pule	Definition
Pule ‘aha	A prayer or service whose efficacy depended on recitation under strict taboo and without interruption. The priest was said to carry a cord (‘aha).
Pule ‘anā‘anā	Incantations of black magic and evil sorcery.
Pule hai	Sacrificial prayer.
Pule hāmau	Silent prayer.
Pule hana aloha	Prayer of love magic.
Pule he‘e	An octopus prayer: such prayers were said to an octopus lying spread on the ocean floor while it was being tempted with a cowry hook; the octopus once caught was offered to a deity for the curing of a patient.
Pule ho‘oku‘u	Closing prayer, as in Christian service or <i>hana aloha</i> sorcery.
Pule ho‘ōla	Prayer to heal life.
Pule ho‘ola‘a	Dedicatory prayer.
Pule ho‘omaika‘i	Prayer of thanks, benediction, grace; to say grace, to offer a prayer of thanks.
Pule ho‘omau	Same as <i>pule ho‘ouluulu ‘ai</i> ; to continue praying.
Pule ho‘onoa	Prayer to lift or free from taboo.
Pule ho‘onoho	Prayer calling on a god to possess an individual or hula altar.
Pule ho‘opōmaika‘i	A blessing; to ask a blessing, grace.
Pule ho‘ouluulu ‘ai	Prayer to insure good crops.

²⁷⁶ (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 353).

Pule ho‘ounauna	Prayer sending gods or spirits of deified persons on errands of destruction.
Pule ho‘owilimo‘o	Ceremonial prayer during the dedication of a war temple.
Pule hui	A prayer in unison.
Pule huikala	A purification prayer.
Pule hulahula	Prayer that accompanies the ceremonial killing of a pig and offering it to the gods during the long, ceremonies dedicating a <i>luakini</i> temple.
Pule ipu	Gourd prayer offered during ceremonies, accompanying removal of a boy from his mother to the men’s eating house; the sacrificed pig’s ear was placed in a gourd hanging about the neck of an image of Lono; the child was referred to in the prayer as a gourd.
Pule kāhea	Prayer for calling on family gods.
Pule kāhiu	A prayer for victory in battle.
Pule kāhoaka	A sorcery prayer spoken in a moderate or natural voice.
Pule kāholo	A faster prayer spoken in a moderate to natural voice.
Pule kala	Prayer of protection from any evil, as of hula teachers before a program.
Pule kameha‘i	A black magic prayer, as to destroy a victim.
Pule kuili	Prayer committed to memory and recited in unison during temple dedications.
Pule kuni	Prayer uttered as a part of black magic.
Pule mahiki	Prayer to cast out spirits.
Pule ‘ohana	Family prayer.
Pule pale	Prayer to ward off evil influence.
Pule ‘umi	A black magic prayer which was uttered without drawing breath.
Pule wī	A prayer for life of the chief and of the assemblage.

Pule were performed to specific gods for specific reasons and outcomes. This practice is indicative of the complexity of the Kanaka Maoli world. Although

all kānaka performed pule, *kāhuna* (priests) were trained in particular disciplines to steward and patron deities connected to the art or skill of their discipline. Lopes provides the following example of this practice:

Each man worshipped the akua that presided over the occupation or the profession he followed, because it was generally believed that the akua could prosper any man in his calling” (Malo 1951, p. 81). The kanaka mahi‘ai was responsible for appeasing the gods of agriculture especially Kāne the god of fresh water, while the kumu hula were responsible for mele pule, supplication or invocation for Laka, the goddess of hula. (Lopes, 2011, p. 47)

The patronage of specific gods for specific work substantiates the intricate relationship that Kānaka Maoli have with their akua and surroundings. Lopes also mentions that the mele pule were a means for our kūpuna to “communicate with the unseen, the spirit realm and those who were associated with what is known as the pō” (2011, p. 63). Pō, as mentioned earlier in Chapter Three, refers to the realm of our akua and ancestors. This is the realm that we come from when we’re born and to whence, we return upon leaving the realm of kānaka. Our ancestors made a conscious effort to maintain this important relationship with the realm of the akua because they “knew that the spiritual world was very much a part of their physical world” (2011, p. 63). Similarly, Kanaka Maoli scholar Maya Kawailana Saffery writes, “Often mele (and oli and pule) are used to communicate with the spiritual realm to access knowledge because they are seen as one of the highest forms of communication” (2015, p. 119). Pule is the pathway for this form of communication and communion with the akua. Incantations are a natural feature of who we are as Kānaka Maoli; it grounds us and gives us direction. Pukui once said that without pule, her people would be lost (1972). When looking at the decline of Kānaka Maoli

following the overthrow and into the forced American occupation and assimilation of the 1900's, the loss of religion is indeed a key factor in that degeneration of Kanaka Maoli society. To put a positive spin on that, religion is also the path for Kānaka Maoli to raise and strengthen our identity today.

7.1.2 Oli: Chant

As pule may be the foremost means for communicating with the akua, oli and mele serve as extensions of pule and as means to express our adoration for the akua, the 'āina, and fellow kānaka. The term oli refers to a composition and the actual act of chanting especially with prolonged phrases chanted in one breath, often with a trill ('i'i) at the end of each phrase. These incantations or chant compositions were not accompanied by musical instruments nor danced to. Mele on the other hand, certain genres of mele, were danced to. The term mele in its simplest form is a poem, a poetic composition, a song, or a chant. Mele also means to sing. Saffery describes mele to be a, "form of living narrative that our kūpuna used to remember significant events and people, honor and express our aloha 'āina, document ingenious cultural practices, record important lessons learned through the histories of our people, and outline proper ethical and spiritual protocols on which to model our behavior" (Saffery, 2015, p. 117). Clearly mele and oli were the cornerstones of Kanaka Maoli artistic expression. These poetic compositions recorded the rich profusion of experiences in the Kanaka Maoli world. Lopes writes about the love and passion our ancestors had for poetry stating that, "Their lyrical expressions were laden with the very essence of their soul" (2011, p. 42) as it was, "an avenue for our kūpuna to express themselves spiritually, physically, and emotionally" (Lopes, 2011, p. 42). Compositions of oli and mele are considered to be the most elevated expression of one's aloha.

These two terms mele and oli may seem interchangeable but they are not. There is crossover between the two terms and the terms may even appear together to refer to a certain type of composition. I will make an attempt to explain the complexities of these two terms below. Lopes explains the “two broad divisions” of mele as taught to him by his Kumu Hula Kimo Alama Keaulana, “mele oli” and “mele hula.” He states that, “The “mele oli” are those mele that are chanted without the accompaniment of hula or instrumentation.” (2011, p. 61). There were numerous kinds of mele oli that were categorized based on content. The lyrics in “mele hula” were performed with dance choreography, which may have included musical accompaniment” (Lopes, 2011, p. 62). We will look at hula in the next section. Drawing from the study of Ethnomusicologist Helen Roberts and definitions provided by Pukui and Elbert in the Hawaiian Dictionary (1986), Lopes identifies six styles of chanting; *Ho‘āeae*, *Ho‘ouwēuwē*, *Kānaeae*, *Kāwele*, *Kepakepa*, and *Olioli*. Certain chanting styles were appropriate for certain types of compositions, which very often were based on content. Lopes details the following chanting style terms as such below:

Ho‘āeae- A chant with lengthened vowels; A style of chanting with prolonged vowels and fairly short phrases, much used in love chants; to chant in this fashion; to read or recite Bible passages. (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 73)

Ho‘ouwēuwē- To imitate wailing; a wailing dirge. (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 363)

Kānaeae- Chanted supplicating prayer; chant of eulogy or praise the chanter hesitates at regular intervals to recover breath; tone variation is greater and pitch may be higher than in the olioli; to pray thus; to sacrifice; dedication. (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 126)

Kāwele- Kind of chant with clear, distinct pronunciation, somewhat like kepaakepa but slower; to chant thus. (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 140)

Kepakepa- Conversational chant, fast rhythmic chant or recitation, with every syllable clearly pronounced and without prolonged vowels and not requiring too much breath. The paha chants are in this style. To chant thus. (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 145)

Olioli- Chant that was not danced to, especially with prolonged phrases chanted in one breath, often with a trill ‘i’i at the end of each phrase; to chant thus; chanter. (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 285)
(Quoted in Lopes, 2011, p. 98)

In an online post Ethnomusicologist Amy Stillman mentions that chant, “rhythm is determined entirely by the words of the mele, and line lengths do not need to be consistent or uniform in length.”²⁷⁷ The rhythm she speaks of is the styles listed above. Since styles of chant are paired with particular content I will attempt to quickly summarize the content genre per style of chant mentioned. The ho‘āeae style is often used for mele compositions dealing with love and affection for its melodic patterning displays powerful emotion when performed. The ho‘ouwēuwē style is the dominant style for laments and funeral dirges such as kanikau. The kānaeae style is used for compositions of supplication to the akua and for ritual prayer. Kāwele style tends to be used for compositions about the ‘āina and intense emotional material. Stillman states that kāwele style with its “heightened declamation” has the ability to add “dramatic tension to the recited mele.”²⁷⁸ The

²⁷⁷ (<https://amykstillman.wordpress.com/2009/11/24/oli-five-genres/> retrieved on 5 March 2018)

²⁷⁸ <https://amykstillman.wordpress.com/2009/11/24/oli-five-genres/> retrieved on 5 March 2018)

kepakepa style is used to recite very long extended compositions such as genealogy or enumerations. For example the *Kumulipo* with more than 2,000 lines in the epic chant. Finally the olioli style which uses a “definite sustained pitch”²⁷⁹ that chanters may add “one or two pitches above the reciting tone to add some sonic interest,”²⁸⁰ or decoration to delivery. Olioli also uses prolonged vibrato at the ends of phrases “to decorate the tone,”²⁸¹ and is the most commonly heard style used for compositions of supplication and adoration. In addition to chanting styles Lopes²⁸² also provides seven chanting techniques that the chanter employs to emphasize concepts or words and to personalize delivery (2011, p. 97).

Master chanters were revered in traditional society for they were the keepers of knowledge and composers of history. Perhaps the most well-known master chanter from the time of the Kamehameha Dynasty was James Kapihenui Pālea Kuluwaimaka (1845-1936) who was born in Ka‘ū, Hawai‘i. He was a descendent of chiefs and musicians reared in the art of traditional oratory. He served as the premier chanter in the courts of Kamehameha IV in the early 1860’s into the times of the court of Kalākaua. Kuluwaimaka’s knowledge and repertoire of mele was tremendous. Recorded in 1933 at the Bishop Museum using dictaphone wax cylinders and a dictaphone phonograph-recorder, he is a major point of reference for all students of this art form. Kuluwaimaka is one of the featured chanters on the album *Nā Leo Hawai‘i Kahiko (Songs of Old Hawai‘i)*. Consisting of more than sixty mele this album is the foremost recorded collection of 19th century master

²⁷⁹ (<https://amykstillman.wordpress.com/2009/11/24/oli-five-genres/> retrieved on 5 March 2018)

²⁸⁰ (<https://amykstillman.wordpress.com/2009/11/24/oli-five-genres/> retrieved on 5 March 2018)

²⁸¹ (<https://amykstillman.wordpress.com/2009/11/24/oli-five-genres/> retrieved on 5 March 2018)

²⁸² This section is meant to be a brief overview that does not do justice to the diversity and complexities of mele and oli. For an indepth look and study of this material please refer to R. Keawe Lopes, Jr.’s *Ka Waihoana A Ke Aloha: Ka Papahana Ho‘oheno Mele An Interactive Resource Center For The Promotion, Preservation And Perpetuation Of Mele And Mele Practitioners*.

chanters performing the chanting styles discussed here. Accomplished chanter Jonah La‘akapu Lenchanko states that oli is known as a “lonely” art form because one individual chanter performs most oli in solo fashion. Vocal quality, technique, training, and a chanter’s genealogy are all factors in the individualization of a chanter’s voice (Lenchanko, 2014). In recent years Kumu Hula Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahale revived the public performances of chanting in a production entitled *The Art of the Chanter*, in order to highlight the skill of the individual chanter. Established in 1986, the most recent iteration of this production was curated by Kumu Hula Keali‘i Reichel and Kanaka‘ole Kanahale’s granddaughter Kaumakaiwa Kanaka‘ole. The performance took place at Kennedy Theatre at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in September 2017. More than twenty Kanaka Maoli chanters filled a three hours program of chanting classic and new oli compositions. *The Art of the Chanter* signals the invigoration of this art form in modern times.

7.1.3 Mele: Song and Poetry

As we move into the discussion of mele I would like to mention the role of the *haku mele* (composer). Lopes writes that:

Mele preserved the thoughts, feelings and expressions of the haku mele and the performance thereof then communicated these intentions to the appropriate audience. The intended audience could be an immense crowd of people at a celebration, a loved-one while strolling together on a moonlit shore or a family deity during prayer time. (Lopes, 2011, p. 42)

Two concepts here are noteworthy; first, the haku mele always had an intended audience and mele were composed with the intention of performance. Second, the role of the haku mele was multifaceted encompassing the function of a historian,

genealogist, priest, and poet artist. This being said there were obligatory mele passed down from generation to generation that was maintained for religious or historical purposes, and there were a plethora of other compositions on a variety of subjects that were regularly generated. Kānaka Maoli of all walks of life were avid poets who captured personal experiences via mele. Inspired to compose “from the mere moving of their emotions, whether it was good, bad, spiritual, sensual, caring, arrogant, full of praise or insulting and demeaning” (Lopes, 2011, p. 50) Kānaka Maoli used mele to document their observations. Kumu Hula Kaha‘iali‘i Topolinski’s article in *Ha‘ilono Mele* provides insight on the haku mele and the process of word choice.

A special ingredient of Hawaiian chants is the all-important kaona or hidden meaning in the choice of words. The haku mele or composer knew the importance of kaona and was skilled in creating mele that featured hidden meanings as a guarantee of the success and quick acceptability of the chant. For the Hawaiian mind, the principal charm of the chant lies in the words, and, in many instances, the kaona is expressed in exquisite poetic imagery. Series of word paintings describing the beauties of nature may be used in such profusion that they tend to bewilder someone accustomed to the restraints of most modern poetry. However, they who seek in Hawaiian chants only the kind of secondary meaning that refers to human passion entirely lose sight of the fact that a people capable of such imagery and marvelous depictions of the natural beauty surrounding them could hardly, at the same time, have vulgar intentions. The human emotions involved with love and sex have occupied the constant attention of poets throughout the ages. It is to the Hawaiian’s credit that he treats this universal theme in such beautiful and figurative language.

The most refined mele has at least two meanings, achieving the second one by pun, allegory, word play, or similar devices. In

composing mele, especially mele inoa or name chants, the composer was aware of the fact that many Hawaiian names are descriptive and nearly all of them compounded and hence capable of at least one secondary translation. And, of course, he could and did capitalize on the ambiguity through contractions and other manipulations of his poetic design. (1976, p. 4)²⁸³

Poetry was not limited to the ali‘i class as it was in many western cultures (Roberts, 1926). However, there was a specific group of individuals groomed from a young age to retain oratory. Kanahale explains the training for this distinct group of exceptionally retentive individuals.

A special class of reciters, poets, genealogists, and chanters attached to the courts of the ali‘i were skilled in the art of ‘apo, literally catching. They were “trained to receive and hold the spoken word, that is, to memorize instantly, at first hearing. In composing long or epic poems, several poets met in conclave to compose, criticize, correct, and recite the work in progress, line by line. (GHS Kanahale, 1986, pp. 264-265)

These individuals described by Kanahale held the history of our people in their remarkable memories. These individuals were also haku mele who in addition to maintaining all of the obligatory mele, composed their own bodies of knowledge some of which continue to be preserved today. In speaking about the existing repository of mele Saffery mentions the avenues in which mele have been maintained through. She writes:

Mele practiced and perpetuated in hālau hula, preserved and passed down in family collections, stored, and cataloged in the archives,

²⁸³ Article now available online at <http://ulukau.org/gsd12.80/collect/hailono/cgi-bin/hailono?e=11off--1-v---101025-10-1-0--0-0-1&a=d&d=DHMN002001.1.4> retrieved on 29 September 2018.

and recorded and disseminated in nūpepa ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language newspapers) all make up the vast waihona mele of our lāhui. (Saffery, 2015, p. 117)

This vast repository of mele that Saffery refers to here consists of a diverse body of songs, anthems, chants, and poems. Topolinski writes that:

Hawaiians preserved a mental record of their family mele so that they might be made known to successive generations and so that their progeny would benefit in this knowledge, binding them to the entire ‘ohana in a network of family genealogy and personal histories, mingled with legend and fantasies of the human mind. All these epics penetrated the very being of the ancient Hawaiians, generating an abstract supernatural force enabling them to have more than a biological relationship to their ‘ohana. Their senses, emotions, and psyches were quickened or attuned to each other and also to their departed kūpuna or ancestors who were brought closer to their living descendants each time the family bard recited with pride the accomplishments, mele inoa, and the history of the family’s ancestors. (1976, p. 6)

Topolinski points out three important aspects of mele here. First, many mele were specific to a genealogical line retained in that family. Second, the recitation of mele is a means to reconnect with our ‘ohana, both living and the kūpuna who have passed on, and maintain our lineage. And third, mele often served as the mo‘olelo (history) of a family.

In the Hawaiian Dictionary Pukui and Elbert list twenty-five different types of mele culled from the scholarship of Kanaka Maoli historians of the 1800’s and Pukui’s intimate family knowledge of mele practice. Below are the mele listed in Pukui and Elbert’s dictionary (1986, pp. 245–246) as collated by Lopes 2011.

Table 7.2: Genre of Mele.

<i>Type of Mele</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Mele Ahiahi	Evening song, vesper.
Mele Aupuni	National anthem.
Mele Haipule	Hymn, religious song.
Mele Hapa Haole	Hawaiian type of song mostly with English words.
Mele Hei	Song sung while making a cat's cradle (hei).
Mele Ho'āla	Song to wake a sleeping child or person, especially one composed for a chief or favorite child and used thus. <i>Lit.</i> , awakening song.
Mele Ho'ālohaloha	Serenade.
Mele Ho'ohiamoe Keiki	Lullaby. <i>Lit.</i> , song to put children to sleep.
Mele Ho'oipoipo	Love song, serenade. <i>Lit.</i> , wooing song.
Mele Hō'ole Lama	Temperance song. <i>Lit.</i> , song refusing rum.
Mele Hō'ole Wai 'Ona	Temperance song. <i>Lit.</i> , song refusing intoxicating liquor.
Mele Ho'onānā Keiki	Lullaby, song to soothe children.
Mele Inoa	Name chant, i.e., chant composed in honor of a person, as of a chief. Also <i>inoa</i> .
Mele Kāhea	Chant for admittance to an old-time hula school. <i>Lit.</i> , calling song.
Mele Ka'i	Chant or song sung while dancers come out before the audience. <i>Lit.</i> , procession song.
Mele Ka'i Ho'i	Chant or song sung while dancers leave the audience. <i>Lit.</i> , song for proceeding back.
Mele Ka'i Kaua	Battle song. (PH 43.) <i>Lit.</i> , song to lead in battle.

Mele Kanikau	Dirge, mourning song.
Mele Kinai Lama, Mele Kinai ‘Ona	Temperance song. <i>Lit.</i> , song abolishing rum, song abolishing drunkenness.
Mele Komo	Welcoming song.
Mele Kuahu	Altar chant, as before an altar in a hula school.
Mele Kūō, Mele Kūwō	Lamentation.
Mele Ma‘i	See ma‘i, genitals. Mele ma‘i, song in honor of genitals, as a chief, as composed on his or her birth, rarely if ever composed for adults; usually gay and fast.
Mele Paikau	A march; marching song.
Mele Ukali Hua Kumu	Alphabet song, as one repeating the vowels. <i>Lit.</i> , song following the basic letters.

Lopes does a commendable job providing an extensive review of the literature on mele gleaned from the Hawaiian language newspapers. His research has brought forth discussions by nineteenth century Kanaka Maoli scholars like Poepoe, Malo, and Kamakau whose writings detailed mele genres, purpose, and practice. Cited and analyzed by Lopes is an article written by Kamakau listing nineteen genres of mele that appeared in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. The following quote from the newspaper and translation was featured in Lopes' dissertation.

He nui ke ano o na mele, oia hoi, he mele kupuna, he mele aina, he mele alii, he mele hiilani, he mele mahalo, he mele aloha, he mele kuamuamu, he mele pule, he mele kanikau, he mele hiamoe, he mele hoala, he mele noi, he mele aua, he mele kahea, he mele haawi, he mele hookiekie, he mele wanana, he mele kilokilo, a he mele nemanema ... (Kamakau, 21 December 1867, p. 1)

[*There are many kinds of mele, mele that were about one's ancestors, mele about the land, mele for a chief, mele of praise, mele of appreciation, mele about love, mele for cursing or reviling, mele as prayers, mele for lamentation or dirge, mele for sleeping, mele for waking, mele expressing a request, mele of refusal, mele for admittance, mele for giving, mele of conceit, mele with prophetic messages, mele for omen reading and mele for criticizing ...*]

Lopes also combed the newspaper repository and dictionary for other types of mele not previously listed. This includes the terms *kau*,²⁸⁴ *paha*,²⁸⁵ *kake*,²⁸⁶ *mele le'a*,²⁸⁷ and so forth. The multitude of mele genres and the massive amounts of mele generated are evidence of the integral role that mele played in Kanaka Maoli society.

Since there will be further discussion on mele featured in the hana keaka productions of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka later in this chapter, I find it valuable to mention a few common types of mele. Thus far we have seen the terms for the two broad categories of mele as mentioned by Lopes; mele oli and mele hula. There are five other major categories of mele that are relevant to the forthcoming discussion on mele featured in hana keaka. First, *mele pule* which are prayers or incantations composed to entice or appease the akua. Next are *mele ko'ihonua*, genealogical compositions, that were performed at the birth of an ali'i and as needed to prove or verified one's genealogy when in question. Third, *mele inoa* are honorific name chants for an individual and/or their lineage. Then there are *mele pana*, which were

²⁸⁴ A sacred chant, as Hi'iaka's chants of affectionate greeting to persons, hills, and landmarks; a chant of sacrifice to a deity; to chant thus (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 133).

²⁸⁵ To improvise a chant; an improvised or conversation chant, as the *kepakepa* (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 299).

²⁸⁶ Chants with mixed or garbled words, for and by chiefs, with inserted syllables and some secret words (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 119).

²⁸⁷ Song of Joy, pleasure, happiness, merriment (Kamakau, 1992, p. 48).

songs for a sacred or special place. Finally, *mele ma'i* were composed to honor one's genitals "characterized by describing either the genitals or the act of love making" (Topolinski, 1976) with the idea that the composition would increase one's potency and there by ensure progeny in perpetuating the bloodline. Today *mele ma'i* are typically performed at the end of an event as a symbol of cultural perpetuation. A note on the performance of mele, certain types of mele require a particular vocal style for delivery. For example a *mele pule* will normally be performed in the *olioli* style of chanting. Pule, oli, and mele share a similar characteristic in that they were an essential element of daily life in traditional times and continue to be at the center of Kanaka Maoli practices today. During the time of our kūpuna all aspects of daily life were infused with pule, oli, or mele. Tasks that had a rhythmic quality to it were accompanied by oli or mele. For example the musical quality of *kūkū kapa*, the making or beating of tapa cloth was conducive to mele. It is said that the beating and mele allowed women to communicate with one another through their work.²⁸⁸ It also was common for the *kahuna lā'au lapa'au* (herbal doctor or healer) to practice incantations while they gathered herbs or plants for their healing potions. Compositions would even accompany *he'enalu* (surfing) or *he'e hōlua* (sled racing). In a sense there was always a place for poetic expression in the Kanaka Maoli world. This section hopefully provided a brief overview on the complex art of mele and as we move into the forms of dance and oratory, the connection of these forms of hana no'eau should crystalize. Furthermore, it should be clear that hana no'eau is a foundational element for all hana keaka productions.

²⁸⁸ Hawaiian Masterpieces: Ka Hana Kapa, PBS Hawai'i Documentary, 2015.

7.1.4 Ha‘a, Hula and Hula Ki‘i: Traditional Dance Forms

In this next section I will focus exclusively on movement discussing three primary forms- *ha‘a*, *hula*, and *hula ki‘i*. Before engaging in this discussion it is very important to understand that unlike other Polynesian dance forms, which are driven by drum beats with occasional lyrics, *ha‘a* and *hula* does not happen without lyrics. Each dance tells a story that is only possible through *mele* composition. The movements reflect the words enhancing the text which communicates the story captured in the song. Dance ethnographer Adrienne Kaeppler classifies three categories of formalized movement in traditional Hawaiian life for “the realization of emotion, ritual, and entertainment” (1993, p. 8). First is the movement that accompanied *kanikau* (lamentations) and *ho‘ouwēuwē* (dirges) during mourning ceremonies. Second is the ritualistic dance movement performed with drums at the temples for sacred ceremonies. And third are the dances for formal entertainments accompanied by poetry and implementation of *ipu* (gourds), *pahu* (drums), *kā‘eke‘eke* (bamboo drums), and other traditional implements (Kaeppler, 1993, pp. 8-9). Kanahale writes that, “...the gods were the ones who first created and choreographed the dance, who first composed the *mele hula*, who first taught the *hula* to mortals, who established the first *hālau*, and who made and played the first musical instruments to accompany the dances” (GHS Kanahale, 1986, p. 129). The origins of *ha‘a* and *hula* harken back to the time of the *akua* and are steeped in our mythology. Kanahale adds “Myth, ritual, and dance are indivisible parts of a single process” (GHS Kanahale, 1986, p. 129). The myths are our *mo‘olelo* recounting the “divine deeds” (GHS Kanahale, 1986, p. 129) of our *akua* in words, the dance “portrays those deeds in movement, rhythm, and gesture” (GHS Kanahale, 1986, p. 129), and the culmination of these acts is a ritual practice. Kanahale writes, “the essence of ritual is action” (GHS Kanahale, 1986, p. 129). Esteemed *kumu hula*,

composer, and scholar Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahahele describes the ritual practice of hula in her book *Ka Honua Ola The Living Earth* in the following passage.

Hula begins with the movement of the sun, the wind, the sounds, the growth on land, and the ocean. Hula is ritualized as it personifies nature. Like nature, hula is rhythmic, inclusive, transformative, physical, spiritual, healing, and above all, it is Hawaiian. (2011, p. 109)

The connectivity of hula to our environment is undeniable as explained by Kanaka‘ole Kanahahele. The art form rooted in ritual is innately a Kanaka Maoli expression of our world and relationship to our environment inclusive of akua, ‘āina, and kānaka. Revered kupuna, composer, kumu hula, and scholar Nona Beamer in her book, *Nā Mele Hula: A Collection of Hula Chants*, explains the relationship of ritual and ceremony in hula. She writes:

A ritual is a prescribed form for conducting a thoughtful ceremony. Ritual and ceremony are very important to the hula family. The kumu (teacher) is not only disseminating traditional information, but also threading the essence of spirituality through the daily training. The haumāna (novitiates) learn that the spirit is a vital principle-the animating force that brings life and soul to the event. How can a people survive the rigors of existence without strong faith and the rituals that express that faith? (Beamer, 2001, p. 13)

Beamer’s words illustrate the fundamental spirituality that exists in the practice of hula. The ceremonial dances created by the akua and practiced by kānaka are an intrinsic part of a religious service. Son of the earliest missionaries to reach the shores of O‘ahu Nathaniel B. Emerson wrote that “The *hula* was a religious service, in which poetry, music, pantomime, and the dance lent themselves, under the forms

of dramatic art” (Emerson, 1909, pp. 11-12). Kanahele explains the function of hula in relation to religion.

Whatever the function or purpose of the hula—whether invoking fertility in either agricultural or human productivity, healing, honoring a departed ancestor, psychic armament, initiation, or validation of social status—the underlying principle was the same as in all religious ritual: to reaffirm belief and trust by reenacting the deeds of the gods and, in the process, to revitalize the unceasing quest for power or mana. (GHS Kanahele, 1986, p. 133)

Being that the akua and mana are at the core of this hana no‘eau, it is understandable that the earliest form of dance was linked to temple rituals and was practiced under very strict kapu. This form, ha‘a, personified the akua (Kaepler, 1993, p.15). Ha‘a, a dance with bent knees is known for its bombastic explosive movement and explicit connection to the *‘āina* (earth). Kaepler states that the term ha‘a was replaced with the term hula around the 1860’s-1870’s (1993, p. 7). Kaepler notes that ha‘a may have been described in the newspapers and books but the term hula was much more prevalent in print media to refer to dance and amongst practitioners of traditional dance. I suspect this may have been a survival tactic to disguise ha‘a in order to maintain the religious dance forms in the midst of the banning of “pagan” religious practices. We know that there were underground movements in effect to maintain this knowledge when missionaries instituted bans on ritual dance linked to religious practices. Scholars and historians write about these resistance and survival movements.

Missionary influence, while strong, never wiped out the hula as a functional part of the Hawaiian society. Faced with this undeniable fact, the authorities sought to curb performances by regulation. (Barrere, Pukui, & Kelly, 1980, p. 41)

The Kānaka Maoli who held steadfast to their religious beliefs and practices during this time of turmoil and upheaval are the reason why we have the hula traditions that exist today. We are grateful for the efforts by those keepers of knowledge who went to great lengths to protect and preserve the ritual practice of hula.

At this point I feel it important to share the four origins or traditions of hula that these ritual practices emerge from. I begin with La‘amaikahiki whose name means “Sacred one from Kahiki.” Kahiki is often translated as Tahiti however it is possible to use the term Kahiki when referencing islands in the South Pacific. La‘amaikahiki brings the first *hula pahu* or shark-skin covered drum to Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i and the dances that are practiced with that drum. These sacred hula make their way across the island of O‘ahu and to Kaua‘i where La‘amaikahiki becomes the third ali‘i ‘aimoku or high chief of Kaua‘i. Lohiau, a well-known Kaua‘i chief and a lover of Pele (goddess of volcanism) was a master dancer of the hula pahu tradition that Kaua‘i is known for. The hula pahu and repertoire of temple dances from Kaua‘i are known to be the most sacred and the oldest existing forms of hula.

The next hula tradition I would like to mention is the La‘ila‘i tradition that originates on the island of Moloka‘i. In this tradition hula developed alongside of *lua* or martial arts through the La‘ila‘i family who maintained the sacred dances solely within their family. The tradition tells us that a brother and sister would go up to Pu‘u Nānā in Ka‘ana on Moloka‘i to learn movement together from the akua (Mugge, 1989). Hula and lua movements mirrored each other and were only practiced at Pu‘u Nānā until five generations later when Laka was born and learned the tradition from her older siblings. Without family consent Laka traveled throughout the island chain teaching the sacred family dance tradition. Laka is the

foremost deity associated with hula regularly called upon to inspire the dancer. She is associated with the upland forest and reproductive energy. Laka's *kinolau*, physical manifestations or body forms on earth, are *lama* wood for enlightenment, ferns *kapalaiwena'ula*, *laua'e*, and *palapalai* that maintain moisture on the forest ground to ensure constant nourishment for the trees, fragrant malie vines that embrace the trees in the forest, 'a'ali'i, and 'ōhi'a lehua blossoms (Kanahele, 2011). These kinolau are used as adornments by the hula dancer in order to embody the goddess and honor her in the dance.

The term *laka* means tamed or domesticated²⁸⁹ and chants performed for Laka are believed to “reinforce our belief in the importance of ritual as an integral part of the spirit of hula” (Beamer, 2001, p. 13). In this simple incantation below Laka is called upon to provide sustenance by luring or taming the voice, the loa'a, and various kinds of wealth.

Ē Laka ē...	<i>O Laka...</i>
E laka i ka leo,	<i>Attract the voice,</i>
E laka i ka loa'a,	<i>Attract profit,</i>
E laka i ka waiwai.	<i>Attract wealth.</i>
(Emerson, 1909, p. 34)	

Through the La'ila'i tradition Laka was deified and is the most celebrated hula deity in current times. Established by Kumu Hula John Ka'imikaua, the annual *Ka Hula Piko* celebration continues at Ka'ana to remember and honor the birth of the hula and the La'ila'i hula lineage.

The next tradition is that of Kapō'ulakīna'u who is a major hula deity and also an older sister of Pele. Kapō'ulakīna'u represents the subconscious or mental

²⁸⁹ Tame, domesticated, gentle, docile; attracted to, fond of; to tame, domesticate, attract.

health, she is known for her duality to inspire the dancer and also possess the dancer. We call this act, “*noho*,” when a spirit or god dwells within a host in this case it would be the *‘ōlapa* or dancer. Kapō‘ulakīna‘u is the deity connected to trance dancing where through her dancers are transported in to the realm of the ancestors. Many consider Kapō‘ulakīna‘u, also known as Kapo, to represent sorcery. She is often called upon for inspiration and protection. We understand her to be an older or perhaps the original goddess of hula. The *halapepe*²⁹⁰ plant is a physical manifestation of hers that is used to decorate the hula altar.

Last but perhaps the most recognized hula tradition is the Pele and Hi‘iakaikapoliopole tradition from Hawai‘i Island. Amongst the adventure and romance the epic tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole contains the origin story of the Pele hula tradition. While down at Kea‘au near a beach, Hi‘iaka’s companion Hōpoe imitates the movement of the waves in the ocean and the swaying of the trees in the wind. This replication of natural movement of the elements accompanied by Hi‘iaka’s chanting represents the birth of hula in the Pele tradition.

Every hālau hula or traditional dance school will trace their hula lineage to one of these hula traditions that I have covered. Lineage is of paramount importance for hula practitioners, for it is your lineage that affords you kuleana, responsibility or ownership, to certain mele and styles of dance. In traditional teaching, hula are passed down and maintained by observing kuleana and kapu.²⁹¹ Many traditional dances have some level of sacredness to them. Being that hula was very much connected to the akua or gods, traditional hālau would patron those akua through

²⁹⁰ A species of the pandanus tree.

²⁹¹ Taboo, prohibition; special privilege or exemption from ordinary taboo; sacredness; prohibited, forbidden; sacred, holy, consecrated.

offerings at the *kuahu* (hula altar). This is one of the practices that the missionaries rebuked. The *kuahu* was dedicated to Laka and/or Kāpō‘ulakīna‘u. Also Hi‘iaka is represented, and other kinolau or manifestations of akua in their plant forms. The *kuahu* is dressed and fed regularly upon entering the consecrated hālau space. I must mention that with this kind of ritualistic practice there is great responsibility and if not done properly dancers and kumu can become ill because of dealing with the spiritual realm. Today most hālau do not delve into this realm of hula and it is rare to find hālau who actually keep a traditional *kuahu*. However within most hālau proper protocol and kapu continue to be upheld when sacred hula are taught in contemporary times regardless of the presence of an altar.

In the hālau setting a dancer would not be allowed to pick and choose what hula they would like to learn. In fact, it is the kumu who decides who learns, what they are allowed to learn, and when they learn it. When one learns traditional hula they become a keeper of that mo‘olelo and with that knowledge also comes kuleana. Some hula are taught under strict restrictions or kapu. For example, the dancer may not share the dance with anyone, or the dancer would only be allowed to dance a mele when certain protocols are observed. Kapu to those who do not understand it may seem complicated. For the most part a dancer’s kapu is based on their role in the hālau and their readiness in the eyes of their kumu.

The internal structure of a traditional hālau hula and the individual roles within the hālau varies from hālau to hālau. Nonetheless all hālau are led by a master who runs an authoritarian enterprise. In traditional times the hālau was led by the kahuna who was a priest, instructor, and master. The title of kahuna clearly points to the religious aspect and service of hula in traditional times. The term kumu hula surfaces in the 1960’s shortly after the establishment of a modern day hālau hula by

Maiki Aiu Lake, who in 1952 “sought permission to use the term halau,”²⁹² from the masters of hula of the time, Mary Kawena Pukui, Lokalia Montgomery, and ‘Iolani Luahine. Directly under the kahuna was the *Po‘opua‘a*, the head pupil (literally pig head). This title is linked to ceremonial practices in which this individual was the one to provide a pig or pig-head offering (Emerson, 1909, p. 29). The *Paepae* served as the support in a role similar to that of a sergeant of arms. The *Ho‘oulu’s* function was to provide inspiration for the hālau and to assist the kahuna in all spiritual matters from consecrating the space, to protecting the dancers, to being a muse for artistic creation. The *Ho‘opa‘a* was the musician who played the ipu, pahu, and pūniu. The kahuna, now known as the kumu hula, may also serve as the primary *ho‘opa‘a*. We have a proverb that says *‘I le‘a ka hula i ka ho‘opa‘a,*’ (The dance is enjoyable because of the musician.). This proverb keeps the dancer’s contribution in perspective with the idea that even though the dancer may be the primary point of visual interest, which is only possible because of the contributions of both the drummer and the chanter. The *‘Ōlapa* or dancer is the base of the hālau. In a modern day hālau context dancers are referred to as students or haumāna. The term *‘ōlapa* is reserved for those who matriculate through the hālau and earn the title of *‘ōlapa*. Please note that not every hālau follows the exact structure explained here; some hālau have *alaka‘i* (leaders) whose roles are similar to that of the *po‘opua‘a*, whereas other hālau do not have anyone in that position.

Today many people join a hālau because they want to dance or learn the culture or both. Modernity has made it acceptable to self-initiate, to seek out a hālau, perhaps audition, and ultimately enroll. In traditional times you were selected to be a dancer, chanter, or musician from a very young age as was with other disciplines.

²⁹² (<http://www.midweek.com/coline-aiu-hula-is-life/>) retrieved on 20 April 2018.

In many cases it was based on lineage, if your family were hula practitioners it is very likely that you, yourself would be a hula practitioner too. An individual would not seek out a kahuna and ask to join their hālau, there was not open enrollment as practiced today.

As mentioned in the previous section on mele, within the world of mele there are a number of mele styles and a multiplicity of mele types. Hula is similar with general categories of hula styles and a myriad of hula genres. In the origins of ritual temple dances the term ha‘a classified the ceremonial dances performed with the pahu drum, which would later be referred to as hula as well. The *hula ‘āla‘apapa* is another general style of sacred dance that was accompanied by the *ipu* (gourd). Stillman has written a book²⁹³ on hula ‘āla‘apapa classifying it as the sacred dance form of the Kamehameha Dynasty. During the Kalākaua era, the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the *hula ku‘i* influenced by the new musical instruments of the time, the guitar and the ‘ukulele, would be the style that ushers in the evolution of hula resulting in the modern day forms of hula.²⁹⁴

Certain genres of hula are named for the implementation that accompanies the hula while others are based on movement. The *hula kalā‘au* is an example of a type of hula named for the accompanying instrument. *Kalā‘au* are hula sticks played together to punctuate the dance. Some hula are named for the movements that are executed in the dance such as the *hula ‘ōhelo* that featured the ‘*ōhelo* movement, the extending of the leg while sitting horizontally and supporting the

²⁹³ *Sacred Hula: The Historical Hula Ala‘apapa* (Bishop Museum Bulletins in Anthropology) 1998.

²⁹⁴ Today the popularized terms for hula categories are the hula kahiko and hula ‘auana. These terms were created and formalized in the late 1960’s by Kumu Hula George Nā‘ope with the consultation of elders from the hula world for the Merrie Monarch Hula Competition.

weight on one hand and the opposite foot while arching your body in a reclining position.



Figure 7.1 Featured here are the men of *Ke Kai o Kahiki*, under the direction of *Kumu Hula O'Brien Eselu*, at the 2009 *Merrie Monarch* performing *Tū 'Oe* featuring the hula 'ōhelo.²⁹⁵

Other hula are named for the position in which the dance is performed like the seated hula or *hula noho*. Whereas the *hula manō* is named for its content; these are dances about sharks. This section barely scratches the surface of the countless genres of hula in the Kanaka Maoli repertoire. However, there is one more genre of

²⁹⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Xr1Wd17w-g retrieved on 29 September 2018.

hula that is of particular interest in relation to the practice of hana keaka, that is *hula ki'i*.

Hula ki'i has two forms; image dancing performed by dancers who imitate the postures of *ki'i* (carved wooden images) and puppetry. The earliest written account of a hula *ki'i* performance was in 1820 on the island of Kaua'i, where King Kaumuali'i and Queen Kupule were entertained in Waimea, "by six undescribed puppets dancing the hula behind a tapa screen to the accompaniment of a drummer-chanter in front of it" (Luomala, 1984, p. 170). The image dancing form of hula *ki'i* "descends through the Keahi Luahine tradition" (Kaepler, 1993, p. 15) on Kaua'i. According to Pukui,

The dance of wooden images (*kii*) was originated by the natives of Kalalau on Kaua'i and did not spread to any of the other islands. In this dance, musicians were unnecessary. The dancer chanted and by stiff posturing told of the small and large wooden images or idols. Keahi told me that small children on Kauai used to dance this on almost all the beaches after returning from a swim. This hula *kii* must not be confused with Dr. Emerson's hula *kii* or dance in which puppets were used. (Pukui, 1980, pp. 81-82)

Pukui makes a clear distinction here of the human image dancing and the puppetry that Emerson documents, for each form has a different lineage and origin story. Some image dances are correlated with the temple dances that were performed for the akua. These particular dances were considered to be dances of heathenish idolatry by the missionaries and were outlawed. Image dancing was practiced in hiding for decades and a number of hula *ki'i* have been preserved in hālau such as Hālau o Kekuhi, Hālau Hula Kukuna o Ka Lā, and also through the family line of 'Iolani Luahine, daughter of Keahi who is mentioned above. This being said, the puppetry form of hula *ki'i* is by far one of the more *noa* (secular, free from taboo)

forms of hula.²⁹⁶ In our mo‘olelo there are many occasions where ki‘i are utilized for performance or as a decoy. For example, Māuiakamalo affectionately known today as “the Hawaiian superman,” uses a image of wood and tapa to deceive the ‘alae or mud hens in order to learn the secret of fire making from them. The ki‘i decoy is sent out to sea on the canoe with his brothers. Māuiakamalo then sneaks up on the ‘alae and forces Ka‘alaehuapī to teach him every detail in making fire.

At the end of the nineteenth century Emerson wrote that, “The hula ki‘i was, perhaps, the nearest approximation made by the Hawaiians to a genuine dramatic performance” (Emerson, 1909, p. 92). I find this statement very interesting especially in light of the numerous Kanaka Maoli initiated hana keaka that were advertised and written about in the Hawaiian language newspapers during that time. We must also consider the scope of performances that Emerson was privy to around the time he wrote his text *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii*, which for many decades was regarded as the most comprehensive book on hula and treated as an authority on the subject.

Anthropologist Katherine Luomala in her book *Hula Ki‘i Hawaiian Puppetry* writes that, “The principal function of *hula ki‘i*, like all hulas, was to entertain people of every social class and age at private or public gatherings. *Hula ki‘i* whether by puppets or human imitators, was particularly intended to arouse laughter” (1984, p. 71). In academia this book authored by a non-Kanaka Maoli is regarded as the leading authority on hula ki‘i. To Luomala’s credit her book has gathered and synthesized a massive amount of data as well as posed great inquiry about the art and function of hula ki‘i. However her inability to conduct research in

²⁹⁶ This is especially true for the modern day hand puppetry form of hula ki‘i, devised in the mid-1900’s.

‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i prohibited her from obtaining a complete picture of the form nor was she able to analyze the form from a Kanaka Maoli perspective. As a means to generate interest, create opportunities for learning this form, and encourage Kanaka Maoli scholarship around this form I introduced a new course of study entitled, *Theatre 478: Hula Ki‘i Image Dancing and Puppetry*, under the Hawaiian Theatre Program at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in the fall of 2016. Through reaching out to hula ki‘i practitioners from various lineages of hula ki‘i, the students enrolled in the course were able to learn from five Kanaka Maoli kumu who shared and taught their art form to them. One of the Kumu Hula, ‘Auli‘i Mitchell, shared a text that he’s written on his hula lineage and his creative process in producing new hula ki‘i. In contrast to Luomala’s claim that all hula were meant to entertain, Mitchell confirmed that even hula ki‘i had a sector of performances that were kapu. He added that there were processes in the creation of a ki‘i that were kapu and that the ki‘i as well “are kapu to the hula dancer manipulating them” (Mitchell, 2014, p. 57). The carver or creator of the ki‘i infused his or her mana into the ki‘i and therefore the process of bringing a ki‘i into this realm gives life to that ki‘i. There is also an observed sacredness to that ki‘i and the relationship between the ki‘i and its puppeteer. Substantiating the kapu that exists in the ki‘i, Luomala writes about Pa‘akaula a hula master and puppeteer featured in her text from Moanalua who placed taboo on his puppets that held hula deities within them (1984, p. 74).



Figure 7.2: *Kumu Hula 'Auli'i Mitchell with his ki'i.*²⁹⁷

In other parts of the South Pacific clowning and puppetry was practiced regularly for laughter and satire, a healthy purging for the community (Hereniko, 1994). The puppet form of hula ki'i seems to align similarly with those practices. Filled with gossip and satire the performances seem to make commentary on societal norms and personal vices (Luomala, 1984). The actual ki'i or puppet was typically 1/3 life size and carved out of kukui or wiliwili wood. The ki'i was later stained with the juice from the kukui bark and root. This process is called *pa'ikukui*. The wooden image was commonly covered with kapa. Ki'i were kapu for individual puppeteers and it is accepted that each ki'i had mana that increased

²⁹⁷<http://www.honolulumagazine.com/Honolulu-Magazine/October-2017/Hula-Kii-with-Puppets-Brings-a-Nearly-Lost-Art-to-Honolulu-Audiences/> retrieved on 29 September 2018.

through performance. Since the ki'i had limited flexibility the puppeteer relied greatly on his verbal devices. However there are accounts of ki'i performing Hawaiian martial arts during a performance (Luomala, 1984).

Hula ki'i performances may take place with or without a screen to conceal the puppeteers. Also human dancers may participate with the ki'i imitating their moves during a performance. The puppeteer would manipulate the ki'i and be the voice or the ki'i; he or she may also dance with the ki'i. The puppeteer could be considered the playwright or the one who designed the performance, laying out the story to be performed and the chants to be included. In addition to the puppeteer the ho'opa'a served as the drummer and chanter for the performance. The ho'opa'a, likely the hula master, would sit in full view of the audience playing the ipu or gourd and would address the audience during performances for added entertainment. The mele and dialogue performed incorporated *'ōlelo kāpekepeke* or *'ōlelo huna* (secret and shifty talk) (Emerson, 1909). Often risqué material was approached with layered kaona in this noa form. For example, landscapes, features in nature, or fish are used as metaphor or symbols for sexual love, relationships, and so forth. There was also direct address to the audience and audience participation, where the ho'opa'a may in consultation with the ki'i, select someone from the audience to join them on stage for a dance or song. Historical accounts show that hula ki'i have been the sole source of entertainment performed at a venue such as the hula ki'i marathon performed for Kamehameha III in 1821. Hula ki'i were also performed as an entr'acte, intervals between other acts of an evening of performance, like in 1883 at King Kalākaua's birthday celebration program and at King Kalākaua's coronation celebration in 1886.

George H.S. Kanahale writes about hula beginning as a kapu practice and the evolution of the form, like other forms of folk dances, became noa or free from kapu (1986). Though this may be true for many of the dances, there still remains a small handful of hālau that practice the sacred kapu forms honoring the ancient hula altar. The preservation and perpetuation of our dance forms for future generations of Kānaka Maoli is a pressing and complicated issue today, especially with the massive amounts of non-Kanaka Maoli who practice our art form. In the quote below Kumu Hula Lilinoe Lindsey shares her thoughts on the current situation of exporting hula to foreign shores.

Due to teaching the ancient hula in a foreign land, some kumu hula believe our identity as native Hawaiians have been compromised because our gods exist here in Hawai‘i so the chants and dances for them should be taught here. I am inclined to agree with this ideology because we recognize that the things of this land, the foliage and people, are pleasing to the gods who dwell here in Moananuiākea (Polynesia). (2015, p. 134)

The appropriating of our mana in foreign lands is disturbing and highly contested among traditionalist. Hula today is a lucrative business especially in Japan, and most recently in China and Korea. Many kumu hula, some self-appointed, choose to supply the demand and are often well compensated. I mention the growth of foreign interest in hula and the importation of hula overseas because these acts will inevitably leave an imprint on our history as we are currently seeing the effects on our current views and value systems. This subject deserves further inquiry and research.

7.1.5 Kākā‘ōlelo, Ha‘i Mo‘olelo and Ho‘opāpā: Skilled Oratory

In this final section on hana no‘eau the focus will be on oratory; *kaka‘ōlelo* (general oratory), *ha‘i mo‘olelo* (story telling), and *ho‘opāpā* (battle of wits). In Chapter Five the discussion on mo‘olelo illustrated the important role that *pa‘a mo‘olelo* (storytellers) play in our culture. In some circumstances the term *kākā‘ōlelo* was also associated with the role of the *pa‘a mo‘olelo*. Kepelino describes the role of the *kākā‘ōlelo* in the book *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawai‘i*.²⁹⁸

Ke Kakaolelo, oia no ka mea, a mau mea paha, e loio ana i ke ano o kela keia moolelo kahiko, a e hooponopono ana lakou i na mea a lakou e hooholo ai, a e olepu ana i na mea kupono ole o kela keia moolelo o ia kau aku ia kau aku. A o ia poe, ua mau lakou ma ko lakou oihana iho; a ua lilo ia welo, he welo Kakaolelo. (1932, p. 131)

[Storytellers, called Kakaolelo, related the old stories rearranging them from time to time and casting out all that was unsuitable in the tales. Their office was a permanent one and was hereditary within the family. Theirs was called a family of storytellers.]

Here we see the *ho‘oilina* or passing down of practice, heritage, and legacy within a family matching the other professions in traditional society. Within the extended family there would be individuals who were skilled in the use of language, storytelling, and maintaining historical and genealogical knowledge. Those individuals would be the *kākā‘ōlelo* groomed from an early age in what Kanahele describes as ‘apo to recite formal speeches, storytelling, chant, and compose when necessary. These individuals were the keepers of knowledge that bridged the continuum of Kanaka Maoli intelligence from one generation to the next. In a book

²⁹⁸ This text contains a transcription of Hawaiian text that was either penned or dictated by Kepelino in the early 1800’s as well as translations of the Hawaiian text by Martha Warren Beckwith (Beckwith, 1932, pg. 3).

chapter on Kanaka Maoli methodology in the study of mele, Lopes explains the vital role of these expert kākā‘ōlelo. He writes:

In an oral-based society, the leo (voice) is an important tool of expert orators who keep our people connected to the past by reciting our ancient mele and mo‘olelo...The leo is the eternal link between our people past and present. It transcends place and time and is audible even beyond the physical. (Lopes, 2015, p. 37)

Lopes alludes to the spiritual aspect of mo‘olelo and the fact that through the sharing of knowledge, through the *leo* (voice), we are connected to our ancestors. In a Kanaka Maoli worldview it is believed that our leo is the highest form of acknowledgement or offering (MacDougall, 2010). It exceeds all other forms of gifts that can be bestowed. The voice was honored and listened to attentively. The following ‘ōlelo no‘eau, ‘*Ho‘okahi leo, ua lawa,*’ [One voice, is sufficient.], demonstrates the value placed on honoring the voice. This proverb infers that when one is speaking, others should listen.²⁹⁹ In an oral-based society the transference of knowledge could be the difference between life and death. There are a few salient attributes that come through in our mo‘olelo about kākā‘ōlelo. First, the practice of oratory is steeped in an extensive understanding of mo‘olelo, mele, and pule. Second, these individuals were highly regarded and respected in their ‘*oihana*’ (occupation) as expert genealogists, historians, and storytellers. Another attribute is the parallelism of kākā‘ōlelo with kahuna. To illustrate this concept I have pulled the following passages from Fornander’s collection of *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*, specifically Volume Four, *Story of the Formation of these Islands and Origin of this Race*. The first passage below mentions the orator Pakui.

²⁹⁹ This proverb may also be used with the idea that only one reminder is necessary.

...e like me ka ike a Pakui ka mea nana i haku i keia mele, he kahuna ia, he kakaolelo no loko mai o ka papa mookuauhau o na kahuna nui o ka oihanakahuna. (1878, p. 17)

[...according to the knowledge of Pakui, the one who composed this chant, he was a priest, an orator from the genealogy of the great priests trained in the order of priesthood.]

Clearly stated Pakui, an expert orator was trained as a kahuna and descended from a lineage of great kahuna who practiced the art of composing mele, reciting ancient stories, and was versed in the spiritual realm. The next passage from the same text elaborates on Pakui's abilities to compose mele that prophesied future events.

A ma ke mele i hakuia e Pakui ma kona ano kaula a kakaolelo hoi...
(1878, p. 17)

[And in the chant composed by Pakui through his prophetic abilities and expert historical oration as well...]

The term *kāula* refers to a seer, prophet, or magician. Here Pakui is regarded as one with the features of a *kāula* interwoven with his prowess as an expert historian and orator. The final passage reveals Pakui's connection to the spiritual realm.

Aka o ka manao o kekahi kahuna, o Pakui kona inoa, he kakaolelo nui no Kamehameha, kumu kakaolelo mai ka po mai, ua hanau maoliia keia mau moku. (1878, p. 13)

[But in the opinion of this priest, Pakui was his name, a master orator of Kamehameha, a teacher of oratory from the pō (spiritual) realm, these islands were truly given birth to.]

Pakui in his time served the great ali'i Kamehameha who would eventually become king. Pakui's oratory skills were based on ancestral knowledge shared with him

from his forefathers that was intrinsically connected to the spiritual realm. He embodied the quintessence of traditional *kākā'ōlelo*. In addition to Pakui there were others in our history that held the station of *kākā'ōlelo* and *kāula* simultaneously to serve the *ali'i* in that capacity. The passage below names another orator, Kamahualele, who was also a prophet.

Aka hoi ma ka ike o kekahi kaula nui, he kakaolelo, o Kamahualele kona inoa... (Fornander, 1878, p. 19)

[However in the knowing of another great prophet, an expert orator, named Kamahualele...]

Pakui and Kamahualele are a couple of the many *kākā'ōlelo* in our history that were classified in the order of *kahuna*. Professor Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa describes the tradition of *kākā'ōlelo* and their function in traditional times.

Traditional Hawai'i had a long tradition of historians and orators who would memorize the genealogies and *mo'olelo* (pertinent histories) attached to those lineages. When an *Ali'i Nui* had to make a difficult decision, he or she would call upon the historians to recount what had worked—or not worked—for the ancestors in the past. Hawaiian political leaders were therefore able to learn from historical examples and avoid those pitfalls which had befallen their ancestors. (Kame'eiehiwa, 2001, p. 3)

With the massive shifts in government, society, and culture that followed the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the role of the *kākā'ōlelo* unfortunately eroded. In recent years there has been an effort to bring back the practice of formal oratory that for many years lay dormant and quite frankly did not have a place to exist or be practiced. In 2006 the 'Aha Kāne, the foundation for the advancement of Native Hawaiian males, instituted a *kākā'ōlelo* competition at their inaugural

men's conference, where ten skilled Kānaka Maoli recited mo'olelo and mele which resulted in one kanaka earning the title of kākā'ōlelo. C.M. Kaliko Baker was bestowed the honor of kākā'ōlelo at that competition and received a spear named *Kealeloonāihe*, a perpetual trophy for the kākā'ōlelo to defend or pass on to the next reigning kākā'ōlelo. Relative to this discussion on reviving a practice is a forthcoming publication on formal oratory written by Associate Professor of Hawaiian language Hiapokeikikāne Perrira. He explains:

No loko mai o nā mo'olelo Hawai'i kahiko (palapala me ka lola mānaleo pū kekahi) ke ola e ho'olaupa'i hou a'e ai. 'A'ole wale nō 'o ka 'ike, 'o ke 'ano pū nō na'e kekahi i ho'opa'a 'ia ai a i ho'opuka 'ia ai ia 'ike, ua pa'i a pa'i ke ko'iko'i o ia mau hi'ohi'ona 'elua ma ka ho'ōla 'ana i ke kākā'ōlelo. 'A'ohe ola o ke kākā'ōlelo ho'ōla inā 'a'ohe mo'olelo Hawai'i kahiko. (Pereira, forthcoming publication)

[From within traditional Hawaiian story/lore/history (documented and Native speaker recordings as well) is the means by which (oratory) will once again flourish. Not only the knowledge, but the way by which this knowledge was held and recited. Those two features are equally important in revitalizing oratory. There is no revitalization of a restored oratory practice without traditional Hawaiian story/lore/history.]

Pereira points out that the rhetoric and eloquence of our language is necessary for the practice of kākā'ōlelo are found in our mo'olelo. The act of studying and reciting mo'olelo must be practiced if in fact we are to revitalize the skillful art of kākā'ōlelo. We (Kānaka Maoli) must increase our intellectual capacity to maintain mo'olelo and build our stamina to recite narratives as our kūpuna once did. This

may sound like an awfully lofty goal knowing that “Emerson (1978) reported that chanters took sixteen hours to recite the narrative of *Kamapua‘a*; and, we are told genealogists could recite names and events continuously over a three-day period” (GHS Kanahale, 1986, p. 265). Perhaps the esoteric nature of kahuna practices are not meant for all but strengthening our fluency in mo‘olelo, mele, and language will only increase our understanding of the world of our kūpuna and raise our consciousness as Kānaka Maoli.

It is said that the kākā‘ōlelo were skilled in the art of fencing with words. *Ho‘opāpā* was an actual battle of wits that Kānaka Maoli engaged in. Using riddling, repartee, banter, and debate ho‘opāpā was a sport of the chiefly class. Pukui and Elbert state that the participants in ho‘opāpā “endeavor to find out something or obtain something by indirect methods, by feeling out the person indirectly” (1986, p. 316). We have many mo‘olelo that include ho‘opāpā. And there are some mo‘olelo solely based on the learning and practice of ho‘opāpā, such as *Kaipalaoa*, *Kamiki*, and *Ke Keiki Ho‘opāpā*. Perhaps the most famous of these mo‘olelo is *Kalapana*. Kalapana is a young child from Puna, Hawai‘i who learns the art of riddling and ho‘opāpā from his mother and grandparents. He sets out on a quest to challenge the ho‘opāpā masters of Kaua‘i who outwitted and executed Kalapana’s father. The boy travels to Kaua‘i to challenge the ali‘i nui Kalaniali‘i with the goal of retrieving his father’s *iwi* (bones) upon being victorious. In traditional times the practice of ho‘opāpā drew huge audiences who eye witnessed the competition. The forfeit for high stakes competitions of ho‘opāpā would be one’s life as in the infamous battle between Kauhi and Mahana in the story of *Kahalaopuna*. In some mo‘olelo the *imu* (underground oven) was lit when the competition began so that the oven was ready to receive the defeated competitor’s

body at the end of the challenge. Professor John Charlot describes the practice of ho‘opāpā linking the form to community education.

Experts would debate genealogical points in public. Learned people would challenge each other in contests of wits, *ho‘opāpā*, on the outcome of which they could wager their lives. Such public displays of knowledge generated much excitement in the community and provided with their wordplay and chants much esthetic delight. Education could therefore be entertaining and vice versa (*mikomiko*). Losers earned shame, scorn, and even death. Winners would be recognized and praised, and their names and stories would be passed down in history. (2005, p. 12)

The typical ho‘opāpā structure includes the call to challenge, the agreement to engage, the setting of the boundaries for the competitors, and a series of mele that require a response to continue the challenge. The exchange of mele continues until one of the two competitors has exhausted all their resources. This would mean that the last allegorical mele that likely included *nane*³⁰⁰ was beyond the cognitive abilities of the individual who was unable to counter. A recent graduate of Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, has written his Master’s thesis on the subject of ho‘opāpā analyzing the story of *Kalapana* and the use of mele in the structure of ho‘opāpā. In modern times ho‘opāpā is not practiced as is once was however, there have been efforts to include ho‘opāpā in the Hawaiian language university curriculum and on stage in theatrical productions.

The hana no‘eau that I have just covered here; pule, oli, mele, hula, kākā‘ōlelo and so forth, are kūkulu of Kanaka Maoli performance. I want to point

³⁰⁰ Riddle, puzzle, parable, allegory; to riddle, speak in parables (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 261).

out that each form uses language to communicate a story or concept. Therefore the performance of hana no‘eau as it is defined here is not possible without our language. Consequently hana no‘eau are indeed expressions of our culture and consciousness.

7.2 No ka ‘Iliina Hana No‘eau: How Hana No‘eau Impacts on Kanaka Maoli Consciousness?

Pukui writes about the hula dancer becoming Laka when they adorn themselves with the kinolau of Laka and perform dances in her name (Barrere, Pukui, & Kelly, 1980). This concept epitomizes the significant impact that the performance of these deeply rooted hana no‘eau has on Kanaka Maoli consciousness. Embodying one’s akua through your deliberate actions has an effect on the physical, psychological, emotional, and spiritual self. When one recites incantations or poetry that invokes the name of an akua or an ancestor you entice them to enter this realm, *ke ao*, creating “a venue for activation” (Kanaka‘ole Kanahele, 2011, p. xiv). This act awakens one’s consciousness and ignites the relationship between kānaka and their ancestors who dwell within the other realm, the realm of *pō*. The *pō* is where creation happens.³⁰¹ Kanaka‘ole Kanahele writes:

The primary source for all Hawaiian knowledge...is the kūpuna, the ancestors and keepers of Native Hawaiian intellect from time immemorial. Often channels are open, and information flows freely through dreams, thoughts, and participation in hula and other aspects of daily Hawaiian living. (Kanaka‘ole Kanahele, 2011, p. xiv)

³⁰¹ Concept of *pō* explained by Professor of Indigenous Film Merata Mita at the 2nd International Conference on Language, Education and Diversity Conference. University of Waikato, Aotearoa. November 2007.

Engaging ancestral memory and knowledge clears the pathway for communion with our ancestors like Kanaka‘ole Kanahele describes above. Hana no‘eau are venues for our kūpuna to communicate with us, which inevitably shapes our consciousness. I would also like to emphasize that because Kānaka Maoli are lineal descendants of the creators of these forms, we are inherently tied to the origins of these hana no‘eau. The act of performing any of the hana no‘eau covered in this chapter is not just mere performance; it is a recognition and reclamation of who we are as Kānaka Maoli. In an interview with Kumu Hula and award winning musician Keali‘i Reichel, he expressed this concept stating, “To dance a particular hula is to keep alive all the kūpuna (ancestors) and their experiences, which are encoded in the lyrics, postures, gestures, ‘a‘ahu (costuming) and instructional processes of hula.”³⁰² Being that hana no‘eau also encompasses the process as well as the product (Kamehameha Schools, 2009, p. 2) Reichel’s comment above speaks to the holistic function of hula in the Kanaka Maoli world and its connectivity to the source of our very being. It is believed that, “Through hana no‘eau we can connect people through generations (past, present and future)” (Kamehameha Schools, 2009, p. 2) and that engaging in different processes of hana no‘eau like hula, “allows present generations to gain knowledge through experience... which may stimulate reactions and conclusions similar to those of our kupuna based on common experience” (Kamehameha Schools, 2009, p. 2). The legacy of our kūpuna is perpetuated through our continued practice of their hana no‘eau in mele, oli, hula, mo‘olelo, and so forth. We, the living descendants who engage in those artistic forms of

³⁰² (<http://www.summitzine.com/posts/transmitting-hula-knowledge-currency-and-kuleana/> retrieved on 12 April 2018).

expression, are the conduits for that legacy. We recognize that the knowledge withheld in these forms is innately connected to our identity.

In chapter three of his book, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i*, Associate Professor of Ethnic Studies and Anthropology Ty Kāwika Tengan, discusses ritual processes and the embodiment of identity that Kanaka Maoli men involved with the Hale Mua have revitalized. He notes that, “the dances, martial art forms, dress, and tattoos that are sited on the men’s bodies and in their performance tell stories and communicate messages about identity” (2008, p. 17). Tengan’s documentation of the Hale Mua’s movement echoes Kanaka‘ole Kanahale’s principles for unveiling and understanding the layers of knowledge of our ancestors, specifically in mele and hula. She states that, “one must digest, believe in, invest in, defend and commit to Hawaiian cultural practices and Hawaiian language arts” (2011, p. xv). Following this pedagogy laid out by Kanaka‘ole Kanahale, one must embody the cultural knowledge and language of their ancestors, which becomes the foundation for one’s identity. In her 2015 master’s thesis in Hawaiian Studies, Kumu Hula Lilinoe Lindsey explains her perspective on identity and hula. She writes:

Hula has developed into more than dance and traditions. In this modern world, hula defines us first and foremost as native Hawaiians. It has become the driving force behind my personal accomplishments. It empowers me to function without restraint as a native Hawaiian. Through the discipline and curriculum of the hālau, we are able to apply our spiritual and intellectual strength to other areas of our life. Awakening the spirit and power of hula within, we are fearless, unafraid in the pursuit of our endeavors. (Lindsey, 2015, p. 125)

The spiritual and intellectual strength that Lindsey mentions here is the result of her awareness of her identity. She draws strength from her unshakeable foundation in hula that guides her every move. Hula like other hana no‘eau balances both the physical and spiritual (Kamehameha Schools, 2009, p. 1) promoting a secure understanding of self which is connected to those who came before and who laid the foundation for us to stand on today. For Kānaka Maoli the influence of hana no‘eau has had a profound impact on the revitalization of our culture, language, and identity with the resurgence of hula and mele in the 1970’s. We continue to turn to hana no‘eau for guidance and emancipation. Saffery writes, “Beyond the act of acquiring knowledge, many indigenous scholars also talk about the power of mele to help us communicate with and actually shape our environments that in turn shape us” (Saffery, 2015, p. 119). As with many other aspects of our culture, the reciprocal relationship between kanaka well-being and hana no‘eau is irrefutable.

In 2009 Kamehameha Schools produced a document on the alignment of *Ike Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian Knowledge) in their curriculum defining hana no‘eau as, “an expression resulting from the unification of function, aesthetics, symbolism, and spirituality into an action, process, or product” (Kamehameha Schools, 2009, p. 1). The document talks about the genealogical connection of kānaka to the various forms of hana no‘eau and the intention of Kānaka Maoli to “emphasize efficiency in the expenditure of mana” (Kamehameha Schools, 2009, p. 1) in the practice of hana no‘eau which conventionally is “multi-tasking in function” (Kamehameha Schools, 2009, p. 1). This is where hana no‘eau has a distinct divergence from the Euro-American concept of art that, “has a tendency to be strictly based on the aesthetic” (Kamehameha Schools, 2009, p. 1). This is the reason why I argue that hana no‘eau inclusive of hana keaka is much more than a

simple performance. Our attachment to this living body of work makes for a deeper, more complex investment and commitment involved when we practice our hana no‘eau. Learning, digesting, rehearsing, and performing hana no‘eau is an expression of our aloha for our ancestors; akua, ‘āina, ali‘i, and kānaka, and a demonstration of our identity and consciousness as Kānaka Maoli.

7.3 No ka Hō‘ike ‘ana a Ka Hālau Hanakeaka i ka Hana No‘eau: Ka Hālau Hanakeaka’s Portrayal of Hana No‘eau

Before discussing the way in which the hana no‘eau covered in this chapter have been portrayed in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka, I must acknowledge the many kumu hula, ‘ōlohe, and loea who have made the inclusion of these forms of hana no‘eau in hana keaka productions possible. I want to express my deepest gratitude to those who have contributed their time and talents as advisors and choreographers for our hana keaka productions since 1995. He leo mahalo kēia iā ‘oukou pākahi, iā John Keolalaulani Lake, Ioane Ho‘omanawanui, Kalei Nu‘uhiwa, John Ka‘imikaua, Kaha‘iali‘i Topolinski, Kalani Akana, Tony Lenchenko, Calvin Hoe, Martha Hi‘iakaikapoliopole Kenolio, Luana Busby, Lopaka Kapanui, ‘Umi Kai, Snowbird Puananiopaoakalani Bento, R. Keawe Lopes Jr., Tracie Ka‘ōnohiokalā Lopes, Leina‘ala Kalama Heine, and Kimo Alama Keaulana. Our hana keaka would not have been possible without the contributions of the talented individuals listed here. In the creation of hana keaka we have also sought out the expertise of skilled individuals in various ‘Oihana Hawai‘i in order to authentically stage these practices. The following is a list of the major ‘oihana that we have staged over the years with the consultation and advisory of kūpuna and specialist in these fields; *Lawai‘a* (Fishing), *Mahi‘ai* (Farming), *Kilo Hōkū* (Astrology, Navigation), *Hoe Wa‘a* (Paddling), *Holo Moana* (Sea Faring), *Hānau Keiki* (Child Birth), *Hana*

Kapa (Tapa Making), and *Lā‘au Lapa‘au* (Healing, Traditional Medicine). Mahalo to all of the loea who have guided us through the years, especially ‘Anakala Eddie Ka‘anā‘anā who was an incredible, supportive cultural and language advisor of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka; he was our esteemed hulu kupuna.

Generally speaking those of us involved in the Kanaka Maoli theatre making spaces all come from training in some form of traditional hana no‘eau. Many of us have been indoctrinated in hālau hula and this training has served as a foundation for our creative work in hana keaka. We engage in typical protocols for Kanaka Maoli practices, which grounds our theatre making. For example, traditional protocol demands pule to ensure a successful outcome. We faithfully use pule to clear the path for our new endeavors, to give thanks for the work to be done, to orient the work and spell out the intentions and goals of the work, to ask for blessings and guidance in the process, and to consecrate the spaces we work in. Simply said pule frames our rehearsal and production processes. Moving forward I will now talk specifically to the incorporation of hana no‘eau in hana keaka providing specific examples from past productions.

The inclusion of hula, mele, oli, and pule are multi-functional in hana keaka. These traditional performance forms are commonly selected with dramatic plot structure in mind. Either hula, mele, oli, or pule may be used as a means to accomplish one of the following functions; (1) to establish a particular environment on stage; (2) to transport the audience to a specific location or time; (3) to reveal character³⁰³ or aid in character development; (4) to serve as a synopsis of a preceding mo‘olelo; or (5) as a summary of past events. Occasionally a mele or hula

³⁰³ The term character here is used to reference the elements of drama; theme, plot, character, dialogue, and setting. As I mentioned in chapter six the term character could be replaced with the term kupuna because of our ancestral connection to the individuals portrayed in these mo‘olelo hana keaka.

may serve more than one of the functions mentioned here. In the examples below I will illustrate how hana no‘eau achieve the functions listed. Ultimately all hana no‘eau are included to move the story along. A good playwright knows that good dramatic dialogue should always move the story forward (Catron, 1993); the same is to be said for lyrics of poetic compositions and incantations. In crafting hana keaka I rely on my skills as a playwright to enhance the production with hana no‘eau. These forms of hana no‘eau serve the practicality of telling a story through recitation using audio, kinesthetic, and oral modes of communication. Another aspect of the inclusion of hana no‘eau is the fact that these forms elevate the hana keaka, from the seemingly mundane exchanges of dialogue, to heightened forms of communication that embody our culture and speak to our subconscious. Heightened communication suits theatricality well and therefore hana no‘eau translates beautifully to the stage.

In the research and development process of hana keaka certain mo‘olelo are abounding with oli and mele. Those compositions that are featured in the mo‘olelo are often incorporated into the hana keaka to retell certain facets of the mo‘olelo. Other times it is necessary to compose new oli and mele when none or too few are featured in either the oral tradition or the written renditions of a mo‘olelo. As for hula, particular mele found in a mo‘olelo may indicate corresponding hula that would be appropriate to be performed in conjunction with the retelling of the mo‘olelo. Alternatively we may include established hula that are connected to a particular place, akua, or person that is in tune with the mo‘olelo we stage. On occasion original hula are composed and choreographed to compliment the mo‘olelo told in a hana keaka. Specific examples of the scenarios explained here will follow.

In this next section I will discuss the use of hana no‘eau as portrayed in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka. I begin with a couple examples of hula and mele from Ka Hālau Hanakeeka’s first hana keeka produced, *Kaluaiko‘olau: Ke Kā‘e‘a‘e‘a o nā Pali Kalalau*. In scene ten of *Kaluaiko‘olau* we employed a mele hula to establish the environment of the verdant cliffs that shield the fragrant Kalalau Valley. ‘*O Kalalau Pali ‘A‘ala* is a mele hula that was extracted from the story of *Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, which tells about the lush valley filled with sweet-scented laua‘e ferns. The mele also mentions wahi pana like Honopū and Waialoa that are significant places of interest in many mo‘olelo about Kaua‘i. For this scene the dancers represented the rugged terrain of Kalalau where Ko‘olau, played by Braven Kalama Cabigon, and his wife Pi‘ilani, portrayed by Gina Malia Nobrega, traveled through during his time of illness seeking refuge. The beautiful lyrics of this mele juxtaposed against Ko‘olau’s deteriorating body, emphasized the struggle that Ko‘olau and Pi‘ilani faced in upholding their bond of marriage, in a time when the provisional government was separating those stricken with leprosy from their loved ones. In order to be together the couple went into hiding with their son Kaleimanu (Malo Keama). By this scene Kaleimanu has passed away and Ko‘olau’s body is weakened.



Figure 7.3: *Pi'ilani (Gina Malia Nobrega), Kaluaiko'olau (Braven Kalama Cabigon), and Kaleimanu (Malo Keama).*³⁰⁴

Pi'ilani is the pillar of strength that pushes through their grave circumstances, nearly carrying her husband as they relocate in the valley so not to be found. The couple weaves through the dancers who were adorned with *laua'e* on their head (*lei po'o*), neck (*lei 'ā'i*), and their wrists and ankles (*kūpe'e*). These adornments added an olfactory sensory experience for the performers and audience members who were near the stage. The repetition of this mele was used to show a lapse of time through the staging of repetitive movement that suggested Ko'olau's body succumbing to the disease. A chant entitled *Mele a Ka'ehu* performed by

³⁰⁴ Photo courtesy of author taken December 1995 at the Earle Ernst Lab Theatre.

Kapono‘ai Molitau dovetailed into the final lines of the hula. This chant was done in a kepahepa style to increase the tempo of the tensions in the scene. The rough garbled vocalizations of this chant enhanced the physical suffering that the actor playing Ko‘olau displayed for the audience. *Mele a Ka‘ehu* was retrieved by ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui, who served as dramaturge on the production, from the repository of compositions regarding leprosy and the treatment of Kānaka Maoli in the Hawaiian language newspapers. The mele speaks to the plight of Kānaka Maoli diagnosed with leprosy who were herded like cattle on to a ship and dumped into the turbulent ocean off the shores of Kalawao, Moloka‘i. The opening verse of the mele poses the question, “What will be of Hawai‘i because of this Hansen’s disease?” The verse reads:

E aha ‘ia ana ‘o Hawai‘i	<i>What will be of Hawai‘i</i>
I nei ma‘i o ka lēpela,	<i>Because of this disease of</i> <i>leprosy</i>
Ma‘i ho‘okae a ka lehulehu	<i>A disease that devastates the</i> <i>masses</i>
A ka ‘ili ‘ula‘ula ‘ili ke‘oke‘o	<i>From dark skin, white skin</i>

(Pukui & Korn, 1973, p. 125)

The story told in the remainder of the mele echoes Ko‘olau’s diagnosis, isolation, and struggle with the disease. In a sense this mele also furthers character development, speaking to the predicament that Ko‘olau and Pi‘ilani faced leading to the inevitable deterioration of Ko‘olau’s body during his final days of agony and Pi‘ilani’s irreparable heartbreak. When the mele concluded Molitau played the *‘ohe hano ihu* (bamboo nose flute) on the dimly lit stage while the dancers removed their *pā‘ū lā‘ī* (ti leaf skirts) and placed it around Ko‘olau and Pi‘ilani who remained at center stage. Ko‘olau was seen lying in Pi‘ilani’s arms as the lights faded to black.

Immediately following the stark darkness on stage, lights indicate morning when Pi'ilani discovers her husband has departed the human realm to return with his ancestors. She belts out a customary lament or *kanikau* to honor their relationship. The kanikau that we used in the production were extracted from Pi'ilani's story that was penned and published by Kahikina Sheldon in 1906.

Kanikau were regularly practiced when the masses of our people were fluent in our language. The laments were original compositions detailing the relationship the composer had with the departed. Topolinski writes that the eulogistic chant's, "...primary content of this type of chant was the sincere reiteration of all the stories and accomplishments pertaining to his life" (1976, p. 5). Frequently recited at *ho'olewa* (funeral; gathering to send off or elevate the spirit), kanikau also flooded the Hawaiian language newspapers with these compositions that honor *pilina aloha* (loving relationships). Including this particular kanikau in the play provides a summary of the life that Pi'ilani and Ko'olau shared revealing their personal story as composed by Pi'ilani herself. The *Kanikau Aloha no Kaluaiko'olau* (A Lament of Love for Kaluaiko'olau) also exhibits an authentic customary cultural practice performed when loved ones leave us.

Ku'u kāne mai ke ao kānaka o Pōki'i,
Ku'u kāne mai ka 'ō'ili pololei 'ana mai ka pūhaka aloha,
Mai loko mai o ka maiau o ka noho paniolo,
Ku'u kāne mai ka i'a a ka wao i lawe mai,
Mai ka palekana a ke Akua Mana Loa,
Auē...e ku'u kāne!

[*My beloved husband from where people dwell on the ridge of Pōki'i
in Waimea, Kaua'i,*

*My beloved husband from the heart of emotions, from the loins of
love,
From the skilled cowboy lifestyle,
My beloved husband from the fish that the inland provided,
From the protection of Father Almighty,
Alas...my beloved husband!]*

Ku‘u kāne mai ka palekana,
Ku‘u kāne mai ka holo mahuka ‘ana a‘e iā Kalalau,
Mai loko mai o ka ‘alo ‘ehu pōkā a nā pū Pī-Kī,
Ku‘u kāne mai ka lawea a ka make,
Mai ka ho‘okō pa‘a ‘ana i ka berita hemolele,
Auē...e ku‘u kāne!

*[My beloved husband from recovery from illness,
My beloved husband from fleeing as a fugitive through Kalalau,
From confronting the gun blasts of the Provisional Government
guns,
My beloved husband finally taken by death,
From the complete fulfillment of the holy bonds of matrimony,
Alas...my beloved husband!]*

Ku‘u kāne mai ka hānai i ka hi‘ilei a kāua,
Ku‘u kāne mai ka pōmaika‘i a ka ‘īnea o ka nohona,
Ku‘u kāne, ke kama‘eu pali kāpī kai o ke ahi kaolele o Kamaile,
Auē...e ku‘u kāne!

*[My beloved husband from the rearing of the child of ours,
My beloved husband from a time of blessings unto living in
destitution,
My beloved husband, the mischievous child from the sea sprayed
cliff of the firebrands of Kamaile,
Alas...my beloved husband!]*

Aia 'oe ma ka meheu o kā kāua lei hiwahiwa,
Noho au me ka 'ū o ka mokumokuāhana,
Aloha ia mau wahi a kāua e hele ai,
Auē...e ku'u kāne.

*[You are on the path of our beloved cherished child,
I now live with sorrow of grief,
Aloha these places that you and I have traveled,
Alas...my beloved husband!]*

A huli a'e ku'u alo, pe'a nā lima, pale ka 'ike 'ana aku iā 'oe,
ho'okahi nō a'u 'ālana o ku'u aloha 'oe!
Aloha 'oe!

*[Turn away, cross my hands on my back, I can no longer look at you,
I have but one offering that's my aloha for you!
Farewell!]*

Ua kuni 'ia, ua welina i loko lilo o ku'u pu'uwai, me 'oe auane'i
ko'u aloha pili pa'a a waiho a'e nā iwi.
Aloha 'oe e ku'u kāne,
Aloha 'oe... ALOHA 'Ōē!

*[Etched, deep affection within my heart, I'll eventually reunite with
you my love when our bones remain.
Aloha my beloved husband,
Farewell...FAREWELL my love!]*

(Sheldon, 1906, p. 3)

The performance of this kanikau was a heart wrenching experience for Nobrega who truly embodied the 'eha (pain) of losing a life companion. At the end of the mele Ko'olau's gun was placed at his side as he requested his wife to do. His body

was then covered with the ti-leaf skirts left on stage by the dancers to represent the burial of his body in Kalalau Valley. Pi'ilani stands up and retreats with her hands *pe'a* (crossed) behind her back, a sign of mourning, as the lights fade to black. Each time this kanikau was performed it evoked a visceral response from the audience as well as the cast and crew. Ko'olau's death on stage was symbolic of the demise of our sovereignty as a lāhui, which was in delicate balance in the 1890's, the time of Ko'olau and Pi'ilani's story. Audience members commented about the heroism these two individuals personified through their actions referring to them as *Hawai'i 'oia 'i'o* (true Hawaiians).

The next couple of examples will be drawn from the hana keaka of *Kamapua'a*. There were two major publications of the mo'olelo of Kamapua'a in the Hawaiian language newspapers. The first in 1861 authored by Kahiolo of Kalihi, O'ahu, and the second in 1891 published in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* edited by John Bush. Each rendition was infused with numerous mele, oli, and pule. In this section I will speak to a *mele inoa* (name chant) and *mele pule* that we obtained from the newspapers to include in our hana keaka. I will also discuss a *mele hula* that we repurposed for the introduction of Pele in this hana keaka. Throughout the hana keaka for Kamapua'a we utilized the various mele inoa that were featured in the publication of this mo'olelo. One aspect of Kamapua'a's journey is a search for his mother's love and the validation of his true self. The name chants that are recited by his grandmother Kamaunuanoho and others during the different phases of his journey impact his evolution of character. The mele inoa below was performed with a suite of mele inoa for the prologue of the play to frame the story that was to be told on stage. The mele was repeated multiple times in the duration of the play and

recited one final time by the entire cast as the epilogue for the production. The lines of the mele read:

‘O ‘oe ia e Haunu‘u,	<i>You are Haunu‘u,</i> ³⁰⁵
E Haulani,	<i>Haulani,</i> ³⁰⁶
E Ha‘alokuloku,	<i>Ha‘alokuloku,</i> ³⁰⁷
Ka manō ka i‘a nui,	<i>The shark, the big fish,</i>
E Ui, e Uilani ē,	<i>Ui,</i> ³⁰⁸ <i>Uilani,</i> ³⁰⁹
Kou inoa pua‘a ia,	<i>It’s your pig name,</i>
E ō mai!	<i>Respond!</i>

(*Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 22 June 1891, p. 4)

The lines of this mele inoa for Kamapua‘a literally reveal his genealogy and traits, which reveals character. The recitation of these lyrics connects him to Haunu‘u, Haulani, Ha‘alokuloku, Ui, and Uilani. These individuals are his ancestors by way of his grandmother Kamaunuanoho who initiates the recitation of the composition in the mo‘olelo. Each name here also has particular character traits connected to them. Haunu‘u is his ancestor, the term also means proud. Haulani represents a ruling chief and also means to surge, as the sea; to plunge, as a canoe; to ply back and forth; restless, constantly on the move (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p. 61). Ha‘alokuloku refers to a downpour of rain and figuratively means to feel deep emotion of pain or sorrow. Ui is a great uncle of Kamapua‘a’s who name means to question, to appeal, to activate, or to turn to for help or advice. Finally, Uilani is his great aunt whose name means to chafe under control or to be irritated by restraint,

³⁰⁵ Ancestral name meaning proud.

³⁰⁶ Ancestral name that means to surge as the sea.

³⁰⁷ Ancestral name referring to a downpour as of rain or emotion.

³⁰⁸ Ancestral name meaning to ask, question, appeal, turn to for help or advice, query; or to stir up or activate.

³⁰⁹ Ancestral name that also means to be irritated by restraint.

to be restless. These inoa kupuna also speak to Kamapua‘a’s personal struggles and traits. Kamapua‘a is also likened to the big fish, the shark. This reference is a chiefly reference as in the proverb, ‘*He manō holo ‘āina ke ali‘i,*’ [The chief is the shark on land] meaning that the ali‘i is to be respected as she or he is the big fish, the top of the food chain on land. Although when offered to rule as ali‘i Kamapua‘a declines, his name is consistently invoked with references of ali‘i (Kahiolo, 1861; *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 1891). The inclusion of this mele inoa grounded the character of Kamapua‘a in his genealogical connections and personality traits while punctuating his journey as it was told in our hana keaka.

The next example also taken from the Kahiolo version of this mo‘olelo is a mele pule. Kamapua‘a’s journey takes him to Kahiki where he battles a tyrant named Lonoka‘eho who has usurped Koea the ali‘i nui of the island. Lonoka‘eho has also abducted and enslaved the eldest daughter of Koea, Kekaiha‘akūloulaniokahiki, whom Kamapua‘a is determined to retrieve and return home to her father in addition to restoring Koea’s mana. Upon arrival at Lonoka‘eho’s place of residence, Kamapua‘a chants to make his presence known with the intention to engage. Lonoka‘eho responds and the banter between the two transitions into what we call ‘*ōlelo ho‘oulu* or taunting. They commit to battle. Immediately Kamapua‘a recites his mele pule, *No ‘u ke Akua*, an incantation calling upon the gods to enable his warrior self to fight to the best of his abilities with the support of his akua. Kamapua‘a’s pule manifests the akua. He embodies the attributes of his akua in order to be an exceptional warrior in his battle against his opponent Lonoka‘eho. There is great specificity in this incantation illustrating his connection to his akua.

No‘u ke akua iki,	<i>The small god is mine,</i> ³¹⁰
No‘u ke akua nui,	<i>The large god is mine,</i>
No‘u ke akua loa,	<i>The long god is mine,</i>
No‘u ke akua poko,	<i>The short god is mine,</i>
No‘u ke akua mūkī,	<i>The god that smacks the lips is mine,</i>
No‘u ke akua hāwanawana,	<i>The god that whispers is mine,</i>
Oi ko‘oko‘ona,	<i>Constantly supporting,</i>
Oi hāinu ‘awa a Kanaloa,	<i>Continually serving the kava of Kanaloa</i>
Eia ‘ōpū-ānuenuē,	<i>Here’s a rainbow cloud,</i>
Makohā i ka lanī,	<i>Resounding in the heavens,</i>
Māewa kēia,	<i>I’m wandering/unstable,</i>
Ma ka lehua,	<i>In the lehua,</i>
‘Eli ‘ia,	<i>Dig it up,</i>
E pā ‘ia,	<i>Enclose it,</i>
E kēlā lewa,	<i>That atmosphere,</i>
E kēia lewa,	<i>This atmosphere,</i>
Ka lewa nu‘u,	<i>O high atmosphere,</i>
Ka lewa lanī,	<i>O heavenly atmosphere,</i>
Ka ‘opikana	<i>O faraway place,</i>
‘Ihi‘ihi lau ākea,	<i>The revered broad leaf,</i>
‘O milomilo,	<i>O Milomilo,</i>
‘O naupaka,	<i>O Naupaka,</i>
Ka pō iki,	<i>The small night,</i>
Ka pō loa,	<i>The long night,</i>
Ka pō poko,	<i>The short night,</i>
Ka pō i au wale ka hau,	<i>The night when the cool breeze travels,</i>
Kū ke ao iki,	<i>The small cloud rises,</i>
Kū ke ao nui,	<i>The big cloud rises,</i>
Kū ke ao loa,	<i>The long cloud rises,</i>

³¹⁰ Translation done by author in consultation with the 1978 translation of *He Mo‘olelo No Kamapua‘a* done by Esther T. Mo‘okini, Erin C. Neizmen, and David Tom.

Kū ke ao poko,	<i>The short cloud rises,</i>
Kū ke ao a mihamiha	<i>The cloud rises and silences the</i>
i ka lani,	<i>heavens,</i>
Ka pūku‘i o ke akua,	<i>The assembly of the gods,</i>
Kaumaha ‘aina a ke akua,	<i>The food offerings for the gods,</i>
‘O Kahaka,	<i>O Kahaka (Oracle),</i>
‘O Keluea,	<i>O Keluea (Dizziness),</i>
Kūlia i ke kaua,	<i>Kūliaikekaua (Strive for war),</i>
Lonomaka‘ihe,	<i>Lonomakaihe (Lono, the spear)</i>
Kāneiahuea,	<i>Kaneiahuea,</i>
Ke polo haina,	<i>The large offering,</i>
Ke akua maka ‘oi‘oi,	<i>The sharp-eyed god,</i>
‘O humuhumu,	<i>O Humuhumu (Destroy),</i>
‘O hāwanawana,	<i>O Hāwanawana (Whisper),</i>
‘O kani ka wī,	<i>O Kanikawī (God; spear),</i>
‘O kani ka wā,	<i>O Kanikawā (God; flute),</i>
Nā akua i ke po‘o,	<i>The gods in the head,</i>
Hō‘eu, ‘o Ho‘omālana,	<i>Encourage, make buoyant,</i>
‘O ‘āpana po‘o,	<i>The parts of the head,</i>
Po‘oilolea,	<i>The head that is weathered,</i>
Nā akua i ka pepeiao,	<i>The gods in the ears,</i>
‘O kō-kuli,	<i>Deaf,</i>
‘O ke lono,	<i>Hearing,</i>
Lonoikeaweawealoha,	<i>Lonoikeaweawealoha,</i>
Ke akua i ke kui,	<i>The god in the tusks,</i>
‘O kui lena,	<i>Yellowed tusk,</i>
Nā akua i ka ‘elemu,	<i>The gods in the buttocks,</i>
Palala,	<i>Palala (Spread out),</i>
Pipikauananana,	<i>Pipikauananana,</i>
Ke akua i ke kuli,	<i>The god in the knees,</i>
‘O poloke,	<i>Wobbly,</i>
Ke akua i ka wāwae,	<i>The god in the feet,</i>
‘O māmā,	<i>Swiftness,</i>

I laila kini akua,	<i>The multitude³¹¹ of gods are there,</i>
Ka lua o ke akua,	<i>The den of the gods,</i>
‘O ‘u‘u‘ina,	<i>Crackling,</i>
‘O pa‘apa‘a‘ina,	<i>Crackling sound,</i>
Ke akua hana ma‘i o Kama,	<i>The active genital god of Kama,</i>
‘O Kūmahumahu ka ‘aka.	<i>O Kūmahumahu, the laughter.</i>

(Kahiolo, 17 July 1861, p. 4)

The inclusion of this mele pule in the hana keaka is multifold. First, this mele pule exhibits a particular worldview through a Kanaka Maoli lens. The incantation depicts the essence of a Kanaka Maoli relationship with their akua as understood in the pre-Christian Kanaka Maoli world. Kamapua‘a calls on a pantheon of specific akua who through genealogical connection will come to his aid and assist him in this battle with Lonoka‘eho. In this traditional incantation we also see the practice of duality in the Kanaka Maoli epistemology. For example, the opening four lines of the pule; *ke akua iki* (the tiny god), *ke akua nui* (the big god), *ke akua loa* (the long god), and *ke akua poko* (short god). There are more examples throughout the text however this use of a complementary duality is prototypical of Kanaka Maoli compositions. *No ‘u ke Akua* consists of 67 lines that list numerous akua locating individual akua in specific parts of Kamapua‘a’s body. All four major akua of the Kanaka Maoli pantheon are mentioned; Kanaloa once, Kāne once, and Lono three times, and Kū seven times. There are also 39 other akua invoked in this mele pule. Second, the mele pule aids in character development revealing intricate details of Kamapua‘a’s qualities and his connections to the various akua invoked here. We also see how he embraces his *kino pua‘a* (pig form) in times of battle and hardship. This pua‘a self is where he gathers his strength, which is the kino that his

³¹¹ Kini akua usually refers to 40,000 gods.

grandmother immersed with countless pule full of copious amounts of mana. Finally, the inclusion of this mele pule in the hana keaka gives mana to Kamapua‘a and his legacy.

The actual battle scene that we staged was based on our interpretation of the text with the guidance of ‘Ōlohe ‘Umi Kai. Immediately following the mele pule, the battle scene was choreographed with his consultation to incorporate *lua* movements (traditional martial arts) into the staging. The fight choreography began with the learning of the pua‘a breathing technique for the Kanaka Maoli cast members who would be involved in the scene. As the breathing technique comes from lua training that is restricted to those with kū‘auhau, only Kānaka Maoli were allowed to take part in this training and choreography (see Chapter 6 on Kū‘auhau and Pā Lua). ‘Ōlohe ‘Umi Kai also advised on a combat implement mentioned in the mo‘olelo as a *lae ‘oki kuahiwi* (a forehead that cuts through mountains) wielded by Lonoka‘eho that is described to function like a boomerang. Working with ‘Ōlohe ‘Umi Kai was a privilege that not only elevated the retelling of this mo‘olelo, it also authenticated the staging of the combat scenes, which added credibility to the production.



Figure 7.4: *Lonoka‘eho (Braven Kalama Cabigon) in battle mode.*³¹²

I would like to briefly mention a hula that we incorporated into the production of *Kamapua‘a* when he travels from his grandmother’s home on O‘ahu to Hawai‘i Island to confront Pele. In order to transport the audience from Pu‘uokapolei, O‘ahu to the volcano crater of Halema‘uma‘u on Hawai‘i Island, we used a hula Pele (dance from the repertoire of songs in the Pele lineage). As the goddess of volcanism Pele dwells at Halema‘uma‘u crater. Kumu Hula Snowbird Puananiopaoakalani Bento selected “*E komo ma loko o Halema‘uma‘u,*” as the mele hula to represent entering Pele’s domain for Act I, Scene 13 of this hana keaka. This hula invokes Pele’s name and honors her ‘āina from whence her mana emanates. On stage her mana was reinforced with appropriate lighting and the use of a fog machine that replicated the sulfuric steam and smoke visible at the crater.

³¹² Image courtesy of author taken May 2004 at Palikū Theatre.

The Hi‘iaka sisters, younger siblings of Pele, danced this hula in honor of her as Kamapua‘a and his advisor and grand uncle Kūliaikekua approached Akaniakōlea. Performing this hula also established place while acknowledging the hula community and showing a token of respect to those associated with the Pele clan.

The following set of examples demonstrating the portrayal of hana no‘eau in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka come from the production of *Lā‘ieikawai*. This first example illustrates the use of mele pule and *kāhea* which in this case is a call out for assistance. In Act I, Scene 1, ‘Aiwohikupua high chief of Kaua‘i, enters a sparring match with Ihuanu, a skilled fighter in Kohala on Hawai‘i Island. Because of the animosity and taunting that occurs during this interaction with Ihuanu, ‘Aiwohikupua calls to his akua to give him the necessary strength to defeat his opponent. His pule begins with the recognition of the various *lani* (realms of heaven). The following excerpt for this scene was extracted from Hale‘ole’s rendition of this mo‘olelo printed in 1864. The pule reads:

‘AIWOHIKUPUA³¹³

E Lanipili,
E Lani‘oaka,
E Lanikahuliomealani,
E Lono,
E Hekilika‘aka‘a a me Nākolowailani.

I kēia lā, e ‘ike mai ‘oukou ia‘u i kā ‘oukou kama, kā ‘oukou pua i koe ma ke ao nei. Mai kēia lā, e hā‘awi mai ‘oukou i ka ikaika a pau ma luna o kā ‘oukou kama nei.

E hiki nō iā ‘oukou ke ho‘ohala i kāna pu‘upu‘u ma kona ku‘i ‘ana mai i kā ‘oukou kama, a ke noi aku nei wau e hā‘awi mai i ke po‘o

³¹³ As this is an excerpt of a play script the character names proceed the dialogue that they speak.

o Ihuanu i ku‘u lima i mea pā‘ani na ko‘u mau hoe wa‘a i ‘ike ai kēia
‘aha a pau, ‘o wau ke lanakila ma luna o kēia kanaka i ‘oki poepoe
‘ole ‘ia.

‘Āmama. (Hale‘ole, 1864 p. 397 quoted in Baker, 2015, p. 6)

*[Invoking the deities Lanipili,
Lani‘oaka,
Lanikahuliomealani,
Lono,
Hekilika‘aka‘a and Nākolowailani.*

*Today, you all see me, your child, your descendant remaining here
in this realm. From this day, you all will bestow the complete
strength upon your child.*

*You all have the ability to make his punch miss when he strikes at
your child, and I’m requesting you to give me the head of Ihuanu in
my hands as a toy for my canoe paddlers so that those at this
gathering see that I am triumphant over this uncircumcised man.]*

Similar to Kamapua‘a’s mele pule, ‘Aiwohikupua summons his akua for assistance in combat. He calls out stating that he is their child (*kā ‘oukou kama*), their descendant remaining in this realm (*kā ‘oukou pua i koe ma ke ao nei*), insisting on their reinforcement. Note the pronoun used here, *‘oukou*, meaning “you plural.” The practice of calling upon multiple akua is common for Kānaka Maoli, especially in traditional pule of times past. Naming these akua is like calling out to your close relatives that you have a personal relationship with for assistance in a time of need. Also important here is specificity, in this pule ‘Aiwohikupua requests the exact results he desires; to have Ihuanu’s head. As the story unfolds ‘Aiwohikupua

decapitates his opponent in combat. This is a case in which the akua provide for their descendant.

The next example features siblings who call upon different ancestral guardians to come to their aid. Later in the mo‘olelo of *Lā‘ieikawai* ‘Aiwohikupua enters a complicated battle with his sisters in his pursuit of Lā‘ieikawai, the beauty of Paliuli, and calls to his akua Kalāhūmoku, a *‘īlio ‘ai kanaka* (a man eating dog), to assist him. In recognizing her brother’s beckoning of family akua, Kahalaomāpuana the youngest sister calls to another family akua Kihanuilūmoku, a *mo‘o* (reptilian being) who resides in the upland forest to protect the wāhine. The arrival of these two akua culminates in a colossal battle. Including these incantations in the production established the relationship Kānaka Maoli traditionally shared with their akua, and the customary practice of calling on your akua for support in times of distress. Kahalaomāpuana’s pule below functions similarly to the mele pule that Kamapua‘a recited in that it invokes familial deities to serve and protect their living earthbound descendants. This incantation was also extracted from the Hale‘ole text for Act I, Scene 7. Kahalaomāpuana summons their akua.

KAHALAOMĀPUANA

E ko mākou akua, e Kihanuilūmoku, nānā ‘ia ke kupu, ka ‘eu, ke kolohe o kai. Inā e hele mai me ko lākou ikaika, pepehi ‘ia a pau, ‘a‘ohe ‘āha‘ilonono. E noke ‘oe a holokē i ke ‘ōlohelohe. E ao na‘e ‘oe iā Kalāhūmoku i ka ‘īlio nui ikaika a ‘Aiwohikupua. Hemahema nō ‘oe, pau loa kākou, ‘a‘ole e pakele. Kūlia kō ikaika, kō mana a pau i luna o ‘Aiwohikupua. ‘Āmama, ua noa, lele wale lā. (Baker, 2015, p. 40)

[Our god, Kihanuilūmoku, look at the offspring, the rogue, the mischievous one of the sea. If they should come here strong, destroy

all of them, leave no messenger. Persevere running here and there until very little remains. Watch out for Kalāhūmoku, the large strong dog of 'Aiwohikupua. If you're incompetent, we all fail, we shall not escape. Make strong, put forth all of your power upon 'Aiwohikupua. The prayer is said, the taboo is over, it's lifted.]

Here Kahalaomāpuana requests that Kihanuilūmoku triumphs over all that may come to battle; the man eating dog akua, all warriors, and even her brother 'Aiwohikupua. She states that no one should remain, “*a'ohe 'āha'ilono,*” all are to be eliminated. Kahalaomāpuana also places the burden on Kihanuilūmoku insisting that if in fact Kihanuilūmoku is “*hemahema,*” unskilled or incapable of executing this task, then all shall be lost, “*pau loa kākou.*” These pule that summon akua reveal intimate details about these kūpuna/characters in the mo'olelo. We are privy to their genealogy, the private relationships that they share with their akua, and their dispositional and deliberative traits. Kahalaomāpuana's staunch position to eliminate all that may come to battle shows her disposition and decisiveness. We learn about their mannerisms through their actions and words. Pule indicates an individual's values, religious beliefs, and social orientation. The traditional pule found in mo'olelo are insightful allowing us to glean concepts and perspectives of times past. This understanding of the world of our ancestors is applied to the scripting and staging of hana keaka, such as the warfare between siblings and their akua as seen in the mo'olelo of *Lā'ieikawai*.



Figure 7.5: The battle of Kihanuilūlūmoku and Kalāhūmoku.³¹⁴

Based on the details revealed in the mo‘olelo and more specifically the pule of ‘Aiwohikupua and Kahalaomāpuana, we decided that the actual battle between Kalāhūmoku and Kihanuilūlūmoku would be best staged as a hula ki‘i. Kumu Hula Snowbird Bento composed a mele hula ki‘i and choreographed an image dance to be performed in representation of the epic battle between these akua. The idea to use image dancing would be reminiscent of the early temple dances performed in dedication to the akua. Additionally we had a modern ki‘i fashioned for the two akua that was manipulated by the actors. These ki‘i representing the head of the akua were contemporary wooden images painted in the likeness of an *‘īlio* (dog) and *mo‘o* (reptilian figure). In consultation with a traditionally trained and skilled Kanaka Maoli tattoo artist, we incorporated traditional *kākau*³¹⁵ (tattoo) patterns for each ki‘i that was carried out into the costuming choices. In order to magnify the size of these akua we used multiple actors to represent the body of the akua. For example, four women throughout the play portrayed the role of

³¹⁴ Photo courtesy of Chesley Cannon taken February 2015 at Kennedy Theatre.

³¹⁵ Kākau and uhi are terms for traditional tattooing.

Kihanuilūlūmoku.³¹⁶ The first woman held and manipulated the ki‘i, which was the head of the mo‘o. The second woman operated the front legs made out of two *kā‘eke‘eke* (bamboo instruments) that doubled as percussion accompaniment for the character. The third woman was the body who also used *kā‘eke‘eke*. The fourth woman was the *huelo* (tail). She wore a tail constructed to compliment the ki‘i with similar *kākau* patterning. She also operated the back legs made out of *kā‘eke‘eke*. The percussion bamboo drums played in unison as they traveled across the stage punctuated their movement.



Figure 7.6: *The women portraying Kihanuilūlūmoku (Ka‘iu Baker, Raukura Roa, Malanai Kāne Kuahiwinui, and Tyra Mauka‘a Fonseca) listen intently to Kahalaomāpuana’s (Makana Kāne Kuahiwinui) direction.*³¹⁷

³¹⁶ Kihanuilūlūmoku was portrayed by Malanai Kāne Kuahiwinui, Kealoha Kamalu, ‘Ōlena Cobb, and Tyra Mauka‘a Fonseca. For the hula ki‘i the body of Kihanuilūlūmoku expanded with performers Raukura Roa, Kaleikaumaka Bento, and Ka‘iu Baker.

³¹⁷ Photo courtesy of Rick Greaver. Performance at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, April 2015.

For the hula ki‘i, an additional four women joined the original four to exaggerate the immensity of the mo‘o in comparison to the average actors on stage. Kalāhūmoku who was embodied by two men for the character who were joined by four others for the hula ki‘i.³¹⁸



Figure 7.7: Kalāhūmoku (Simeon David and Kapono ‘Aiwohi-Kim) arrive from Kahiki to battle Kihanuilūlūmoku.³¹⁹

The following is an excerpt from Act I, Scene 7 of the script that shows how the lyrics were divided between Kalāhūmoku and Kihanuilūlūmoku for the hula ki‘i performance.

KALĀHŪMOKU

E Kalāhūmoku ka ‘īlio nui ‘ai kanaka ē
 [Kalāhūmoku, the man eating dog]

KIHANUILŪLŪMOKU

³¹⁸ Kapono ‘Aiwohi-Kim and Simeon David portrayed Kalāhūmoku. They were joined by Kupono Kawa‘a, Kiha Stevens, Tiamana Anderson, and Kealakekua De Rego.

³¹⁹ Photo courtesy of Chesley Cannon taken February 2015 at Kennedy Theatre.

E Kihanui ka mo‘o lūlū i ka moku ē
[*Kihanui, the reptile who shakes the island*]

KALĀHŪMOKU

E hū a‘e ka moku e nāueue nei
[*With the roar the island sways back and forth*]

KIHANUILŪLŪMOKU

E ho‘okiha nui ka nahele e luku nei
[*The forest which is being destroyed will rise and expand*]

KALĀHŪMOKU

‘Īlio niho wakawaka no ka ‘ai kanaka ē
[*(I’m) a dog with fiercely sharp teeth for eating people*]

KIHANUILŪLŪMOKU

E hū nā kānaka i ka mo‘o makani alelo ē
[*The people rise because of the wind behind the mo‘o’s tongue*]

KALĀHŪMOKU

Pi‘i ana a‘ela hele luku ho‘opapau ē
[*Ascending to destroy annihilating all*]

KIHANUILŪLŪMOKU

Kūlia i ka ikaika holokē i ka ‘ōlohelohe ē
[*Persevere through helter-skelter until none remain*]

KALĀHŪMOKU

Hina ka ‘ohu i uka nei, ua lanakila ka ‘īlio ē
[*If the mist leans towards the mountain, the dog has won*]

KIHANUILŪLŪMOKU

Hina ka 'ohu i kai nei, ua lanakila ka mo'ō ē³²⁰

[*If the mist leans towards the ocean, the mo'ō has won*]

(Baker, 2015, p. 41)

The mele hula ki'i served as a synopsis telling the story of this conflict between siblings who called upon their akua to fight this battle. The stage directions following the lyrics detail the encounter alluded to in the lyrics that were illustrated in choreography of the hula ki'i.

(Iā KALĀHŪMOKU i hiki ai i uka, e moe ana ka mo'ō. Hikilele a'ela mai ka hiamoe 'ana, no ka mea ua pū'iwa i ka hohono 'īlio. Hanu a'ela ka mo'ō, ka ho'okalakupua ho'i o Paliuli, 'o KIHANUILŪLŪMOKU, a 'ike akula i ka 'īlio, ke āiwaiwa o Kahiki. Wehe ka mo'ō i ke ā i luna e ho'ouka kaua me ka 'īlio. Hō'ike akula ka 'īlio i kona niho i mua o ka mo'ō, 'o ka ho'omaka koke nō ia o ke kaua. Lanakila ka mo'ō ma luna o ka 'īlio a ho'i ka 'īlio me ke ola māhunehune. Ua pau nā pepeiao a me ka huelo. Pi'i a'ela ka 'ohu a kū pololei i luna. 'A'ole i 'upu'upu, hina ana ka 'ohu i kai, a'ole na'e i lanakila. Ho'i maila 'o KALĀHŪMOKU me ka nāwaliwali; ua pau ke aho.) (Baker, 2015, pp. 41-42)

[*(When Kalāhūmoku arrived inland, the mo'ō was laying down. (The mo'ō) was suddenly awakened from her slumber surprised by the stink smell of the dog. The mo'ō, the magical one of Paliuli, namely KIHANUILŪLŪMOKU, saw the dog, the mysterious one of Kahiki. The mo'ō opened her jaw above to battle the dog. The dog bared his teeth to the mo'ō and soon thereafter the battle ensued. The mo'ō is triumphant, the dog retreats barely escaping death. His ears and tail are severed. The mist rises directly above. In no time, the mist leans towards the ocean, the dog hasn't won. KALĀHŪMOKU returns weak; gasping for air.)*]

³²⁰ This is an original hula ki'i about the battle of Kihanuilūlūmoku and Kalāhūmoku composed and choreographed by Kumu Hula Snowbird Bento.

The stage directions above were based on the description of the sibling war as told by Hale‘ole in 1864. We staged fight choreography between the two akua at the end of the hula ki‘i where the women who portrayed the mo‘o ripped off Kalāhūmoku’s ears and tail. ‘Aiwohikupua ridicules his defeated akua saying, “*Hilahila, ua pau nā pepeiao a me ka huelo i ka mo‘o,*” [Shameful, your ears and tail have been destroyed by the mo‘o.]. The ‘īlio exits injured and embarrassed. The mo‘o dominated the stage at that point. Then ‘Aiwohikupua decides that he will no longer pursue Lā‘ieikawai and severs his relationship with his sisters. During his revelation the sisters rise up on the platform at center stage increasing the female energy and presence as the scene culminates. Lā‘ieikawai at its core is a story about female support systems. A sisterhood develops between Lā‘ieikawai and the sisters of ‘Aiwohikupua when he first abandons them. It is that bond that carries the women through the trials and tribulations of life. There was a conscious effort on the part of the artistic team to exemplify the female energy in every aspect of the staging of this mo‘olelo.

The final example for this section is from a short play created in collaboration with Ka Lā ‘Ōnohi Mai o Ha‘eha‘e for their hālau celebration entitled *Ku‘u Ha‘eha‘e* held at the Hawai‘i Theatre in 2006. *‘Akahiakuleanaakapiko* was based on the union of Līloa and ‘Akahiakuleana, the parents of ‘Umialīloa. The play dramatized the courtship and union of these two, Līloa a high-ranking ali‘i and ‘Akahiakuleana, thought to be a commoner who was actually a lower-ranking chiefess. This union would have been shunned upon if she was in fact a commoner and any offspring would not have been accepted into the royal court. Besides the societal rules broached in this play, we also highlighted the methodology of traditional naming practices in the staging for this production. For those in the

audience who were familiar with the mo‘olelo of ‘*Umialīloa* the insignias that Līloa leaves with ‘Akahiakuleana when he departs were quickly recognized. After their secret union Līloa hands over his *lei niho palaoa* (whales tooth necklace) and his malo to ‘Akahiakuleana, as tokens to prove the lineage of the child. In traditional society a male child would be named after his father. He then fashions a malo made out of ti-leaf and returns home. When this scene concluded the orchestra pit with ‘Akahiakuleana seated down center, descended and the curtain on the apron of the stage rose to reveal the acclaimed award winning musician Jerry Santos singing the mele ‘*Akahikuleana A Ka Piko*. The mele in this hana keaka served as the epilogue of this short play and a summary of the well-known origin story of ‘Umialīloa. The hana keaka enlightened the lyrics of this mele pointing to the secret union between Līloa and ‘Akahiakuleana. ‘Umialīloa became the first ali‘i to exercise the lineal mana of Kūkā‘ilimoku (see Chapter 3) establishing the model of mana acquisition and conquest as he rose to be the ali‘i nui of Hawai‘i Island.

7.4 Panina: Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has defined traditional performance forms of hana no‘eau speaking to their origins, the disciplines (‘oihana) in which they existed in traditional times, and the modern day practice of these hana no‘eau. We then delved into the impact of these forms on Kanaka Maoli consciousness. Tracing the connection of the origins of hana no‘eau to kū‘auhau we are able to link the practice of hana no‘eau to Kanaka Maoli identity. Finally the chapter concluded with specific examples and analysis of the portrayal of hana no‘eau in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

Chapter 8

‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i

8.1 Wehena: Chapter Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) and its connection to Kanaka Maoli identity. I will look at the historical background of how Kānaka Maoli were forcibly separated from their language and the effects that had on culture, consciousness, and identity. Then I will cover the Hawaiian language revitalization movement and look at how speaking ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i impacts Kanaka Maoli consciousness today. The arts will be a focus as a domain for the regeneration of language and the empowerment of identity. The chapter will conclude with specific examples of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i being employed in the theatrical productions of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

8.2 No ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: Defining ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i

‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i otherwise known as the Hawaiian language “is one branch of the Polynesian language,” (Judd, 1942, p. 5) that is a member of the Austronesian language family (Lynch, 1998). According to Professor and Linguist John Lynch, “The **Austronesian** language family is one of the two largest language families in the world,” and “as a whole has somewhere between a thousand and twelve hundred languages, spoken by almost three hundred million people” (1998, p. 45). The Austronesian family covers the massive Pacific Ocean region and beyond the Pacific Basin into Asia. The following chart³²¹ displays the Polynesian subgroup in the Austronesian language family.

³²¹ Chart created by the author based on research and a course on the Polynesian language family taught by Albert Schütz at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. For an in-depth study of Pacific Languages see Lynch 1998.

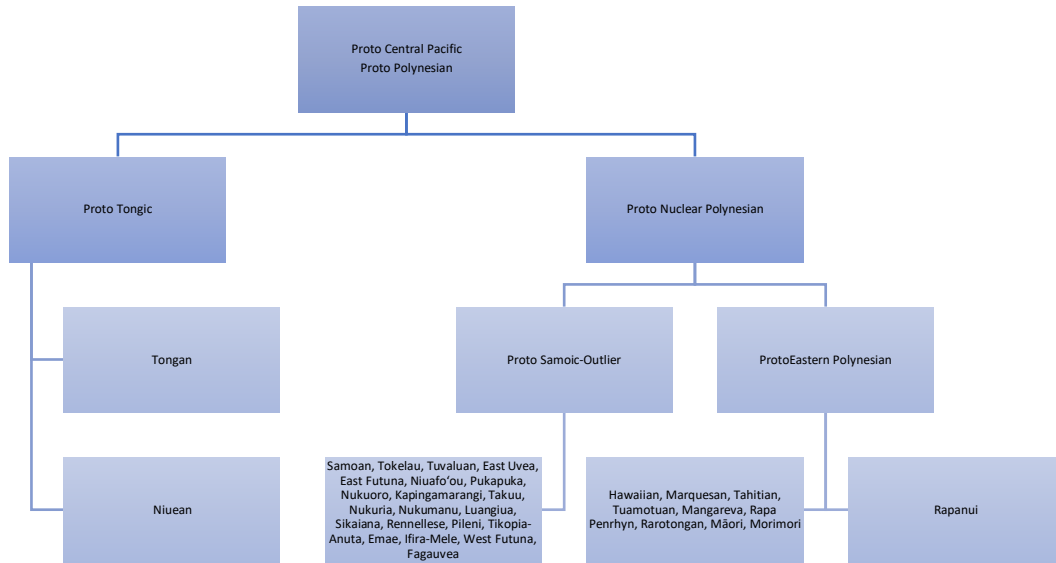


Figure 8.1: *The Polynesian division of the Austronesian language family.*³²²

‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is closely related to Te Reo Māori as the two languages share a relatively high level of mutual intelligibility (Schütz, 1994). Linguists estimate approximately 70% cognate vocabulary between Hawaiian and Māori and an 80% cognate vocabulary between ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and Cook Island Māori.³²³ Prior to the introduction of an orthography and writing technology ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i “was a sophisticated language with a long and rich oral tradition” (Warner, 2001, p. 134). This oral tradition is a major component of our intangible cultural heritage contributing to “the wealth of knowledge and skills that is transmitted through it from one generation to the next.”³²⁴ Particularly for ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i our “orature included chants of various kinds (e.g. cosmogonic, genealogical, migrational, and procreational), religious prayers, oratory, histories, myths, and traditional sayings and teachings created and passed down from generation to generation” (Warner, 2001, p. 134). ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is known for its richness of idiomatic and proverbial

³²² Diagram created by the author.

³²³ <https://forum.unilang.org> > ... > Australian, Austronesian and Papuan Languages retrieved on 10 July 2018.

³²⁴ <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/01851-EN.pdf>, p.4.

expressions as well as the complexities associated with kaona (layered meaning) embedded in the language.

The Hawaiian alphabet is made up of thirteen letters, eight consonants (h, k, l, m, n, p, w, and glottal stop) and five vowels (a, e, i, o, u). The glottal stop (*‘okina*) is a brief break in the word and is treated as a consonant for its inclusion could change the meaning of a word, i.e., *kou* (your) and *ko‘u* (mine). ‘Okina are only possible before or between vowels. The *kahakō* (macron) is a stress mark used to elongate vowels. ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i grammar is predominately a verb, subject, object language with a myriad of sentence patterns and distinctly detailed vocabulary that evidenced in the intricacies of the language. In example I share the specificity of the verb to carry with the following words: *hali*, *‘auamo* (on the shoulder), *ka‘ika‘i* (in the hands), *hi‘i* (in the arms), *painu‘u* (on hips), *lawe lima* (in hands), *hā‘awe* (on one’s back), *koi* (on a stick between two people), and *kauālupe* (suspended between others). This one example alone dispels the colonial misconception or assertion that Hawaiian is a simple rudimentary language associated with low intelligence as promoted by the early missionaries.

8.3 No ka ‘Iliina ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i: How Hawaiian Language Dialogue Impacts on Kanaka Maoli Consciousness?

As discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis Kanaka Maoli literacy rates soared under Mō‘ī Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III. It is said that “By the mid-1800s, Hawai‘i boasted the highest literacy rate in the world” (Chambers, 2001). Across the archipelago ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i was the language of commerce, newspapers, government, court systems, and daily life in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. However, the language landscape of Hawai‘i would radically change in the latter half of the 1800’s with the influx of foreign interest in the islands and the eventual overthrow

of the monarchy. The demise of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i led to the disintegration of Kanaka Maoli identity. The late Hawaiian Professor Dr. Sam L. No‘eau Warner discussed the disenfranchisement of Kānaka Maoli from their land and language, and the imperial forces of colonization that led to the decline of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in an article on the Hawaiian language revitalization movement. In his sociohistorical preface, he states that shortly after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom the illegal government promoted a myth of prosperity to veil the demotion of the Hawaiian language in the public sphere through the Organic Act in 1900 (Warner, 2001, p. 135). This was enacted by the illegitimate government along with the mandate for English to be the medium of instruction in the unlawful Republic of Hawai‘i public education system. The illegally established migrant white colonial power in Hawai‘i disempowered our ali‘i, dismantled our government, and nearly annihilated the language, cultural practices, and belief systems of our ancestors. These unlawful acts of colonial oppression immeasurably contributed to the ruination of Kanaka Maoli identity.

In recent years research, scholarship, and conferences have concentrated on the preservation and revitalization of intangible cultural heritage as the core of a people’s identity. The following description recorded in the proceedings of one such conference details aspects of cultural heritage that include:

...intangible culture traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts intangible culture (such as folklore, traditions, language, and knowledge), and natural

heritage (including culturally significant landscapes, and biodiversity).³²⁵

These current observations coupled with an awareness and understanding of cultural and language preservation are catalysts for decolonization movements, language and cultural revitalization movements, and the movement to empower native identity for many indigenous peoples around the world plagued by a colonial past. Dr. Rangi Matamua likens these movements to a war stating that Māori are “engaged in an epic battle for cultural survival, and the key fracas in this war is the struggle for te reo Māori,” (2015, p. 222). Language is fundamental to our existence and identity as Kānaka Maoli. Matamua speaks to the notion of language representing the heart of a culture quoting Fishman “Language is the mind, spirit, and soul of a people” (2015, p. 222). Language is the thread that connects each aspect of a people’s heritage. To use the analogy of a *lei* (flower garland) language is the *aho* (string) that binds the flowers together carefully weaving the intangible pieces of one’s cultural heritage to complete the adornment. If the *aho* should be severed or removed the flowers would scatter and very few remnants of the lei would remain to be identified. Colonial oppression in Hawai‘i severed the aho of the lei of our ancestors scattering the precious flowers strewn across the ‘āina, some swept away in the wind, others crushed and bruised, while some flowers remained dangling on the aho somewhat recognizable. In the years following the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, an imported plastic string otherwise known as English along with a collection of plastic flowers replaced the traditional aho.

³²⁵(http://amf.net.au/library/uploads/files/Diversity_Matters_Forum_overview_and_theme_summaries_2014.pdf retrieved on 20 June 2018).

The contentious plastic string strangles the maui, essence of one's being, attempting to control the minds and consciousness of Kānaka Maoli.

Ngũgĩ (1986) describes the “mental control” of native peoples through the colonizer’s language that is “crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonized” (1986, 16). The endeavor to control the economy, land, and people of Hawai‘i brutalized Kanaka Maoli spiritually, mentally, emotionally, and physically. Warner (1999) describes the use of “corporal punishment or forms of punishment aimed at humiliating Hawaiian children caught speaking Hawaiian” (1999, p. 71). This was regularly practiced in the Hawai‘i schooling systems as part of the indoctrination of American ideologies and the English language right into the 1980’s. The public shaming of Kānaka Maoli and the blatant erasure of our language, culture, and history crippled our existence and the desire to be recognized as Kanaka Maoli. Warner states “the loss of prestige of Hawaiian... appears to have been a major factor in the complacency and lack of interest amongst Hawaiians in reacquiring their heritage language in successive generations” (2001, p. 135). The years of assimilation to the American powers that forcibly established the fraudulent state of Hawai‘i, would push the generation of the 1970’s to revolt and reclaim their rightful identity and inherent rights for self-determination. This political movement to change the status of Kānaka Maoli was the catalyst for the revival of traditional performing arts, navigation, language, and the occupation of Kaho‘olawe (see Chapter 3). In 1978, ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i was reinstated as one of two official languages of the state at the constitutional convention. That same year “the state was mandated by the new constitution to promote the Hawaiian language, culture, and history,” while a “separate law also designated Hawaiian as the official native language of the state of Hawai‘i” (Warner, 2001, p. 135). Although this

legislation was a triumph, the lack of intergenerational transfer of language for more than half a century irreparably damaged the cultural stamina of Kānaka Maoli and the survival of our language.

Prior to the establishment of the Hawaiian immersion schools the path to acquiring their language for most Kānaka Maoli was through institutions of higher education, which very often required a tuition payment. The new generation would bare this financial burden because of the inability of our ancestors to learn and pass their language on to them. This path of university education has continued to marginalize Kānaka Maoli who do not have the finances or ability to further their education in the haole institution. For those of us who have been fortunate enough to enroll and receive scholarships to subsidize our learning, we are cognizant of the privilege to speak our language. Many of us are very active in our communities creating opportunities for all Kānaka Maoli to learn their language. Particularly for the work that I do in hana keaka to create avenues for retelling the stories of our ancestors while providing entertainment in our language for our people.

The language revitalization efforts of the 1980's followed in the steps of the Māori Kōhanga Reo, language nest immersion preschools. The first Pūnana Leo was established in 1983 on the island of Kaua'i. The establishment of Kula Kaiapuni, Hawaiian immersion schools, would follow three years later through the appropriation of funds from the state legislature compelled by language activists and Kanaka Maoli parents, who demanded the opportunity for their children to be educated in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i in the Hawai'i public school system. One of the state legislators who pushed to make that funding available was Senator Clayton Hee. A second language speaker himself of Kanaka Maoli decent he describes the necessity to speak Hawaiian:

Speaking Hawaiian, or should I say re-learning Hawaiian, is essential to being Hawaiian. Or put another way, can we be native without speaking or understanding our native language? And is understanding who we are one of the first steps towards nationhood? Noted Hawaiian scholar Mary Kawena Pukui (1983, p. 66, ‘ōlelo no‘eau #570) wrote, “He Hawai‘i ‘uala Kahiki.” This ‘ōlelo no‘eau describes a term of derision applied to a native Hawaiian who apes the ways of the whites instead of appreciating the culture of his or her own people. It is also said of one who is absolutely ignorant of his or her culture, as in “He Hawai‘i ‘uala Kahiki ‘ai ‘ole, he kanaka Hawai‘i ‘oia, aka, he ‘uala mai kahiki nui mai” (He is Hawaiian but he is distanced from the culture of his people). (Hee, 2010, p. 15)³²⁶

Senator Hee connects language to identity and nationhood. As the carrier of culture language is a key index of one’s identity and the major influence on worldview and consciousness. Speaking one’s native language is synonymous with freedom; language is the intellectual sovereignty of a people. Icelandic educator Aðalsteinn Sigmundsson (1897-1943) links language and culture to identity stating:

...our language, the culture that rests upon the language, and other aspects of our national culture, is the defining characteristic of our nationality, and this gives us our right to be independent as a nation, and this is what other nations recognize and respect. (1941)

Occupied by America and Britain, Iceland faced similar unrest of country, nation, language, and political independence³²⁷ as that of Hawai‘i and counties occupied and colonized by America throughout the world. These recurring themes continue to dominate decolonization discourse today. Sigmundsson points out that the

³²⁶<http://www.maramatanga.ac.nz/sites/default/files/NPM2010TraditionalKnowledgeConferenceProceedings.pdf> retrieved on 10 July 2018.

³²⁷ Public lecture on the politics of Icelandic language preservation given by Professor Ari Páll Kristinsson at the Sociolinguists Symposium at the University of Auckland, June 2018.

linguistic and cultural identity of a people is the defining factor of nationhood. This answers the question posed by Hee above, which ultimately argues for political independence from our colonizer. Restoring our language is the path to restoring our identity and nationhood.

The proverbial saying Hee quotes from Pukui uses the analogy of the introduced white potato, ‘uala kahiki, that bears a brown skin but is very white on the inside to refer to Hawaiians who identify with foreign ways, views, and language. This ‘ōlelo no‘eau is still relevant today when referring to those who stray from their language and culture adopting the world of the haole. Proverbial saying like this one are intellectual treasures that we need to defend and perpetuate for these treasures are layered with cultural teachings, worldview, and are what make us unique as Kānaka Maoli. The ideologies of Kānaka Maoli are intrinsically woven into ‘ōlelo no‘eau, idioms, metaphorical expressions, poetry, and incantations, which create the various threads of the tapestry that is ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. These features of the language, which connect us to our ancestors and their ideologies embedded within, are empirical evidence that language affects the consciousness of a people.

The establishment of the Papahana Kaiapuni (Hawaiian Immersion School Program) followed the wave of social political consciousness and the Hawaiian cultural revitalization movement of the 1970’s. As mentioned above these immersion schools were realized because of a vocal motivated community movement to revitalize ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i through the reestablishment of Hawaiian medium education that was prohibited for nearly a century. Warner attributes that the movement was born out of “the realization that the language and culture of Hawai‘i’s indigenous people would not survive another generation without the

creation of new generations of Hawaiian native speakers” (2001, p. 137). Initially founded on Kaua‘i, subsequent Pūnana Leo and Kula Kaiapuni were established across the island chain as the growth of interest and demand for Hawaiian medium education increased. As of 2018 there are 12 Pūnana Leo under the umbrella of the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo³²⁸ across the archipelago, a total of 21 Kula Kaiapuni, and 6 Hawaiian immersion charter schools on the islands of Kaua‘i, O‘ahu, Maui, Moloka‘i, and Hawai‘i.³²⁹ Papahana Kaiapuni has recently celebrated 30 years of providing Hawaiian medium education in Hawai‘i’s public school system. Kanaka Maoli educator and activist Kū Kahakalau, who is a leader in the Hawaiian culture-based education movement said, “In order for a Hawaiian child to thrive they must know their identity...they must understand who they are in connection to others and the place around them.”³³⁰ She connects identity to language and place supporting the efforts of immersion and bilingual education. Kahakalau’s efforts resulted in the establishment of Hawaiian public charter school *Kanu o ka ‘Āina* in Waimea, Hawai‘i. The school is part of the second wave of Hawaiian education models inspired by the Papahana Kaiapuni and the need for Hawaiian serving educational institutions. A number of public charter schools would follow in their footsteps creating venues for Hawaiian focused culturally based education predominantly populated by Kanaka Maoli children. To date there are six Hawaiian focused charter schools in the archipelago with varying levels of language exposure providing

³²⁸ The ‘Aha Pūnana Leo is a Native Hawaiian nonprofit that was established in 1983 with a vision of “E Ola Ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i” (The Hawaiian Language Shall Live) and a mission to revitalize the Hawaiian language as a living language in Hawai‘i and beyond. The organization finds its base in Hilo, Hawai‘i.

³²⁹ For further discussion on the establishment and challenges of the Hawaiian immersion program see Warner 1998 and 2001, and Kamanā and Wilson 2001.

³³⁰ Kahakalau spoke on a panel at a conference on Hawaiian Language Translation, *Mōhāhā ka ‘Ike*, on 23 February 2018, at Ka Waiwai in Mō‘ili‘ili.

options for families interested in a culturally grounded education experience for their children.

Although there has been tremendous community support for the Papahana Kaiapuni, proper funding and resources for the immersion programs continue to be a struggle. The most critical resource is the urgent need for teachers and proper training for these language educators. Warner claims that the secondary level is the most difficult to fill with qualified teachers as “the qualified teacher needs to gain skills in three fields of university study, namely Hawaiian language, a content field (science, mathematics, social sciences, etc.), and educational certification” (2001, p. 141). The constant development and production of Hawaiian language curriculum materials from elementary through tertiary levels has not ceased since the inception of the program. In the early years curriculum was a major obstacle and much of the materials based on English models that were translated for the classroom. However the dearth of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i materials would prove to be an opportunity to create culturally appropriate curriculum derived from recordings of elders, and early ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i literature written and published by Kānaka Maoli in the newspaper archives. Teachers play a key role in the creation of these materials contributing to the growing body of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i curriculum. Hale Kuamo‘o at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo is the main publisher of Hawaiian language curriculum. Most texts and lesson plans that have been published by Hale Kuamo‘o, Kamehameha Publishing, University of Hawai‘i Press, and others over the years is now accessible online through Ulukau.org. These resources allow for Hawaiian language and Hawaiian culturally based materials to be shared with anyone who has access to the Internet potentially opening up Hawaiian pedagogical models of education to the world.

As this section deals with Kanaka Maoli consciousness, I feel it necessary to discuss the politics involved with the Hawaiian language revitalization movement, which is connected to the learning of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in the public school system, the university system, and the community. In order to paint a complete picture of the challenges and struggles Kānaka Maoli face in the language revitalization movement we must look at the leadership in the movement. In an article entitled “*Kuleana: The Right, Responsibility, and Authority of Indigenous Peoples to Speak and Make Decisions for Themselves in Language and Cultural Revitalization*” (1999), Warner spells out the colonial oppression that existed (and continues to exist) in the Hawaiian immersion movement as it does “in every other domain of Hawaiian existence” (1999, p. 75). He writes, “non-Hawaiians have appropriated and are actively appropriating kuleana (rights, responsibility, and authority) from Hawaiians to make decisions regarding the Hawaiian language, particularly in regard to language planning” (1999, pp. 75-76). The core of this issue was articulated in the late 1990’s by Kaleikoa Ka‘eo, a Kanaka Maoli activist and educator from the island of Maui. Ka‘eo stated, “First our land, then our language, then our bones, and now our identity” (Quoted in Warner, 1999, p. 82), expressing the totality of the Kanaka Maoli experience. Warner points out that the non-Hawaiians campaign to perpetuate the language “often because of “its beauty” or “its value”” (1999, p. 76) separating the language from its heritage and its people.

In order to justify their own empowerment as leaders who make decisions for Hawaiians, non-Hawaiians are promoting an ideology whereby language is viewed as an autonomous entity distinct from the people from whom it evolved. In endowing language with the status of a separate, autonomous entity and objectifying it into a thing that is only nominally related to the Hawaiian people, non-Hawaiians set the stage for the appropriation of kuleana over the

language. Non-Hawaiians can then attempt to “save” the language much as if it were a living entity or endangered species, as in saving the whales or the white spotted owl, without any regard for the ideas, desires, or ways of the Hawaiian people. (1999, p. 78)

There is truth to what Warner describes here. I have eye witnessed the campaigns and maneuvering of non-Kanaka to capitalize on the mana of the language. These individuals assert themselves as experts in order to be appointed to leadership positions in community projects, education systems, and for grants or funding. In example, a non-Kanaka was selected to lead a recent monumental translation project for the ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i community. The translations that were done contained inconsistency of voice, calquing of English, and odd translations that do not reflect a Kanaka Maoli worldview. This may be the result of the translation team not having experience with crafting dialogue. As a playwright I understand the need for creativity when working with language in the performing arts however, a significant amount of the dialogue and lyrics produced for the project are unacceptable. It would have been more professionally and culturally appropriate to hire qualified Kānaka Maoli who could execute the translations as well as the other kuleana for the project.³³¹

Support from non-Hawaiians in the revitalization movement is greatly appreciated but it is a supporting role not a role of leadership or authority that they should subscribe to. Warner also welcomes the support of non-Hawaiians in the language revitalization movement however, he advocates that Kānaka Maoli should be at the helm leading the movement. Clarifying this point, he writes “Although

³³¹ The Hawaiian Theatre Program and Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa both have faculty on staff with years of experience in this line of work. In addition, Halele‘a Arts Foundation is an organization that produces Hawaiian language theatre, film, and literary arts.

non-Hawaiians may genuinely wish to help, they typically wish to help in ways defined by them, not by the people whom they claim they want to help” (1999, p. 79). The “wish to help” is a core issue when it comes to leadership, which is very often entangled with funding for Hawaiian education and control of said funding. Over three decades as a language educator and activist for language and Kānaka Maoli rights, Warner navigated through the turbulent waters of the university system, the public school system, and the community to create opportunities for Kānaka Maoli to be language warriors to perpetuate ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and to educate the *kamali‘i* (children) so that there would be new generations of speakers.³³² During these years of dedication he faced many battles with non-Kānaka Maoli who devoted themselves to “saving” ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. Warner describes how non-Hawaiians attempt “to include themselves as part of the Hawaiian group” through denativization of the language,³³³ exalting themselves more Hawaiian than non-Hawaiian language speaking Hawaiians, and the creation of a new nation of Hawaiian language speakers (1999). Ultimately these strategies oppress Kānaka Maoli and “The end result is that the Native Hawaiian voices are silenced” (Warner, 1999, p. 80). Warner also states, “The perpetuation of the Hawaiian language and culture without the people would be meaningless...the Hawaiian language and culture are part and parcel of the Hawaiian people” (1999, p. 88). In this context Kānaka Maoli must be present for the act of revitalization of our language for it to

³³² As I write this, I am moved to tears knowing that my colleague, my mentor, my kumu, a true language warrior is no longer with us. Reflecting on the kaumaha that he carried all those years fighting for us as Kānaka Maoli to have a voice in language planning, the education of our youth, funding and decision-making processes pains me. As a student I did not understand the magnitude of oppression that occurred in the realm of language revitalization leadership. As a young kumu I began to understand the intricacies of relationships, personalities, and mana in this realm. Now as a more mature academic and leader in our language community I am very aware of the complexities in the language movement, the delicate balance of collegiality across programs, and the desperate/urgent need for the empowerment of Kānaka Maoli in the efforts to perpetuate our language and culture, especially in roles of leadership.

³³³ Warner’s uses this word to express the separation of language from its people.

have relevance. Kanaka Maoli scholar Keaoopuaokalani NeSmith echoes Warner's concerns about native control in the language movement and shifts in language evolution. He writes:

In order to preserve the integrity of the Hawaiian language, it must be the native speakers of that language who fill the roles of teachers and mentors of the language. It must be the native speakers who formulate the system of language conveyance including language planning and maintenance as well as curriculum development in schools. Currently, native speakers, for the most part, do not participate in the planning, administering and implementation of the Hawaiian language acquisition movement in the schools throughout Hawai'i. (NeSmith, 2002, p. 49)

The absence of Kanaka Maoli native speakers in the arena of language planning, education, and the reconstruction of Kanaka Maoli ideologies in the school systems, debases the kapu of the language and hinders the intellectual genealogy of the next generation of Kānaka Maoli. The blatant disenfranchisement of Kānaka Maoli from 'Ōlelo Hawai'i dismisses kū'auhau, the ancestral and spiritual connection that bounds Kānaka Maoli to their language. A similar concept regarding the spiritual value of Te Reo Māori as it is connected to whakapapa is communicated by Māori authors Olsen-Reeder, Higgins, & Hutchings in *Te Ahu o Te Reo Māori Reflecting on Research to Understand the Well-Being of Te Reo Māori*:

...spiritual value lies at the very core of the language which is embodied as part of the soul, or as part of an ancestral connections...spiritual value very much underpins the use of the language and undoubtedly speakers of the language possess such value and activate on a daily basis. (2017, p. 70)

In her book on Hawaiian Epistemology, *Ho‘oulu: Our Time of Becoming*, Manu Aluli Meyer gives much attention to mana. In a particular section she focuses on the mana in our words and wielding that mana in today’s world. Mana speaks to the spiritual value and aspect of ‘Ōlelo and the fact that speakers of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i increase their mana through the use of the language. This concept resonates with a Māori proverb quoted in *Te Ahu o Te Reo Māori*, “‘ko te reo te mauri o te mana” [the language is the mauri of mana] (2017, p. 69). C.M. Kaliko Baker writes that “‘O ke ea o ke kanaka Hawai‘i he ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i; ‘o ke ea o ka lāhui Hawai‘i, he kanaka Hawai‘i. No laila, i ‘ole ka ‘ōlelo, ‘ole wale ai ho‘i ka lāhui” [The sovereignty of a Hawaiian person is Hawaiian language; the sovereignty of the Hawaiian nation are Kanaka Hawai‘i. Therefore, should the language be absent, there’s simply no nation.] (February 2018, p. 14). Ea is mana, it is both personal and communal mana in a Kanaka Maoli context and through language we can capture that mana realizing self-determination. For Kānaka Maoli that mana is an ancestral link that infuses the speaker with an understanding of that world while strengthening their foundation and identity as Kanaka Maoli. Language is the primary marker of identity that Kānaka Maoli need to learn, fight for, and embrace, as it is core to our heritage. Warner writes:

The Hawaiian language should be perpetuated because it is part of Hawaiian heritage---what can help to make Hawaiians whole again as a people. Hawaiians need to learn and know their language, culture, stories, histories, and religion because they interrelate and are integrally linked to one another and to the people. Language---the words people use to describe their environment, thoughts, and emotions---as an expression of worldview is a medium through which people transmit culture and history. (Warner, 1999, p. 77)

The concept of making Kānaka Maoli whole again speaks to the well-being of the people. In a sense language is a *lā'au* (traditional herbal medicine) able to heal historical trauma, able to bridge gaps of time, able to transmit knowledge, and able to foster understanding of where we come from and who we are. This healing is the hope for the new generations of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i speakers, that in generations to come the inadequacies and disconnection that my grandmother's and mother's generations felt because they did not learn their language will no longer exist. Building a new generation of native speakers educated in culturally grounded curriculum is one of the triumphs of the language revitalization movement. This movement has seen criticism. NeSmith points out the rise of a neo-Hawaiian language driven by second-language speakers that has significant differences from native language. He states:

The perpetuation of second-language speech in the schools has created a kind of institutionalized second-language form of Hawaiian that I call "neo-Hawaiian." Like Neo-Hawaiian nationalism, neo-Language is an attempt to recapture the language of native speakers. Unlike neo-Hawaiian nationalism, however, which is separated from the original era by many years, neo-Hawaiian language exists side by side with traditional Hawaiian language. Traditional language still exists among the 1,000 or so native speakers who remain, while neo-Hawaiian burgeons and is concentrated in the non-Ni'ihau community based schools. Neo-Hawaiian has developed certain characteristics of its own... The different characteristics of neo-Hawaiian are based on the fact that its speakers interact regularly with each other and not with native speakers. Neo-Hawaiian speakers reinforce each other's proficiency in the language and as a community, they develop the characteristics of Neo-Hawaiian speech. (2002, p. 21)

In his master's thesis NeSmith lists 17 characteristics of neo-Hawaiian language contrasting the growing difference of neo-Hawaiian in comparison to traditional Hawaiian. His list describes phonemic, phonological, semantic, lexical, morphological, and pragmatic differences that are prevalent in second language speakers or neo-Hawaiian speakers. For example there is a tendency for second language speakers' English grammar and accent to influence their Hawaiian language production and sound. Although there is a recognizable difference in native speech and second language speech, it is critical to support the interest of Kānaka Maoli to speak the language of our ancestors. Having said this, Neo-Hawaiian speakers (author included) should continue to strive to emulate the linguistic styling of our kūpuna and not allow our second language speaker status to hamper our potential fluency. With the dwindling numbers of native speakers most learners of Hawaiian today must seek out recordings of native speakers such as the *Ka Leo Hawai'i* radio show in order to hear, practice, and emulate native speech. Language evolves and we must do justice to our language by seeking the examples of language fluency of kūpuna that have been captured in print, audio recordings, video, and so on. The reality is that there are far more second language speakers of Hawaiian than there are native speakers and we must make a genuine effort daily to perpetuate the language that carries the culture, history, stories, religion, and beliefs of our ancestors. What remains is what we have and we must make the most of the language that is intact and not be complaisant. Warner advocates "it is imperative for Hawaiians as a native people forcibly separated from their language to learn their language, culture, history, and all the ways of their people" (Warner, 1999, p. 88). Matamua exhorts that we must fight for our language.

We are at war; make no mistake about it. It is a war for culture, a war for language and a war that must be fought within the hearts of the people. And in the war we need you. We need you to launch a full on attack to rekindle the desire and love for te reo Maori [sic. Māori] within Māori people themselves, and in turn for Māori to be responsible for the language they use. We need you to champion the place of the language within your household, within your family, within your life. It is a war that will last a lifetime and take a collective effort by all of us if we are to win. It is a war that we cannot afford to lose, for if we do we lose more than a language, we will lose an entire culture. So I call on all of you, prepare yourself, take up your arms and surge towards the enemy! *'Hoatu ki te riri tūngutu!'* (2015, p. 229)

Matamua's words resonates strongly with our language struggle in Hawai'i speaking to the heart of the issue, that is the need for Kānaka Maoli to desire to 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, the need for Kānaka Maoli to adamantly fight for our language, and the need to designate and commit to 'Ōlelo Hawai'i as the language of our homes. We must rekindle and tend to the fire to speak the language of our ancestors, for it is the only path to normalize the language and to open new domains for the language to expand and endure in the ever-changing times that we live in. Warner was cognizant of the need to expand domains as a key to sustaining the language. He writes:

If Hawaiian harbors any genuine hope of reviving the language, it must be revived in domains outside as well as inside the classroom. A language cannot be perpetuated in a single domain such as the school or the church. Children will need to be able to communicate their feelings, hopes, opinions, and thoughts in Hawaiian in all domains of life if the language is to truly survive. (2001, p. 141)

The sustainability of the Hawaiian language rests on our ability to communicate every aspect of our lives in the language from struggles to triumphs as well as the intimate functions of the human mind as expressed by Warner. Education, religious training, and daily home life are domains in which language and culture are more regularly practiced, however, the domains of the arts; personal areas of interest, hobbies, and entertainment are fertile grounds for language revitalization efforts that can strengthen cultural values and identity.

People pursue artistic and creative expression through a variety of outlets: formal theatrical performances, sculptures, paintings, and buildings; as well as the less formal arts, music and food festivals, celebrations and informal cultural gatherings, pickup bands, and crafts groups. Together, these formal and informal, tangible and intangible, professional and amateur artistic and cultural activities constitute a community's cultural assets. These activities – which encompass a diverse set of locations, spaces, levels of professionalism and participation, products, events, consumers, creators, and critics – are essential to a community's well-being, economic and cultural vitality, sense of identity, and heritage.³³⁴

As noted by Warner and others, creative personal expression is key to language sustainability. The health and well-being of a people is evident in the various forms of culture performance and artistic expression practiced by a people. These forms of expression are also indicators of identity and language and cultural competence. Building on this concept of artistic and creative expression, I put forth Dr. Hirini Moko Mead's definition of Māori art to contextualize indigenous art forms for

³³⁴http://amf.net.au/library/uploads/files/Diversity_Matters_Forum_overview_and_theme_summaries_2014.pdf retrieved on 23 May 2018.

Pacific peoples and the practice there of. Mead lists the following eight tenets that constitute Māori art.

1. Māori art is an essential part of Māori culture and derives its meanings, values and traditions from that source.
2. It provides creative opportunities for Māori to enhance their lives and enrich their living environment according to the styles, traditions and canons of taste handed down to artists of today by generations of Māori artists before them.
3. There is a continuity and constancy in Māori art which stems from the culture and which gives to all art forms a distinctive Māori aspect, or feel, or wairua.
4. Māori art is closely associated with identification by Māori as Māori, with feelings of self-worth and with notions of status in the community.
5. The primary purpose of Māori art is to give expression to the creative genius of Māori artists to satisfy Māori social, political, cultural and economic needs.
6. Māori art is social art that is created within a cultural and social environment, such that artists are in touch with their tribal roots and with their people.
7. Changes in Māori art are brought about by Māori artists who employ new technologies, introduce new images, and recombine elements of Māori art in new and exciting ways that are accepted by the Māori public.

8. The ‘owners’ of the cultural and intellectual property that constitute the whole field of Māori art are undoubtedly the Māori people.

(Mead, 1995, p. 569 quoted in Royal, 1998, pp. 17-18)

With the exception of tribal roots I propound that we could adopt these tenets to define Kanaka Maoli art in Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i. Mead presents a key element here that elevates Māori art expression to a spiritual level that is the *wairua* or feel of the creative work. The element of *wairua* is the spiritual engagement of our ancestral connections with our artistic practices, which we could say is a major component for the realization of indigenous art. For indigenous peoples of the Pacific, engaging our spirituality as well as our language in artistic expression links our creative work to our ancestors. This strengthens our foundation and elevates our consciousness as a people. The art is a reflection of our whole selves— intellectual, cultural, spiritual, physical, linguistic, and creative Kanaka Maoli selves.

During the early years of the Hawaiian language revitalization movement, efforts to explore creative and artistic venues for language growth were pursued by the language warriors of the 1970’s. One such venue for creative expression in Hawaiian began in 1972 with the establishment of the weekly *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* radio show on KCCN AM Radio in Honolulu. Led by Professor Larry Kauanoa Kimura, the program featured native speakers who spoke about their lives, traditional Hawaiian practices, and history. The radio show often including songs, poetic compositions, proverbial sayings, and phone calls from other native speakers living on the neighboring islands. Kimura’s students from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa were also regularly featured on the program. Occasionally the students would script short radio plays (*hana keaka lekiō*) recounting traditional mo‘olelo as a means to further their language fluency. For example, the broadcast of 19th

December 1972 featured university students performing a hana keaka based on a segment from the Pele and Hi‘iaka story adapted for the christmas season.³³⁵ The following is a transcription from that broadcast published online on the Kani‘āina website.³³⁶

(02:36) h:h1: I ka wā kahiko, ua noho kekahi lu^{^^}, luahine i kekahi kūlanakauhale li‘ili‘i. Kokoke i ka lua pele kēia kūlanakauhale. Aloha ‘ino ka luahine, no ka mea, lō‘ihi ka manawa ‘o ia i noho ho‘okahi ai^{^^} ma laila. ‘A‘ohe āna kāne. ‘A‘ohe ho‘i āna keiki. He luahine ‘ilihune ‘o ia. A, ‘o ka mahi ‘ai kona ‘oihana. Ua hana ‘o ia i kēlā lā kēia lā. Mahi i ka lepo a kanu i nā mea kanu like ‘ole. Akā, i kekahi mau manawa, i kona huhū ‘ana, hua‘i ‘o Pele i luna, a pau nā mea i kanu ‘ia i ke ahi. Aloha ‘ino. Kaumaha ka pu‘uwai o Hi‘iaka no ka luahine. No laila, ua ha‘i aku ‘o ia i ka luahine, inā ‘o ia e hā‘awi i ‘awa iā Pele i kēlā Kalikimaka kēia Kalikimaka, e ho‘ōla ana ‘o Pele i nā mea kanu a pau.

[Long ago, an old woman lived in a little town. This town was near the volcano. Poor thing the old woman, because, she lived alone for a long time over there. She didn't have a husband. She had no children. She was a destitute old woman. She went to work each and every day. She'd till the soil and plant a variety of crops. But, sometimes, when she was mad, the lava would erupt, and everything that was planted would be destroyed by fire. Too bad. The heart of Hi‘iaka was sad for the old woman. Therefore, she told the old woman, if you offer kava root to Pele each Christmas, Pele will restore all of your crops.]

³³⁵ *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* tape HV24-020.

³³⁶ The students featured in the radio play are as follows:

h: Haumāna [student]; h1: ‘a‘ole i ‘ike ‘ia ka inoa o kēia haumāna kāne [name not known of this male student]; PN: Paki Neves; KG: Ka‘i‘ini Garza, HB: Haunani Theresa Bernardino; h2: ‘a‘ole i ‘ike ‘ia ka inoa o kēia haumāna kāne [name not known of this male student]; h3: ‘a‘ole i ‘ike ‘ia ka inoa o kēia haumāna kāne [name not known of this male student]; KO: Keakealani Olivera.

(03:35) h:PN: A, 'o ia nō kona hana ma'amau no nā makahiki he nui. Hā'awi mau 'o ia i ka 'awa iā Pele, a maika'i nō nā mea a pau. Ua noho ka luahine me ka hau'oli. Akā na'e, 'o kēia Kalikimaka, 'aihue 'o Kamapua'a i ka 'awa. Auē. E lohe, e lohe kākou.

[And that was her regular activity for many years. She consistently gave kava to Pele, and everything was good. The old woman lived a happy life. However, this one Christmas, Kamapua'a stole the kava. Alas. Listen, listen you folks.]

(03:56) h:KG: Auē. He lā kūpono kēia no ka ho'omākaukau 'ana i ka 'awa no Pele.

[Alas. This was a good day for preparing kava for Pele.]

(04:04) h:HB: Aloha kakahiaka. Mele Kalikimaka. E hele ana 'oe i hea?

[Good morning. Merry Christmas. Where are you going?]

(04:10) h:KG: E hele ana au^^ e ho'omākaukau i ka 'awa no Pele.

[I'm going to prepare kava for Pele.]

(04:15) h:HB: Hiki anei ia'u ke kōkua aku iā 'oe?

[Could I help you?]

(04:18) h:KG: Inā 'oe e makemake, e hele mai 'oe me a'u.

[If you want, come with me.]

(04:23) h:HB: 'A'ole wau i 'ike i ka 'awa no ka manawa lō'ihī. I hea lā ka 'awa?

[I haven't seen kava for a long time. Where is the kava?]

(04:28) h:KG: Auē. Ua 'aihue 'ia ka 'awa. ^^^ ^^ 'O Kamapua'a ka mea nāna i 'aihue. Auē nō ho'i. E huhū ana 'o Pele ia'u.

[Alas. The kava was stolen. Kamapua'a is the one who stole it. Oh my goodness. Pele is going to be angry.]

(04:40) h:HB: 'Ō, mai maka'u 'oe. E loa'a nō iā kāua kekahi māla 'awa.

[Don't be afraid. We'll find a kava garden.]

(04:45) h:KG: 'A'ole paha. 'A'ohe māla 'awa ma kēia 'ao'ao o kēia moku. Auē. E pau ana ku'u hale i ke ahi.

[Probably not. There isn't a kava garden on this side of the island. Alas. My home will be destroyed by fire.]

(04:54) h:PN: A laila, puka mai kekahi mēnehune.

[Just then a mystical little person emerged.]

(04:57) h:h2: Aloha. Pehea 'olua? He aha ka pilikia?

[Greetings. How are you two? What's seems to be the problem?]

(05:02) h:HB: Ua 'aihue 'o Kamapua'a i ko Pele 'awa.

[Kamapua'a stole Pele's kava.]

(05:05) h:h2: Auē. E huhū loa ana 'o Pele inā e loa'a 'ole ka 'awa iā ia.

[Alas. Pele will be very angry if she doesn't receive kava.]

(05:11) h:KG: He aha ka'u e hana ai^^?

[What will I do?]

(05:13) h:h2: Mai uē 'oe. E kōkua ana au iā 'oe. Ua mālama maika'i 'oe ia'u ma mua me ke aloha. 'O wau kāu keiki ho'okama.

[Don't cry. I'll help you. You've taken good care of me with love. I'm your adopted child.]

(05:23) h:PN: Pouli ka lani me ka 'emo 'ole a kau ka malu ma luna o ka hale o ka luahine.

[The sky darkened and in a brief time the home of the old woman was protected.]

(05:29) h:h3: Pele.

[Pele.]

(05:36) h:KO: 'Auhea lā 'oe? 'O wau 'o Pele. E hele ana au e ki'i i ko'u 'awa.

[Listen you. I am Pele. I'm going to get my kava.]

(05:41) h:KG: Auē. E Pele ē. Ua 'aihue 'o Kamapua'a i ko'u 'awa.

[Alas. Pele. Kamapua'a stole my kava.]

(05:46) h:KO: Kā^. Lapuwale kēlā pua'a kāne.

[Argh. That pig man is mischievous.]

(05:50) h:KG: E 'olu'olu 'oe e kala mai ia'u.

[Please forgive me.]

(05:53) h:KO: 'A'ole. Lō'ihī ka manawa a'u e kali ana no ku'u 'awa. A i kēia manawa, ha'i mai nō 'oe ia'u, 'a'ohē 'awa? Kā^ . Ke lauahi nei i nā mea a pau. He pō'ino. E pau nā mea a pau i ke ahi.

[No. I've been waiting a long time for my kava. And now you tell me, there's no kava? Argh. Everything will see my wrath. Disaster. Everything will be destroyed by the fire.]

(06:08) h:PN: Puka hou ka menehune.

[The little mystical person emerged again.]

(06:10) h:h2: He mea ka'u e ho'omānalo iā Pele. Na Hi'iaka i hā'awi mai i kēia 'ōmole kini ia'u. E lawe aku 'oe a e ninini i loko o ka lua!

[I have something that will appease Pele. Hi'iaka gave this bottle of gin to me. Take this bottle and pour it into the volcano!]

(06:25) h: Pau ke ahiahi^^(ahi). Pau ke ahi.

[The evening ended. The fire ceased.]

(06:29) h:h2: Ua ho'omānalo 'o Pele.

[Pele was appeased.]

(06:31) h:HB: E hō'oli kākou.

[Let's give joy.]

(06:33) h:KG: E ho'omaika'i iā Pele a me Hi'iaka.

[Praise to Pele and Hi'iaka.]

(06:36) h:PN: 'Ae. Pau pono ke ahi. A pau ka huhū 'ana o Pele. Noho ka luahine me ka hau'oli. Loa'a iā ia he Kalikimaka pōmaika'i.³³⁷

[Yes. The fire is done. And Pele is no longer angry. The old woman lived with happiness. She had a blessed Christmas.]

The villainization of Kamapua'a here is not surprising, however the association of the American christmas celebration practices with Pele is odd. This short radio play is a product of its time and those who scripted the dialogue. The use of dramatization here for language learning broadens the domains of language use of the 1970's and provides a venue for creative and artistic expression.

In the mid-1990's a new generation of hana keaka in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i would entertain the 'Ōlelo Hawai'i community, garnering the support and attention of many. Hana keaka was quickly recognized as a form of artistic and creative expression that could further broaden the domains of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i as Warner posits below.

Another example of domain expansion in the community is the result of a new generation of Hawaiian-language playwrights who are now beginning to produce Hawaiian plays for public

³³⁷ <http://ulukau.org/kaniaina/cgi-bin/kaniaina?a=d&d=A19721219-KLH-HV24-020&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN%7ctxTI%7ctxTA%7ctxCO%7ctxTY%7ctxLA%7ctxKE%7ctxPR%7ctxSG%7ctxTO%7ctxTG%7ctxSM%7ctxTR%7ctxSP%7ctxCT%7ctxET%7ctxHT-----> retrieved on 2 August 2018

performance. While these tend to embody forms of traditional *hula* (dance) and *oli* (chant) already available in the community, the speaking of only Hawaiian in plays written by Hawaiians about Hawai‘i is one of the most exciting new areas where children and adults alike can appreciate. (Warner, 2001, pp. 141-142)

Warner refers to the establishment of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka and the development of Hawaiian-medium productions that toured in the community beginning in 1995. Since its inception ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i has always been the foundation of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka’s productions that are based on traditional mo‘olelo. The group has made providing entertainment in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i their primary goal. This form of artistic expression, hana keaka, is inherently connected to mo‘olelo and kū‘auhau weaving in hana no‘eau as appropriate to the context of the stories performed.

In October 2016, a Hawaiian Theatre Symposium, ‘Aha Hana Keaka, was held at Kennedy Theatre at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The ‘Aha Hana Keaka was meant to raise awareness about the new Hawaiian Theatre Program in the Department of Theatre and Dance at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, and to commemorate twenty years of Ka Hālau Hanakeeka’s work in the community. The symposium featured three panels and performances of hana keaka, mele, and oli. The opening panel of the day focused on the value of hana keaka featuring a handful of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i educators and language warriors. Dr. Kalehua Krug, Educational Specialist of the Office of Hawaiian Education, spoke about the significant contribution hana keaka makes to the encouragement of learning and embracing ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. Sharing his observations at the premier of *Lā‘ieikawai*, he mentions the affect that hana keaka had on the keiki in the audience:

(03:16) KRUG: ‘Ae e kūkulu ana nō wau ma luna o kā Keawe i ‘ōlelo mai nei, a no ka mea, ho‘omaopopo pū wau i ka noho ‘ana i

loko nei no, nā po‘e, kēlā hana keaka aku nei a mea i, o, Lā‘ieikawai. A ma ka ho‘i ‘ana i ka hale, ma ko‘u ka‘ahele ‘ana ma ke kula o Ānuenue, ua lohe wau, ma nā pule ‘elua a ‘ekolu nō paha ma hope, ua lohe wau i ka hīmeni ‘ia ‘ana o nā mele a nā keiki i ho‘olohe ai ma loko o kēnā hana keaka, a no laila no kēnā mea ke ‘ike nei wau i kekahi o nā mea e ninau ‘ia ana ma kēia pānela ma hope maila a no ke ‘ano o ka ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘ana o ka hana keaka ma ke ‘ano he mea e ho‘ona‘auao ai i nā keiki ma nā kula kaiapuni i kēia manawa, a no‘u, ua na‘auao mai nā keiki. No ka mea, a he wahi ia a he wā no nā keiki e ho‘oulu ai i ka ‘i‘ini e a‘o a ho‘opa‘a ai i ka ‘ōlelo a ua pa‘a kekahi mea i loko o lākou. A ‘o ia kekahi mea nui a mākou e ho‘ā‘o ana ma ka ‘oihana ho‘ona‘auao, e ho‘opa‘a i ka ‘ōlelo i loko loa o nā kamali‘i e kūlia nei i ke kula kaiapuni. No laila, like pū nō ia me nā mele, akā ‘o ka pa‘a o nā hua‘ōlelo, a ka pa‘a o ka ‘ōlelo i loko o kēnā mau mele e halihali ‘ia ana e nā keiki i ka hale.³³⁸

[KRUG: Yes, and I will build upon what Keawe just spoke to, because I recall sitting in this house as well for, the people, for that last production of, Lā‘ieikawai. And when I returned home, and when I returned to walking amongst the students at Ānuenue school, I heard, in the two to three weeks that went on after the production, I heard the kids singing the songs that they heard in the production, and with that I see that I might be answering one of the questions that will come later in the panel in regards to how we use the Hana Keaka as a means to educate our kids in the Hawaiian immersion schools, but for me, our kids have been enlightened. Due to the fact that [Hana Keaka has created] a space for the students to nurture and manifest their desire to learn and master their language and that has been established within them. And that is exactly what we are looking to do at the Department of Education, we want to manifest the language deep within the progeny that strive in the

³³⁸ Transcriptions and translations done by Kaipulaumakaniolono Baker and the author. Transcriptions taken from video recordings of the ‘Aha Hana Keaka (Hawaiian Theatre Symposium), 13 October 2016.

immersion system. Therefore, yes the music, but also the vernacular, and the memorization of the language that exists within those songs that will be carried by the children to their homes.]

Krug describes the immediate impact hana keaka has on students, especially those enrolled in Hawaiian immersion schools, they imitate the songs, chants, and dialogue heard on stage. This of course is in addition to them learning a story, ancestral history, and cultural lessons embedded in the script. Later in the panel Krug explains how hana keaka sets a level of language excellence for students to subscribe to.

(10:55) KRUG: A ua ‘ano like ko‘u mana‘o a no ka mea, i like me ka‘u i hāpai mua nei ma ka‘u pane mua ‘ana. A no nā keiki, a no ka mea, he hana nui no nā keiki ke a‘o ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i nā ‘a‘ole i loa‘a kekahi mea ho‘ohālike maika‘i e kūlia ai. A no laila i ka noho ‘ana i ka hana keaka, e like me ka‘u i hō‘ike ai, kūkulu ‘ia kekahi ‘ano pahuhopu no lākou. No ka mea, i loko o nā kula, aia nō kekahi po‘e kumu e noho nei i loko o kēia hale a hiki iā lākou ke hō‘oia mai i ka‘u e ‘ōlelo ana, a no ke emi loa o nā kumu kula kaiapuni a ka hana nui, a e like me ka nui loa, ka nui kūpono o ka nui o nā kumu e a‘o ai i nā keiki, ‘a‘ole nō ‘ike pinepine ‘ia ka pu‘u ki‘eki‘e loa o ka ‘ōlelo. A no laila, ma kēia ‘ano kūkulu hana keaka ‘ana, kūkulu pū ‘ia kekahi wahi e nānea ai ka pepeiao me ka lo‘ohia ‘ole o ka nuku kumu, a he noho ‘ana o ka le‘ale‘a. A, i loko o ia noho ‘ana ‘ike nā keiki i nā pahuhopu nui, a no laila, ke ‘ōlelo kākou no kēnā ‘ano pahuhopu: “‘A‘ohe a lākou pali, ‘a‘ohe a lākou pu‘u e pi‘i ai”. Pēlā pū nō ka ho‘omākaukau ‘ana i nā pahuhopu ‘ē a‘e o ke ola, no nā hana, no ke oli, no ka hula, na kākou e hō‘ike aku iā lākou ma nā pō‘aiapili like ‘ole o ka hana keaka i ka pahuhopu ‘oi kelakela.

[And I have a very similar opinion, somewhat related to my first answer. And for the kids, well because, learning Hawaiian is an arduous task especially if they do not have an exemplary model to

strive for. And therefore, when they attend a hana keaka, as I detailed before, an exemplar goal is constructed for them. And this is because, within the schools, and there are some teachers seated among us that can testify to what I am about to say, due to the fact that we have so few teachers and a lot of work to be done, an almost insurmountable amount of work, we do not have an appropriate student to teacher ratio, we cannot always show the students the highest peak of language. And therefore, in this kind of construction of theatre, we also establish a space for our ears to fascinate without the stress of an instructor, and it is a dwelling of amusement. And while they dwell they see the final goal, and so, when we talk about understanding that goal and “Oh they have no summit, they have no mountain to climb”, that is also how we prepare the students to be exemplary in other things, in work, in chanting, in hula, we will show them in every context that theatre can reach what excellence is.]

Principal of Kawaikini Laboratory Public Charter School on Kaua‘i, Kumu Malia ‘Alohilani Rogers, used an analogy of a garden to describe the health of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, likening hana keaka to the most fertile soil and the most bountiful crops in the garden. She compares her husband’s farming skills as superior to hers using that analogy to describe language surviving in comparison to language thriving.

Roger shared:

(08:23) ROGERS: ‘o kāna mea nō na‘e e kanu ai, e mālama ai, ua lupalupa. Māhuahua nā pua, ulu ā nani wale uluwehiwehi kāna mau mea e mālama ai. A ‘o ia ka‘u mea e no‘ono‘o ana no ia mea ‘o ka ‘ōlelo, a ma mua i ko‘u ho‘omaka ‘ana, ko‘u a‘o ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo, ua ‘ano nāwaliwali, ‘ōma‘ima‘i ka ‘ōlelo, ‘a‘ole i nui loa nā kānaka, nā mānaleo, ‘a‘ole nui nā keiki e ‘ōlelo ana, komo wau i ke kula kaiapuni, a‘o wau ma ke kula kaiapuni a ua ola nō, ua ola ka ‘ōlelo. I ko‘u nānā ‘ana nō na‘e i ua mea ‘o ka hana keaka, he pae ‘oko‘a kēnā o ke ola, ua lupalupa ka ‘ōlelo. Ke hiki iā kākou ke nānā i kēlā ‘ano mea ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, ‘ea, ‘o ia ka ‘oko‘a ai ma waena o

kekahi kapa, he pe'ekue paha, no ka hiamoe 'ana, a maika'i nō kēnā ua hiki ho'i ke moe. Akā 'o kilohana o luna, 'o ia ka 'oi kelakela, 'a'ole pono kēnā, akā, 'o ia nō ka mea nani loa o kēia mea o ke kapa. A 'o ka hue, ka hūewai, ua lawa ho'i ia mea he pola, he ipu, 'ea? No ka lawelawe 'ana i ka wai, mai kahawai mai ā i ka hale, no ka lawe 'ana i ka wai i ka hale, ua lawa kūpono kēnā. Akā 'o ka mea, i hui 'ia a pāwehe kona kino, ua 'oi kelakela kēnā. No laila, a 'o ka hale, me nā hale o ka wā kahiko, ua lawa kūpono ua pa'a 'ia i ka lou ulu a pēlā aku, ua malu, ua 'olu ko loko, 'a'ole pā mai ka lā, 'a'ole pulu i ka ua, akā pehea lā kēnā hale i pa'i 'ia e nā hulu manu a Kawelo? 'O ia kahi 'oi kelakela o ka hale. A 'o ia ka'u mea e no'ono'o ai no ia mea 'o ka hana keaka, ua ola nō ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i a laila ua lupalupa ho'i i kēia mea o ka hana keaka. Ua nui ko'u mahalo i kēia hana a 'oukou. A 'o ia wale nō ko'u wahi mana'o, mahalo.

[The flowers that he plants thrive, they grow into a nice, lush, and beautiful verdure. And that is what I am pondering as it concerns our language, because when I first started, when I started learning our language, our language was kind of fickle and sick, there were not very many people, not many native speakers, not many kids speaking Hawaiian, and so I entered the Hawaiian immersion program, I taught at the immersion schools, and life came to the language, our language is now living. And now when I watch these Hana Keaka, that is another level of our language, that language is luxuriant. For us to be able to watch these kinds of productions in the Hawaiian Language, ya, that is the difference between an ordinary tapa cloth, a pe'ekue (thick, coarse, and clumsily beaten cloth) perhaps, it is adequate for sleeping, and that is alright now, it is okay to be slept on. Yet when we look for what's greater, then we come to what is the most beautiful form of kapa cloth. Same goes for a calabash, a simple bowl is enough or a gourd, right? For transporting water, from the stream to household, to bring water home, that [a bowl] is adequate. However, the thing that is joined up and intricately designed, that is exceptional. And so are our

houses, the houses of old, they were alright when they were strung together by ulu cordage and such, they were comfortable, the sun did not shine through, you wouldn't be wet by the rain, but how was Kawelo's house that was thatched together by the feathers of birds? That is the house that reaches beyond expectation. And that is what I think about when I deliberate on what Hana Keaka is, the Hawaiian Language is alive but it has flourished with luxuriant growth through the performance of Hana Keaka. I greatly appreciate the work that you all are doing. And that is all I have to say, mahalo.]

Rogers also spoke about her experience while attending a hana keaka and the collective response of the audience members and what that means for the 'Ōlelo Hawai'i community.

(25:31) ROGERS: 'O ka mea o ko'u hāli'a ma ka nānā 'ana i nā hana keaka, 'a'ole nō i nānā 'ia nā mea ā pau, akā, ho'omana'o a'ela wau i ko'u noho 'ana ma nei hale, 'o Kennedy, i kekahi makahiki aku nei no ka nānā 'ana iā Lā'ieikawai. A 'o ka hāli'a e kipa mau ana i ko'u no'ono'o, 'a'ole ia 'o kahi mea i kupu maila mai loko mai o ka hana keaka. 'O ka'u mea e no'ono'o mau ai, 'o ia nō ka hui like 'ana o ka 'aka a me ka le'ale'a mai nā keiki, nā makua, nā kūpuna e noho ana ma ke anaina i kēlā lā, hui like mai ke aka i ka wā kūpono no ko lākou lohe (like) 'ana i kēia mea ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i. A 'o ia nō ka wā i lana ai ko'u mana'o, 'oiai ua maopopo i nā kānaka ā pau i ka mana'o o kēlā hana keaka. Ua ola ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i, a 'o ia ko'u mana'o i ia wā a 'o ia ka mea e hāli'a mau ana i ko'u no'ono'o. 'O kēlā, ua hiki aku i ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i i kēlā 'ano pae, kēlā 'ano pae i hū ai ke 'aka, 'o ka uē ho'i, i nā kānaka ā pau i ka wā like, i ka wā kūpono, a 'o ia ka'u mea e hāli'a mau ai, 'a'ole mai loko mai o ka hana keaka, akā he hopena ia o ka hana keaka. No laila, mahalo nui no kēlā.

[The fond remembrance I hold in regards to watching Hana Keaka, while I have not seen them all, however, I do remember sitting here in this theatre, Kennedy, one year ago to watch Lā‘ieikawai. And the memory that continually recurs in my conscience, it is not something that came from the play itself. What I keep coming back to, is the joint laughter and coalesced gaiety of the children, the adults, and the elders that were seated in the crowd on that day, uniting in laughter at the appropriate time when we all heard these voices in the Hawaiian Language. And that made me hopeful, because everyone understood the Hana Keaka. ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is alive, and that is what I thought on that day and that is the recollection that perpetually recurs in my thoughts. It is that, the Hawaiian Language has reached a state, a state in which we laugh together, we cry together, all of us collectively, at the appropriate time, that is my fond remembrance forever, not from within the production, but it is a manifestation of it. And so, thank you very much for that.]

The eight tenets of Māori art proposed by Mead are manifested in this collective experience described by Rogers. The first two tenets indicate that hana keaka as an art form is essential to Kānaka Maoli culture, which provides an opportunity for us to enhance our lives through the art form of Hawaiian-medium theatre. The third tenet relates to hana keaka having a distinctive feel or wailua to it that separates it from any other form of theatre. Through this art form Kānaka Maoli connect with their identity as in the fourth tenet. The fifth tenet speaks to the fact that hana keaka also fulfills our needs to express our creative genius as a people. Hana keaka is a social art very much connected to our people created in a cultural and social environment that we define as noted in the sixth tenet. The seventh tenet correlates to how Kānaka Maoli have adapted the western technologies of the stage to suit the needs of our art, maintaining the cultural foundation and maui of the form. Finally, as Mead indicates in the eighth tenet, Kānaka Maoli are the owners of

the cultural and intellectual property developed for hana keaka. The combined effect of these features of both Māori and Kanaka Maoli art, influences the consciousness of a people. Therefore, the practice of hana keaka has a significant impact on Kanaka Maoli consciousness.

8.4 No ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i ma nā Hana Keaka a Ka Hālau Hanakeaka: ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in the productions Ka Hālau Hanakeaka

Simply stated ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i has been the foundation of all theatrical productions created by Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. From the groups inception, ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i has been the core resource for story ideas and research, the language in which scripts are written and rehearsals are conducted as well as the exclusive language of performance. The major goal of the work is to produce plays for the community of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i speakers that will educate and entertain our people. ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is one of four kūkulu that are necessary for the practice of hana keaka. Hana keaka is not possible without ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i.

To illustrate how ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is portrayed in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka I will discuss the crafting of dialogue. Occasionally when conducting research of a particular mo‘olelo in the Hawaiian language newspapers, or in literature published in the mid to late nineteenth century, we find segments of dialogue in the narrative. In these cases we often extract that dialogue to build from when we begin the playwriting process. When dialogue is available for scenes that we would like to stage, that is the best-case scenario to extract and adapt that dialogue while scripting the play because the extraction assures an authentic replication of native speaker dialogue. Extracting dialogue may also aid in the replication of different kinds of language that existed during the time in which the mo‘olelo occurred. For example the mo‘olelo of *Kaluaiko ‘olau* included formal and

informal ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i as well as Pidgin Hawaiian. The inclusion of a conversation in Pidgin Hawaiian in the narrative of this mo‘olelo between Pi‘ilani, wife of Ko‘olau, and Lui Stoltz, the deputy High Sheriff who hunted down Ko‘olau, was a template for all the exchanges that took place between these characters and Stoltz with the other characters in the play. The author of *Kaluaiko‘olau*, Kahikina Sheldon, made a clear distinction of code switching and levels of language fluency. The dialogue shared between husband and wife was often formal and of a very high level of fluency incorporating metaphor, proverbial sayings, allusion, poetry, diverse vocabulary, and complex grammatical structures. Again we extracted segments of dialogue that Sheldon included in his narrative and used those exchanges as a template for the dialogue interactions between Ko‘olau and Pi‘ilani. This was a way of differentiating the characters and relationships in the scripting and producing of the play. This narrative of *Kaluaiko‘olau* by Sheldon, which was the major resource for the scripting of the play, guided our language choices for the entire script. The following is an example of a Pidgin Hawaiian conversation between Stoltz and Pi‘ilani from the opening scene of the play.

LUI

(me ka ‘oki ‘ana i kā POKIPALA ‘ōlelo) E Pi‘ilani, ma hea Ko‘olau?

[(interrupting POKIPALA) Hey Pi‘ilani, where’s Ko‘olau?]

PI‘ILANI

(me ka no‘ono‘o ‘iha‘iha) Uh, ma kēia kakahiaka, ua hele ‘o ia i ka hana mahi‘ai ma ka lo‘i kalo.

[(with anxiety) Well, this morning, he went to farm in the taro patches.]

LUI

Ma hope iā ia pī mai, pehea ka manawa, ka hola ‘ahia?

[When he returns, what time, what hour?]

PI‘ILANI

Kekahi manawa, iā ia pī mai awakea, kekahi manawa ahiahi pī mai.
(Ho‘oluli ‘o LUI i kona po‘o.) Makemake ‘oe e ‘ike iā Ko‘olau?
Hiki ia‘u ke ki‘i iā ia.

[Sometimes, he returns in the early afternoon, sometimes evening he returns. (LUI shakes his head.) You want to see Ko‘olau? I can get him.]

LUI

No, no, hiki nō, ma hope wau makemake kama‘ilio Ko‘olau, ma hope hele ma kai, wau makemake nānā, pehea lā?

[No, no, it’s okay, after I want to talk to Ko‘olau, after go seaside, I want to see, how’s that?]

PI‘ILANI

‘Ae! Inā nō paha ‘olua kali, ma hope nō iā ia pī mai, ‘oe hiki nō nānā iā ia a kama‘ilio kēlā mana‘o ‘oe.

[Yes! If you both wait, after he returns, you can see him and tell him your thoughts.]

LUI

Oh, hiki nō, ‘a‘ole pilikia, ma hope iho mai ma kai, pehea iā ia kēia manawa? Pehea kēlā ma‘i iā ia?

[Oh, alright, no problem, after come down seaside, how is he at this time? How’s that illness to him?]

PI‘ILANI

Like pū no kēlā manawa a māua e noho ma Kekaha, ‘a‘ole nui, li‘ili‘i ‘ula‘ula wale nō ma kēlā pāpālina, ma kēlā lae kekahi manawa a kekahi manawa pau nō.

[Just like that time when he and I were in Kekaha, not much, just a little redness on his cheeks, on his forehead sometime and other times it's gone.]

LUI

‘Uhū, ‘oe ‘ōlelo Ko‘olau pī mai ma kai, wau nānā a ma hope kama‘ilio wau kēlā mana‘o.

[Oh, you tell Ko‘olau to come down seaside, I watch him and after I’ll tell that thought.]

PI‘ILANI

‘Ae, inā ‘a‘ole ‘olua kali, a laila, iā ia pī mai, wau kama‘ilio pololei ka mea a pau ‘oe kama‘ilio.

[Yes, if you won’t wait, then, when he returns, I’ll directly communicate everything you’ve said.] (Baker, 1995, pp. 3-4)

In the Pidgin Hawaiian dialogue we see Pi‘ilani code switching to accommodate the English speaking Stoltz who is attempting to speak Hawaiian with his limited capacity of vocabulary and grammar. Next I have included a portion of a monologue spoken by Ko‘olau to his wife to juxtapose the broken Pidgin Hawaiian above. Ko‘olau’s language is full of elaborate words and phrases indicating his prowess in the language, as he and his wife are native speakers of Hawaiian and their exchanges have a high literary quality.

KO‘OLAU

‘Ae, e ka wahine, luhi loa au e ka wahine! ‘Auhea ‘oe e ku‘u wahine, (Pa‘a lima me PI‘ILANI.) ke ‘ike maila nō paha ‘oe i ko‘u helehelena o ka pilikia, ‘oiai, ke ‘ike iho nei nō au, ua hele mai nei au a nāwaliwali a pihua paupauaho, a ke ‘ane‘ane mai nei ko‘u

manawa e ‘ukali aku ai ma ka meheu o ke keiki a kāua a ha‘alele iho iā ‘oe ho‘okahi ma hope nei, a pehea aku ana lā ‘oe...

[Yes, my wife, I'm very exhausted, wife! Listen my beloved wife, (He clasps Pi'ilani's hand.) you've perhaps seen the issues with my features, since, I as well have noticed, I've weakened and am weary, and my time to follow in the footsteps of our child is near, you alone will remain here behind, and how will you be...]

Ua kuhi nō au ‘o ‘oe o kāua ke ha‘alele mua mai ana i kēia pili ‘ana, ua mana‘o au e paupauaho manakā kahiko ‘oe ia‘u, i ka ho‘oluhi, i ka ho‘opilikia a me ka hō‘īnea o ko kāua noho ‘ana, eia kā... ‘a‘ole, ua pili nō a ua ho‘omanawanui pauaho ‘ole ‘ia e ‘oe māua ‘o ka lei a kāua a hala aku ia, a noho mai nei kāua i loko o nā ‘īnea a hiki maila i kēia manawa. ‘Akahi au ā ‘ike, ‘o wau kā o kāua ke ha‘alele iho ana iā ‘oe. He aha lā ho‘i, e noho pū nō ho‘i kāua, e nānā aku nō ho‘i au iā ‘oe a e nānā mai nō ho‘i ‘oe ia‘u, a hala a‘e nō ho‘i au, pau kou noho ‘ana iho i kēia wahi, huli ho‘i aku ke alo i kauhale o nā ‘ohana o kāua a hā‘awi aku i ke aloha iā lākou a pau loa. E ha‘i aku ‘oe i ka mea ‘oia‘i‘o ke nīnau ‘ia mai iā ‘oe, e hō‘ike aku ‘oe no‘u ka pilikia i ‘ukali ‘ia e ‘oe me ke keiki a kāua a hiki i ka hopena, a ua ho‘okō pa‘a ‘oe i kāu ‘ōlelo ho‘ohiki i lawe ai. (Ho‘opili pū lāua.) A ‘o ka‘u ‘ōlelo kauoha wale nō iā ‘oe, ke noho kāua a pilikia ‘ia au, a laila e kanu pū ‘oe i ku‘u pū me a‘u, i ho‘okahi ko māua moe pū ‘ana i loko o ka ‘ōpū o ka honua, no ka mea, ‘a‘ohe āu hana me ka pū, ‘o wau ho‘okahi kai ho‘ohana iā ia, a ke hele au, e hele pū nō māua, pau ka‘u mau hana a pau kāna mau hana ma kēia ao.

[I had thought that you would be the one to leave this relationship of ours, I thought you would be discouraged and utterly bored of me, because of the burden, the trouble, and the destitution of our lifestyle, nevertheless...no, we are united and our precious garland (child) who has recently passed and I have been patiently cared for by you, and here we are living together in this hardship till now. I've

just realized, I am the one who will be leaving you. How is it possible, as we sit here together, you're looking at me and I too am looking at you, and when I die, your living in this place will cease, return towards the village of our families and give all of them our aloha. Tell them the truth of what has transpired when they ask, explain to them that it was my fault that you and our child accompanied me until the end, and you completely fulfilled the commitment you made. (They embrace.) My only request to you is that when I succumb to this illness, when that happens, bury my gun with me, we will rest together as one in the stomach of the earth, because, you have no work with the gun, I'm the only one who uses it, and when I'm gone, my work will be done, and its work will be done too in this realm.] (Baker, 1995, pp. 26-27)

8.4.1 'O ka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i ke Kahua: 'Ōlelo Hawai'i as the Foundation for Hana Keaka

It is often the case that we are faced with the complete opposite situation where there is not any dialogue in a narrative to be extracted. This is also true when we are working from oral tradition, i.e., a story is told to us by an elder. When dialogue is not available to be extracted and adapted, we create dialogue to facilitate the story. To demonstrate this process of creating dialogue I mention *Māuiakamalo: ka Ho'okala Kupua o ka Moku*, originally produced in 1998. In doing research for this production there were very limited primary resources in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i for the story of *Māuiakamalo*. Aside from a brief article in the Hawaiian language newspapers and the fifteenth era of the *Kumulipo*, most resources were English renditions of this mo'olelo simplified for children. *Māuiakamalo: ka Ho'okala Kupua o ka Moku* is an example of a Ka Hālau Hanakeaka play exclusively scripted with original dialogue. In this scenario we outlined the story that we were to tell, closely following the *Kumulipo*, and then we began scripting scenes of dialogue with the necessary stage directions. We used dialogue to differentiate between

characters, their status, their roles, and their realm. For example the mo‘olelo begins with Māuiakamalo’s birth where his mother Hinaakeahi offers him up to the akua Kāne and Kanaloa. We made sure that the language of the akua was more formal and elaborate. The akua also used riddles and spoke in allusion or metaphor. The Māui brothers also had their own kind of language, as they were fishermen who represented the kama‘āina. The Māui brothers’ language was more informal often including jokes and puns, having its own type of banter.

MĀUIKI‘IKI‘I

I hea aku ana ‘oe?

[Where are you going?]

MĀUIAKAMALO

I ka wao lipo, i uka lilo.

[Inland, way up inland.]

MĀUIKI‘IKI‘I

‘Oia, hiki maila ka manawa. E hui pū aku ana ‘oe me kekahi?

[True, the time has come. You’re meeting up with someone?]

MĀUIAKAMALO

‘Ae, ‘o ko kākou mau makuahine, iā lākou ho‘i ka ‘ike o ke ahi-

[Yes, our aunts, they possess the knowledge of fire-]

MĀUIKI‘IKI‘I

‘Oia? O hele ‘oe me ka ikaika, e ke kaikaina.

[Really? It’s best you go strong, young brother.]

MĀUIAKAMALO

He aha lā ho‘i?

[What's that?]

MĀUIKI'IKI'I

E noke 'oe i ka hana ā hō'ike 'ia ke kumu o ke ahi.

[You must persist until the source of fire is revealed to you.]

MĀUIAKAMALO

A hō'ike 'ia ke kumu o ke ahi?

[The source of fire is revealed?]

MĀUIKI'IKI'I

Inā 'oe noke i ka hana.

[If your persevere at the work.]

(Baker, 1998, p. 42)

The banter between the brothers is sexual in its nature. They tease their younger brother, Māuiakamalo, about his future encounter with the aunties. Unbeknownst to him learning the secret of fire may also mean learning the ways of lovemaking. We employed kaona, layered or hidden meanings, throughout the play giving the adult audience members additional moments of enjoyment. This brings us to the 'Alae, the mud hens aunties of Māui. These characters had a cadence to their dialogue specifically crafted to replicate the behavior of mud hens and the characters that we developed for these women who held the secret of fire. The following is an excerpt of dialogue of the 'Alae bickering with one another about lighting the fire, roasting bananas, and preparing food.

KA'ALAEHUAPĪ

Ua loa'a ka mai'a, e 'ai kākou!

[We have bananas, let's eat!]

KA'ALAEHUAIKI

'Oia kā? He mea 'ai i mo'a? Na wai i ho'omo'a?

[Is that so? There's cooked food? Who cooked it?]

KA'ALAEHUA'OLE

Nāu i ho'omo'a!

[You cooked it!]

KA'ALAEHUANUI

(Gesturing to KA'ALAEHUAIKI.) Nāu i ho'omo'a.

[It was you who cooked.]

KA'ALAEHUAIKI

'A'ole na'u i ho'omo'a, 'eā?

[I wasn't the one who cooked, right?]

KA'ALAEHUANUI

Ua pono kāu hana i kēia lā.

[You were meant to today.]

KA'ALAEHUA'OLE

'Ae! Ua pono nō.

[Yes! That's right.]

KA'ALAEHUAIKI

'A'ole no'u ua kuleana lā i kēia lā. No Ka'alaehuanui ia kuleana.

[That responsibility wasn't mine today. The aforementioned responsibility was for Ka'alaehuanui.]

KA‘ALAEHUANUI

‘A‘ole no‘u, ‘eā? No kekahi ke kuleana i kēia lā. (pointing to one of them) ‘O ‘oe paha?

[Not me, right? That was someone else’s responsibility today. (pointing to one of them) Perhaps you?]

KA‘ALAEHUA‘OLE

‘Ae. ‘O ‘oe paha.

[Yes. Maybe you.]

KA‘ALAEHUAIKI

‘O au...

[Me...]

KA‘ALAEHUAPĪ

E hāmau ka leo! Auē ka hauwala‘au a ka nui manu! Kohu kanikani moa nui e noho na‘aupō ana. E ‘ai kākou o pau ‘auane‘i ke ahi a kākou.

[Be quiet! Alas the chatter of these birds! You babbling resembles chickens living in ignorance.]

KA‘ALAEHUANUI

Akā, ‘a‘ohe mea ‘ai i mo‘a!

[But, there isn’t any cooked food!]

KA‘ALAEHUA‘OLE

‘A‘ohe mea ‘ai i mo‘a.

[No food has been prepared.]

KA‘ALAEHUAIKI

‘Ae. ‘A‘ohe mea ‘ai. E Huapī ē...

[Yes. No food. E Huapī...]

KA‘ALAEHUAPĪ

Hāmau!

[Hush!]

KA‘ALAEHUANUI and KA‘ALAEHUA‘OLE

E hāmau!

[Hush!]

KA‘ALAEHUAIKI

E Huapī ē...

[E Huapī...]

KA‘ALAEHUAPĪ

E hāmau ka leo!

[Silence your voice!]

KA‘ALAEHUAIKI

E Huapī ē...

[E Huapī...]

KA‘ALAEHUAPĪ

He aha kou pilikia e Ka‘alaehuaiki?

[What is your problem Ka‘alaehuaiki?]

KA‘ALAEHUA‘OLE

‘Ae. He aha kou pilikia e Huaiki ē.

[Yes. What’s your problem Huaiki.]

KA‘ALAEHUAIKI

Ke holo nei kā Hina i kai.

[Hina’s children are at sea.]

KA‘ALAEHUAPĪ

‘Oia? ‘Ehia o lākou i ka wa‘a?

[Really? How many of them in the canoe?]

KA‘ALAEHUAIKI

‘Ehā ko lākou nui.

[There’s four of them.]

KA‘ALAEHUAPĪ

(Gesturing out toward the audience at the canoe in the ocean.) ‘O Māuimua ‘akahi, ‘o Māuihope ‘alua, ‘o Māuiki‘iki‘i ‘akolu, ‘o Māuiaakalana ‘ahā. E ‘ā ke ahi!

[First, Māuimua, second Māuihope, third Māuiki‘iki‘i, and fourth Māuiaakalana. Light the fire!]

(The mud hens light their fire.)

KA‘ALAEHUAIKI

No wai ke kuleana?

[Whose responsibility is it?]

KA‘ALAEHUA‘OLE

‘Ae. No wai ke kuleana?

[Yes. Whose duty is it?]

KA‘ALAEHUANUI

Nou ke kuleana!

[Your duty!]

KA‘ALAEHUAIKI

‘A‘ole. Ua ho‘omo‘a au i ka ‘ai i nehinei.

[No. I cooked the food yesterday.]

KA‘ALAEHUA‘OLE

‘A‘ole loa!

[Not even!]

KA‘ALAEHUANUI

‘A‘ole au i ‘ai i nehinei.

[I didn’t eat yesterday.]

KA‘ALAEHUA‘OLE

‘Oia?

[True?]

KA‘ALAEHUAIKI

‘Oia kā! ‘Okō‘a kou ho‘omana‘o ‘ana mai, ‘eā?

[Is that so! Your memory is quite different, isn’t it?]

KA‘ALAEHUANUI

E hāmau, e ia nei! He ‘alae nīele loa ‘oe. Nui ‘ino kāu nīnau ‘ana!

[Shut up, you! You’re a very annoying busybody mud hen. You have a too many questions!]

KA‘ALAEHUAIKI

A nui ‘ino kā ho‘i kāu ‘ai ‘ana!

[And you eat too much!]

KA‘ALAEHUANUI

‘Oia? Li‘ili‘i ho‘i hā kō lolo.

[Really? You have a small brain.]

KA‘ALAEHUA‘OLE

Hūpō ‘olua!

[You two are stupid!]

KA‘ALAEHUAPĪ

E hāmau, e lākou nei! Kanikani nā manu. He hūpō nō ka wa‘a pae.

[Silence, all of you! Babbling birds. A docked canoe is useless.]

(Baker, 1998, pp. 38-41)

The word play continues throughout the subsequent interactions with Māuiakamalo and his aunts. The teasing between the brothers continues as well eventually ceasing when Māuiakamalo returns with the secret of fire. As the third hana keaka production scripted by Ka Hālau Hanakeeka, this production pushed the creative envelope with the composition of new songs, chants, and original dialogue. Māuiakamalo propelled the level of creativity to soar in future productions scripted by Ka Hālau Hanakeeka.

8.5 Panina: Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has provided a definition and brief history of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. We have looked at the effects of colonization, forcible separation from language, and the loss of identity. This was followed by the Hawaiian language revitalization movement, which triggered the establishment of Kula Kaiapuni, Hawaiian immersion schools, and the reinstatement of Hawaiian as an official language of the

state. The impact of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i on Kanaka Maoli consciousness was examined to illustrate the influence that language has on our worldview. Finally the chapter closes with a brief analysis of how ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is portrayed in the works of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 No ka Pahuhopu o Kēia Papahana Noi'i: Purpose of Thesis

The purpose of this thesis was to research the art form of hana keaka (Hawaiian-medium theatre) paying particular attention to the function of this form for Kānaka Maoli. This research agenda also endeavored to document the origins and development of hana keaka from the earliest performances into the modern era. With this I propose that the function of hana keaka is a means to reinvigorate Kanaka Maoli consciousness.

9.2 No Nā Nīnau o Kēia Papahana Noi'i: Research Questions

Before answering my research question it was imperative for me to position myself in this research and to frame my kuleana in the realm of hana keaka. Chapter 1 was the platform to address these obligatory concerns that are cultural necessities. I began this thesis introducing my background and training in hana no'eau and the theatre, in order to illustrate my involvement in the modern day Hawaiian language revitalization movement as well as my role in the development and practice of hana keaka. Over the past twenty-two years I have had the privilege to write, direct, and produce numerous hana keaka in a variety of venues for school children, university students, and the general Hawaiian language community. As a Kanaka Maoli it was apparent to me shortly after we produced our first hana keaka, that a kuleana was given to me to continue the legacy of storytelling. I described the concept of koho 'ia in the introductory chapter of this thesis explaining how we, Kānaka Maoli, yield to the guidance of our kūpuna and kumu when they select us to carry a particular responsibility. As I write this doctoral thesis I am grateful that I was raised to

acknowledge the mysterious ways of our ancestors, the signs they give us, and that I have the humility to heed the directions that I receive. Koho ‘ia is the reason why I am a playwright, director, and academic today.

Following the framing of my background, the rationale for this study, and my research questions, Chapter 2 explained my methodology and approach for this thesis. Drawing from traditional Hawaiian architecture I decided to use the construction of a hālau, longhouse, as my methodology. I likened major components of the hālau to the chapters of my thesis with the idea that assembling the content in each chapter collectively resembled the construction of a hālau. The physical hālau is where performances like hana keaka would take place while the hālau is also a place of learning. This thesis represents those two facets of hālau, namely this research is building a longhouse that I hope will be a place for future research, to continue the learning of hana keaka and academic research around this subject. Establishing a Kanaka Maoli framework for this research enabled me to present culturally conscious research assembled and contextualized in a Kanaka Maoli manner.

The primary research question for this thesis was, “What is hana keaka and how can hana keaka be used as a tool for empowering Kanaka Maoli consciousness?” Additional questions that followed were:

“What is the history of Hawaiian performance?”

“What has been the development of Hana Keaka?”

“What is Kanaka Maoli consciousness?” and,

“What is the future of Hana Keaka?”

This thesis was organized to contextualize hana keaka as a part of the Kanaka Maoli world by first defining who Kānaka Maoli are. Chapter 3 provided a

historical background of Kānaka Maoli beginning with origin stories that are linked to traditional performance, pre and post European/Haole contact society in the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i, colonization, the cultural renaissance of the 1970’s, and the current day status of Kānaka Maoli. Chapter 4 covered the development and practice of hana keaka substantiated through oral tradition, newspaper archives, and personal involvement in the modern practice of hana keaka. In the course of this thesis I have shown that hana keaka like many other forms of theatre in the world finds its origins in ancient religious ceremonies; i.e., western theatre developed out of the festival of Dionysius; Noh, the earliest form of Japanese theatre, is based in Shinto religious ceremony; and the Arioi in Tahiti was rooted in ritual ceremonies dedicated to the god ‘Oro. In the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i hana no‘eau (performance art forms) were based in ceremony and religious service dedicated to the gods and ancestors. Through my study I have realized that the elements of hana keaka align with the elements of ceremony. In linking hana keaka to religion and ceremony I have made a case for the connection of the practice of this art form and its affects on the consciousness of Kānaka Maoli. This is especially evident when examining the four kūkulu of hana keaka as these kūkulu are philosophical underpinnings of Kanaka Maoli epistemology.

Through analyzing hana keaka I was able to identify these four kūkulu that are the foundational elements of Hawaiian-medium theatre. The kūkulu are Mo‘olelo, Kū‘auhau, Hana No‘eau, and ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. Every hana keaka that I found through my research and those that we have created through Ka Hālau Hanakeaka are grounded and constructed by these four kūkulu. I have dedicated a chapter to each kūkulu to describe the individual kūkulu and the impact of that kūkulu on Kanaka Maoli consciousness. Then each chapter concluded with analysis

of examples demonstrating how these kūkulu were portrayed in the productions of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka. Chapter 5 focused on Mo‘olelo, history and stories, which most hana keaka are based on. Explored in Chapter 6 is Kū‘auhau, genealogy, the facet that connects all Kānaka Maoli to the stories and individuals featured in the stories depicted in hana keaka. When we perform the stories of our ancestors, kū‘auhau allows us to become our ancestors. We are the mediums for and the manifestations of our kūpuna. Chapter 7 defined Hana No‘eau, the many traditional performance forms that are foundational aesthetics featured in hana keaka productions. ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, covered in Chapter 8, is the medium of expression employed for the dialogue and music to convey the performance. These four kūkulu establish the foundation of a hālau, longhouse (see Chapter 2). Hana keaka is only possible when all four kūkulu are present to properly erect the hālau. In example, if the kūkulu of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is not present in a performance then it is not a hana keaka. Hana keaka is ceremony and you cannot conduct ceremony in another language. Discussion on the four kūkulu in their respective chapters builds toward a collective framework for analyzing and investigating the core characteristics of hana keaka while providing an understanding of Kanaka Maoli ideologies.

I postulate that the arts are a key component to the health of our language and culture. Kānaka Maoli need to create in our language to express ourselves, our views, our experiences, and to tell our stories. Kanaka Maoli artistic expression serves as a means of entertainment but more importantly it reconnects us to our ancestors while grounding our mind, body, and spirit. Performance has ‘ihi and kapu. The collective belief of the performers and audience in the work elevates mana while transcending the mo‘olelo. Hana keaka is a vessel for furthering the efforts to revitalize ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is a projection of Kanaka

identity. Speaking our language has political implications where we position ourselves as the indigenous people of the land holding steadfast to the knowledge of our kūpuna. The practice of hana keaka builds the capacity of Hawaiian language speakers through participation in productions and for the audience members who experience those productions. Hana keaka expands the domains of language use and aims to normalize the language in the public sphere. The retelling of ancestral stories in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i through the medium of hana keaka contributes to decolonization efforts which ultimately empowers Kanaka Maoli consciousness. This thesis has demonstrated that hana keaka is a tool for imparting language, a tool for projecting Kanaka Maoli identity, and a tool for raising Kanaka Maoli consciousness.

9.3 No ka Hana Keaka o Kēia Wā e Hiki Mai ana: The Future of Hana Keaka

I want to open this section with the idea that ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i should be represented in every domain where English exists to transcend boundaries and elevate the language. It is my hope that with the normalization of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i opportunities for current and future generations to pursue ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i driven occupations in the arts and beyond will manifest. My primary focus has been and continues to be to grow practitioners of hana keaka; actors, playwrights, directors, designers, technicians, and patrons in order to grow the profession of hana keaka and film. That has been my intention and vision with the establishment of Ka Hālau Hanakeaka in 1996 and most recently through the curriculum and productions of Hawaiian Theatre Program in the Department of Theatre and Dance at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. At the university in five years time there should be an additional full-time position for a Professor of Hawaiian Theatre along with

graduate assistantships for every Kanaka Maoli who is accepted to the Hawaiian Theatre MFA Program. I strongly advocate for these two measures to strengthen the Hawaiian Theatre Program and nurture students of hana keaka to build capacity in this discipline. I am also cognizant of the need for a succession plan that will propel the practice and study of hana keaka into the next few decades. Over the next fifteen years I need to train replacements for the work that I do at the university and through Ka Hālau Hanakeaka.

The community support for and interest in hana keaka is evident. Recent conversations with the Office of Hawaiian Education in the Hawai‘i Department of Education may provide the means to incorporate teaching hana keaka in the Hawaiian immersion school systems across the Pae ‘Āina. I am hopeful that introducing this curriculum at the elementary level will stimulate the desire in the students to participate in hana keaka and pursue higher education in this discipline. There is also potential to develop a summer institute program at the university for high school students to learn hana keaka and hana no‘eau introducing them to the ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i oriented programs that the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa has to offer. This kind of summer program has proven to be successful with models like *Nā Pua No‘eau*³³⁹ and *SPEBE (Summer Program for the Enhancement of Basic Education)*.³⁴⁰ The program builds a bridge between secondary and tertiary education encouraging students to pursue higher education. The Hawaiian Theatre Program should partner with the Office of Hawaiian Education to develop and

³³⁹ Nā Pua No‘eau is the Center for Gifted and Talented Native Hawaiian Children. Established at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo in 1989 for the purpose of increasing educational enrichment opportunities for Hawaiian children in grades Kindergarten through 12th grade, outreach centers were later established on the islands of Maui, Kaua‘i, O‘ahu and Moloka‘i, Lāna‘i and the west side of Hawai‘i Island to expand activities throughout Ka Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i.

³⁴⁰ A summer school program partnership between the Hawai‘i State Department of Education and the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

facilitate a summer program for hana keaka in the near future. Hana keaka is fertile grounds to inspire speakers of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i to increase their fluency and to inspire non-speakers to become speakers, learning the history and stories of Kānaka Maoli. I see hana keaka as a tool to lift up our community, to promote our language and ideas while encouraging the development of this art form into a professional occupation.

The touring of hana keaka productions is a practice that should continue to assure that all communities across the Pae ‘Āina are exposed to this form, the mo‘olelo, and the level of language that is featured in hana keaka. With that being said I envision the establishment of hana keaka troupes like Ka Hālau Hanakeaka on each island, perhaps multiple troupes on the island of O‘ahu, to specialize on island-centric mo‘olelo. There could be exchanges between these troupes and collaborations to enhance Kanaka Maoli performance. The future of hana keaka should provide entertainment by Kānaka Maoli for Kānaka Maoli in the theatre expanding to other forms of media like film, television, radio, web media, podcasts, and video games. These art forms must employ knowledge systems from a Kanaka Maoli perspective to integrate traditional and new ways of knowing as a part of the decolonization process. In the future, there may be a case to establish a performing arts school independent from the colonial institutions that we work within. A school of this nature would be built around language, culture, and performing arts. We should acknowledge the mana of traditional institutions like hālau recognizing the prestige and value of these institutions. We have a rich meaningful history in the performing arts that is grounded in the core of what constitutes Kanaka Maoli culture and identity. I urge us to look to the past to revive our mana as a people and

to nurture the four kūkulu of hana keaka; Mo‘olelo, Kū‘auhau, Hana No‘eau, and ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in our disciplines and daily lives.

Since this doctoral thesis is the first in-depth study of hana keaka, its origins and history, there is massive potential for further studies in this space. Future research on the specific hana keaka troupes, performers, directors, and playwrights mentioned in this thesis are warranted. Targeted researches on particular mo‘olelo that have been produced, character study, or the use of hana no‘eau in hana keaka are yet other topics for inquiry. A concentrated study on ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i featured in hana keaka may be of interest to a future student who could conduct a linguistic analysis looking at the grammar and syntax in hana keaka dialogue. There is also the need for further documentation on the genres of theatre written and produced by Kānaka Maoli today across the Pae ‘Āina o Hawai‘i as well as in the continental United States and internationally. The possibilities for future research are endless as this thesis is the initial study in the space of hana keaka. Simply stated this space needs more Kānaka Maoli at the academic level, the practitioner level, and the research level. Furthermore we, Kānaka Maoli, need to develop, support, and critique one another’s work, both creative and academic works. There needs to be a concerted effort to foster the growth of Kanaka Maoli academic and creative scholarship. Particularly in the discipline of theatre and the arts, I would like to assist in the establishment of a Kanaka Maoli Artists Initiative or Network for the support of Kanaka Maoli artists. Similar to the Black Theatre Network in America or Te Hau Kainga in Pōneke, Aotearoa that serves as an umbrella and support system for Māori and Pacific Islander theatre artists. An initiative like this could cultivate more opportunities for symposia, conferences, and hana keaka festivals that encourage new works and scholarship to enrich our community.

9.4 Nā Mana‘o Hope: Final Thoughts

*Kau ke keha i ka uluna.*³⁴¹

The head rests upon the pillow.

The proverb above is expressed at the completion of an arduous task or at the end of a hard day of labor. Authoring a doctoral thesis is indeed worthy of invoking this proverb. It is my hope that this thesis which begins to clear a path for scholarship in the realm of hana keaka building on the research of my fellow Kānaka Maoli in the disciplines of language revitalization, self-determination, and decolonization, will result in more critical academic scholarship by Kānaka Maoli to further the agenda to reclaim our history, land, culture, and language. Each mo‘olelo in a hana keaka reclaims history, each kū‘auhau in a hana keaka reclaims land, each hana no‘eau in a hana keaka reclaims culture, and each hua ‘ōlelo³⁴² in a hana keaka reclaims language. The performance of an entire hana keaka reclaims Kanaka Maoli through projecting Kanaka Maoli identity and empowering Kanaka Maoli consciousness. Hana keaka serves as a pou kihi in the construction of the Hālauaola³⁴³ (longhouse that regenerates life and promotes healing) of Kanaka Maoli-dom.

Me ia mau mana‘o eia nō kahi kaikamahine no Kapa‘a, Kaua‘i, ke ho‘i aku nei i ka ‘ōnohi o nā kai, i ka ‘āina uluwehiwehi o nā pali hāuliuli o nā Ko‘olau. Ke aloha nō kākou.

³⁴¹ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau # 1616 (Pukui, 1983, p. 279).

³⁴² A word or term.

³⁴³ Hālauaola was the home of Lohi‘auipo in Hā‘ena, Kaua‘i. The hālau represents sustenance for all of Hawai‘i establishing physical, spiritual, and mental health. Hālau is a long-house, hall; ‘ā is to ignite; and ola means life.

Papa Kūmole: References

- ‘Aha Hīpu‘u. (September 2010). ‘*Aha Hīpu‘u*. Retrieved 19 September 2018, from <http://www.ahahipuu.org/about/>
- ‘Aha Hīpu‘u. (September 2010). Hale o nā Ali‘i. ‘*Aha Hīpu‘u*. Retrieved from <http://www.haleonaalii.com/ahahuipo-o/about/>.
- ‘Aha Hīpu‘u. (September 2010). The Royal Order of Kamehameha I. ‘*Aha Hīpu‘u*. Retrieved from <http://www.ahahipuu.org/about/royal-order-of-kamehameha-i/>
- ‘Aha Kāne. (2006). Hale Mua Initiative. ‘*Aha Kāne*. Retrieved from https://www.ahakane.org/events/hale_mua_initiative
- Akana, Akaiko. (Editor). (1917, January 26). Olelo Hawaii. *Ka Puuhonua o na Hawaii*, 4(4), 1.
- Akana, Kalani. (2012). Hei, Hawaiian String Figures: Hawaiian Memory Culture and Mnemonic Practice. In Ledward, Brandon (Ed.), *Hūlili* (pp. 45-70). Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Publishing.
- Aloha for Hawaiians. (2017). The Hawaiian Statehood Plebiscite Trap. *Aloha for Hawaiians*. Retrieved from <http://bambinoides.com/the-hawaiian-statehood-plebiscite-trap-the-statehood-timeline-aloha-for-hawaiians/>
- Andrade, Carlos. (2014). A Geography of Hawai‘i? In Osorio, Jonathan (Ed.), *I Ulu ka ‘Āina Land* (pp. 4-22). Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Angell, Lowell. (2011). *Theatres of Hawai‘i*. Mount Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing.
- Australia Council for the Arts. (2007). *Protocols for Producing Indigenous Australian Performing Arts*. Surry Hills, NSW: Australian Government and Australian Council for the Arts. Retrieved from <http://www.australiacouncil.gov.au/workspace/uploads/files/performing-arts-protocols-for-5b4bfd3988d3e.pdf>
- Baker, C.M. Kaliko, & Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua (Eds.). (2019-Forthcoming). *Mo‘olelo: The Foundation of Hawaiian Knowledge*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.

- Baker, C.M. Kaliko, Kanahēle Wong, A. Ku'uiopolani, Krug, G. Kalehua, Lopes Jr., R. Keawe, Rogers, & Malia 'Alohilani. (13 October 2016). Panel presentation on the Value of Hana Keaka. 'Aha Hana Keaka: Hawaiian Theatre Symposium. Kennedy Theatre at University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Honolulu, HI.
- Baker, C.M. Kaliko. (2018 February). 'O ke ea o ke kanaka, he 'ōlelo. *Ka Wai Ola o OHA*, 35(2), 14.
- Baker, C.M. Kaliko. (2018). Hawaiian Medium Theatre and the Language Revitalization Movement: A Means to Reestablishing Maui Hawai'i. In Hinton, L., Huss, L., & Rosche, G. (Eds.), *Community-Based Language Planning: The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization* (pp. 227-235). New York, NY: Routledge Publishing House.
- Baker, Christopher K. (2015). Constructing Kanaka Maoli identity through narrative: A glimpse into native Hawaiian narratives. In Gounder, Farzana (Ed.), *Narrative and Identity Construction in the Pacific Islands* (pp. 119-134). Amsterdam, UK: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Baker, Haili'ōpua & Baker, Kaliko. (1997). *Māuiiakalana*. Live performances in Kapi'olani Community College, Kapi'olani Park, Pūnana Leo o Kawaiiaha'o, & Pūnana Leo o Honolulu.
- Baker, Haili'ōpua & Baker, Kaliko. (1997). *Māuiiakalana*. Unpublished script.
- Baker, Haili'ōpua, & Baker, Kaliko. (1995-1996). *Kaluaiko'olau: Ke kā'e'a'e'a o nā pali Kalalau*. Live performances in Earle Ernst Lab Theatre, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Ke'elikōlani Auditorium, Kamehameha Schools, Kaua'i Performing Arts Center, Kaua'i Community College, Ke Kula Kaiapuni 'o Ānuenuē, & Wailuku Elementary.
- Baker, Haili'ōpua, & Baker, Kaliko. (1995). *Kaluaiko'olau: Ke kā'e'a'e'a o nā pali Kalalau*. Unpublished script.
- Baker, Kaipulaumakaniolono. (2017). Stereotyping Kanaka Maoli—A Stewing Deterrent. *Mānoa Horizons*, 2(1), 171-175. Retrieved from <https://kahualike.manoa.hawaii.edu/horizons/>.
- Baker, T. H., Baker, C.M.K., & Bento, S.P. (2008) *Hawai'inuiākea*. Unpublished script.

- Baker, T. H., Baker, C.M.K., & Bento, S.P. (Playwrights, Composers, & Directors). (2008) *Hawai‘inuiākea*. Live performances in Waikato, Rotorua, Auckland and Kaitaia, Aotearoa/New Zealand.
- Baker, T.H., Baker, C.M.K., Bento, S.P., & Lopes Jr., R.K. (Composers/Directors). (February 2015). *Lā‘ieikawai*. Performed in Kennedy Theatre, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.
- Baker, T.H., Baker, C.M.K., Cabigon, B.K., Hoe, K., & Sueoka, R.K. (1997). *Nā Ua a Māui*. Unpublished script.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua & Baker, C.M. Kaliko. (2001). Huluhia Ke Ahi. *Hawai‘i Review*, 56, 109-124.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua, & Baker C.M. Kaliko. (2004). *Kamapua‘a*. Unpublished script.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (1998) *Māuiakamalo: Ka ho‘okala kupua o ka moku*. Unpublished script.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (1998). *Māuiakamalo: Ka Ho‘okala Kupua o ka Moku Thesis Production Book*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (2001). *Nāwahī: A hero remembered*. Unpublished script.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (2003). *Akahikuleanaakapiko*. Unpublished script.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (2013). *He Mo‘olelo Hana Keaka no ‘Elua Mau Me‘e Hawai‘i*. Unpublished script.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (2015). *Lā‘ieikawai*. Unpublished script.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (8 December 1995). Kauaians Create Play on Life of Ko‘olau. *The Garden Island*, 12-A.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (Director). (1998-2000). *Māuiakamalo: Ka ho‘okala kupua o ka moku*. Live performances in Ke‘elikōlani Auditorium, Kamehameha Schools, Hilo High School, Hawai‘i Island, Kapa‘a Elementary School, Kaua‘i, Pā‘ia Elementary, Maui, Kualapu‘u Elementary, Moloka‘i, & Noumea, New Caledonia.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (Playwright/Director). (2001). *Nāwahī: A hero remembered*. Live performances in Kapi‘olani Community College & Hale Noa.
- Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (Playwright/Director). (2003). *Akahikuleanaakapiko*. Live performance in Hawai‘i Theatre, Honolulu, HI.

- Baker, Tammy Haili'ōpua. (Playwright/Director). (2004-2007). *Kamapua'a*. Live performances in Kaua'i performing Arts Center, Puhi, Kaua'i, Palikū Theatre, Windward Community College, Ko'olaupoko, O'ahu, the Festival of Pacific Arts, Ngarachamayong Cultural Center, Koror, Palau, Castle Theatre, Maui Arts and Cultural Center, Wailuku, Maui, University of Hawai'i at Hilo Performing Arts Center, Hawai'i, Hawai'i Theatre, Honolulu, O'ahu & Kūlana 'Ōiwi, Kaunakakai, Moloka'i and Kualapu'u Elementary, Moloka'i.
- Baker, Tammy Haili'ōpua. (Playwright/Director). (2013). *He Mo'olelo Hana Keaka no 'Elua Mau Me'e Hawai'i*. Live performances in Tenny Theatre, Honolulu, HI.
- Banham, Martin, and Osofisan, Femi. (2014). *African Theatre 13 Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Wole Soyinka*. Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer Inc.
- Barrere, Dorothy B., M.K. Pukui, & M. Kelly. (1980). *Hula: Historical Perspectives*. Pacific Anthropological Records, No. 30. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Beamer, Kamanamaikalani. (2014). *No Mākou Ka Mana Liberating the Nation*. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Publishing.
- Beamer, Nona. (2001). *Nā Mele Hula: A Collection of Hula Chants*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Beckwith, Martha Warren. (1940). *Hawaiian Mythology- Sacred Texts*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Beckwith, Martha Warren. (1970). *Hawaiian Mythology*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Beckwith, Martha Warren. (1972). *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Beckwith, Martha Warren. (Trans.). (1951). *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Bishop Museum. (2011). Early Hawaiian Society, Fishing Traditions. In *Hawaii Alive*. Retrieved from <http://www.hawaiilive.org/topics.php?sub=Early+Hawaiian+Society&subtopic=119>
- Bishop, Bernice Pauahi. (31 October 1883). Last Will and Testament. Retrieved from https://www.ksbe.edu/about_us/about_pauahi/will/

- Blout, J. (17, July 1893). Report of U.S. Special Commissioner James H. Blount to U.S. Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham Concerning the Hawaiian Kingdom Investigation. *Hawaiian Kingdom*. Retrieved from <https://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/blounts-report.shtml>
- Boal, Augusto. (1979). *Theatre of the Oppressed*. West Broadway, NY: Urizen Books.
- Bowman, Sally-Jo Kealaoanuenue, Moan, Tamara Leiokanoe, Kalauokalani, Moses Elwood & Walker, Jerry. (2005). *Lua-The Art of the Hawaiian Warrior*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Bray, David Ka'ōnohiokalā & Low, Douglas. (1960). *The Kahuna Religion of Hawaii*. Eureka, CA: Borderland Sciences Research.
- Brú, Heðin, and Jacobsen, Hans Jacob. (1941). *Aðalsteinn Sigmundsson þyddi með leyfi höfundarins*. Iceland: Reykjavík.
- Buck, Peter Te Rangi Hiroa. (1957). *Arts & Crafts of Hawaii*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Bush, John E. (Editor). (1893, April 24). Nuhou Kuloko. *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 2(690), 3.
- Bush, John E. (Editor). (1893, April 7). Hoikeike Nui Ma Ka Hale Mele Hou. *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 2(679), 3.
- Bush, John E. (Editor). (1894, July 26). Oceanica: He moololo kaa o na mea i hooia ia e pili ana ka loa mua ana o Hawaii nei. *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 2(991), 3.
- Bush, John E. (Editor). (1895, April 1). Ohuohu Halemano i ka Ua Lulehua: Ka polea o Halalii ma ka Hotele Hawaii. *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, 2(1077), 3
- Carlson, Marvin. (2003). *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Carr, James Revell. (2014). *Hawaiian Music in Motion: Mariners, Missionaries, and Minstrels*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Carroll, Dennis. (1983). *Kumu Kahua Plays*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Carroll, Dennis. (2000). Hawai'i's 'Local' Theatre. *TDR: The Drama Review*, 44(2), 123-152.

- Catron, Louis E. (1993). *The Elements of Playwriting*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press Inc.
- Chambers, C.E. (August 2001). Henry Opukaha'ia: Hawai'i's Ongoing Legacy. *Waimea Gazette*. Retrieved from <https://cechambers.com/henry-opukahaia-hawaiis-lost-legacy/>
- Chang, David A. (2016). *The World and All the Things upon It Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration*. Minneapolis, MI: University of Minnesota Press.
- Chaplin, George. (Editor). (1961, October 15). Cover Story: Colorful 'Laieikawai, Pageant.' *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 6-8.
- Chaplin, George. (Editor). (1961, October 18). Beauty in Legend. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, 14.
- Charisma, James. (3 October 2017). Hula Ki'i—with Puppets—Brings a Nearly Lost Art to Honolulu Audiences. *Honolulu Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.honolulumagazine.com/Honolulu-Magazine/October-2017/Hula-Kii-with-Puppets-Brings-a-Nearly-Lost-Art-to-Honolulu-Audiences/>
- Charlot, Jean. (1964). *Laukiamanuikahiki: Snare That Lures A Farflung Bird A Bilingual Playlet*. Honolulu, HI: Jean Charlot.
- Charlot, Jean. (1976). *Two Hawaiian Plays*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Charlot, Jean. (26 September 1975). [Interview]. Retrieved from <http://www.hawaii.edu/jcf/interviews/JohnCharlot/HILangPlays1.html>
- Charlot, John. (1985). *The Hawaiian Poetry of Religion and Politics*. Lā'ie, HI: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University Hawai'i Campus.
- Charlot, John. (2005). *Chanting the Universe: Hawaiian Religious Culture*. Hong Kong: Emphasis International.
- Chronicling America Historic American Newspapers. (2018). About The Hawaiian gazette. *Library of Congress*. Retrieved from <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025121/>
- Clinton Kanahale Collection. (2018). Brigham Young University Hawaii. Retrieved from <https://library.byuh.edu/library/archives/kanahale>

- Coker, 'Niyi, Jr. (2005). *Ola Rotimi's African Theatre: The Development of an Indigenous Aesthetic*. Wales, UK: The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd.
- Constitution and By-Laws of the Hale Naua or Temple of Science Ancient Secret Society of the Order of Nauas, or Order of the Temple of Science. (1890). In *The Hawaiian Kingdom, vol. 3, 1874-1893, The Kalakaua Dynasty*. San Francisco, CA: The Bancroft Company printers.
- Coulter II, John A. (2017). *Cadets on Campus: History of Military Schools of the United States (Williams-Ford Texas A&M University Military History Series)*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press.
- Crane, Charles S. (Editor). (1921, January 21). Ka Hoikeike Tabalo a na Mamakakaua. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 61(3), 2.
- Cultural Survival. (2013 March). Making Waves: Hawaiian Language on the Air. *Cultural Survival Quarterly*. Retrieved from <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/making-waves-hawaiian-language-air>
- Daws, Gavan. (1974). *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Devaney, Dennis M., Kelly, Marion, Lee, Polly J., & Motteler, Lee S. (1976). *Kaneohe: A History Of Change (1778-1950)*. Honolulu, HI: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.
- Dibble, Sheldon. (1838). Ka Moolelo Hawaii, I kakauia e kekahi mau haumana o ke kulanui, a i hooponoponoia e kekahi kumu o ia kula. Lahainaluna, HI: Mea pai palapala no ke kulanui.
- Dibble, Sheldon. (1843). *History of the Sandwich Islands*. Lāhainaluna, HI: Press of the Mission Seminary.
- Dye, Tom. (1994). Population Trends in Hawai'i Before 1778 in *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 28(1), 1-20. Honolulu, HI: Hawaiian Historical Society.
- Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation. (2004). *Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation*. Retrieved 15 October 2018, from <https://www.edithkanakaolefoundation.org/>
- Ellis, William. (1823). *A Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii, or Owhyhee: with remarks on the History, Traditions, Manners, Customs, and Language of*

- the Inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands*. Honolulu, HI: Hawaiian Gazette Company, Ltd.
- Emerson, Nathaniel B. (1909). *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula*. Bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 38. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Government Printing Office.
- Essoyan, Susan. (2015, July 28). Certified Native Hawaiian roll posted online with 95,690 names. *Star Advertiser*. Retrieved from <http://www.staradvertiser.com/2015/07/28/breaking-news/certified-native-hawaiian-roll-posted-online-with-95690-names/>
- Eyoh, Hansel Hdumbe. (1985). Language as Carrier of People's Culture: An Interview with Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. In *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*. Retrieved from <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/32j2p716>
- Finnegan, Tom. (15 August 2008). Building may continue atop burials. *Star-Bulletin*. Retrieved from <http://archives.starbulletin.com/2008/08/15/news/story07.html>
- Fornander, Abraham. (1878). *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore, Story of the Formation of these Islands and Origin of this Race*. Vol. 4. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Fornander, Abraham. (1880). *An account of the Polynesian race: its origin and migrations and the ancient history of the Hawaiian people to the times of Kamehameha I*. Vol. 2. London: Tübner & Company Ludgate Hill.
- Frazier, Frances N. (Translator). (2001). *The true Story of Kaluaiko'olau, As Told By His Wife, Piilani*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Fullard-Leo, Betty. (2006) The Demise Of Captain Cook. *Coffee Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.coffeetimes.com/cook.htm>
- Goo, Sarah Kehaulani. (2015, April 6). After 200 years, Native Hawaiians make a comeback. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center. Retrieved from <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/04/06/native-hawaiian-population/>
- Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Noelani, Hussey, Ikaika, & Wright, Erin Kahunawaika'ala. (Eds.). (2014). *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Gutmanis, June. (1983). *Nā Pule Kahiko*. Rochester, NY: Editions Ltd.

- Hale Naua III. (September 1996). Hale Naua III. *Hale Pai Pacific American-News Journal*, 2(9). Retrieved from <http://www.punawelewele.com/halepai/kepakemapa/kepakemapa10a.htm>
- Hale'ole, S. N. (Author). Kawaharada, D., Hamasaki, R., & Mookini, E. (Editors.). Beckwith, M.W. (Translator). (2006). *Lā'ieikawai*. Honolulu, HI: Kalamaku Press.
- Hale'ole, S.N. (1863). *Ke Kaa o Laieikawai: Ka Hiwahiwa o Paliuli, Kawahineokaliula*. Honolulu, Oahu, HI: Henry M. Whitney.
- Halele'a Arts Foundation. (2006). Foundation By-Laws. Kāne'ohe, Hawai'i.
- Hanohano, Solomon. (Editor). (1913, December 5). Ka Ike Hou Ana O Ke Kamahale i Ka Mokupuni O Kauai. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 51(48), 3.
- Hanohano, Solomon. (Editor). (1914, May 29). Ka Hoiikeike Tabalo Ame Hulahula. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 52(22), 3.
- Hanohano, Solomon. (Editor). (1914, November 13). Make Ka Luna Makaainana H.M. Kaniho. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 52(46), 5.
- Hanohano, Solomon. (Editor). (1914, October 2). Aha Tabalo Ame Hulahula. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 52(41), 2.
- Hanohano, Solomon. (Editor). (1925, April 23). Ka Opela No Ke Keikialii O Hawaii. *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 64(17), 1.
- Hanohano, Solomon. (Editor). (1925, April 23). Tabalo a ka Haw'n Dramatic Club. *Nupepa Kuokoa*, 64(17), 5.
- Hansel, Jeff. (2017, May 7). Bill to lower blood quantum requirement for Hawaiian homestead successors passes Legislature. *West Hawaii Today*.
- Hassen, Rukya. (2016). Language as an Index of Identity, Power, Solidarity and Sentiment in the Multicultural Community of Wollo. In *Journal of Socialomics*, 5(3), 1-5. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304915626_Language_as_an_Index_of_Identity_Power_Solidarity_and_Sentiment_in_the_Multicultural_Community_of_Wollo
- Hau'ofa, Epeli. (2008). *We Are the Ocean- Selected Works*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hawaiian Kingdom Blog. (2016, May 8). Under International Law Native Hawaiians are Victims of Genocide. [Weblog]. Retrieved from

- <http://hawaiiankingdom.org/blog/under-international-law-native-hawaiians-are-victims-of-genocide/>
- Hawaiian Song. [Online Text]. *Library of Congress*. Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200197484/>
- Heckathorn, John. (1989). Interview With David Stannard. *Honolulu Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www2.hawaii.edu/~johnb/micro/m130/readings/stannard.html>
- Hee, Clayton. (2010). The Politics of Being Indigenous. In Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Conference Proceedings. *4th International Traditional Knowledge Conference 2010 Kei Muri I Te Kāpara He Tangata Kē Recognising, Engaging, Understanding Difference*. Retrieved from <http://www.maramatanga.ac.nz/sites/default/files/NPM2010TraditionalKnowledgeConferenceProceedings.pdf>
- Henry, Jim & Baker, Tammy Haili‘ōpua. (Authors). Corbett, Steven J., & Cooper, Betsy (Eds.). (2015, December 28). Writing to Learn and Learning to Perform: Lessons from a Writing Intensive Course in Experimental Theatre Studio. Create, perform, write: WAC, WID, and the performing and visual arts [Special Issue]. In *Across the Disciplines*, 12. Retrieved from <http://wac.colostate.edu/atd/arts>
- Herman, Doug. (2 December 2016). How the Story of “Moana” and Maui Holds Up Against Cultural Truths. *The Smithsonian Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/how-story-moana-and-maui-holds-against-cultural-truths-180961258/>
- His Royal Majesty Kalākaua, King of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i from 1874-1891. (1990). *Legends and Myths of Hawai‘i*. Honolulu, HI: Mutual Publishing.
- Ho‘okuleana. (2013, January 20). King Kalākaua - Renaissance Man. *Ho‘okuleana*. Retrieved from <http://totakeresponsibility.blogspot.com/2013/01/king-kalakaua-renaissance-man.html>
- ho‘omanawanui, ku‘ualoha. (1999). Ka Ola Hou ‘Ana o ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i i ka Ha‘i ‘Ana o ka Mo‘olelo i Kēia Au Hou: The Revival of the Hawaiian Language in Contemporary Storytelling. In MacDonald, Margeret Read. (Ed.), *Traditional Storytelling Today: An International Sourcebook*. pp. 160-170. Chicago, IL: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers.

- ho‘omanawanui, ku‘ualoha. (2014). *Voices of Fire, Reweaving the literary lei of Pele and Hi‘iaka*. Minneapolis, MI: University of Minnesota Press.
- ho‘omanawanui, ku‘ualoha. (2017). He Ahu Mo‘olelo: E Ho‘okahua i ka Paepae Mo‘olelo Palapala Hawai‘i [A Cairn of Stories: Establishing a Foundation of Hawaiian Literature]. In *Palapala: a journal for Hawaiian language and literature*, 1(1), pp. 51-100. Retrieved from https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/43988/1/05_1hoo-manawanui.pdf
- Holt, John Dominis. (1976). *On Being Hawaiian*. Honolulu, HI: Ku Pa‘a Publishing.
- Iaukea, Sydney Lehua. (2009). *The Queen and I: A Story of Dispossession and Reconnections in Hawai‘i*. Berkely, CA: University of California Press.
- Ige, David. (2015 June 24). Governor’s Statement: Statement on TMT. Retrieved from <https://governor.hawaii.gov/newsroom/governors-statement-statement-on-tmt/>
- Ii, John Papa. (1959). *Fragments of Hawaiian History*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- IMDb. (2018). Composer Charles E. King. *IMDb*. Retrieved from <https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0454566/>
- Jarves, James J. (1834). *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*. Honolulu, HI: H.M. Whitney.
- Joesting, Edward. (1988). *Kauai: The Separate Kingdom*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Johnson, Frank. (2014). *The Very Best of Maya Angelou: The Voice of Inspiration*. Charleston, SC: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
- Johnson, Jackie Pualani (Producer). (2016, June 6-7). Live performances. *Keaka: Hawaiian Theatre Festival*. University of Hawai‘i at Hilo.
- Johnson, Rubellite Kawena. (2001). *Essays in Hawaiian Literature*. Honolulu, HI: R.K. Johnson.
- Judd, Henry P. (1942). *The Hawaiian Language and Hawaiian–English Dictionary, A Complete Grammar Study*. Mililani, HI: The Islander Group.
- Justice for Hawaiians. (2013, August 28). Pushing Back Against Obama, the Native Hawaiian Roll Commission, and the Democrat Regime in Hawai‘i. *Justice*

- for Hawaiians*. Retrieved from JusticeforHawaiians.com/tag/how-to-remove-your-name-from-kau-inoa
- Kaahumanu Society Of Honolulu Chapter 1. (2018). *GuideStar*. Retrieved from <https://www.guidestar.org/profile/99-0105426>
- Kaaikaula, Samuel, & Aea, Hezekia. (Editors). (1880, July 31). Keaka Hawaii! *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 19(31), 2.
- Kaeppler, Adrienne. (1993). *Hula Pahu: Hawaiian Drum Dances. Volume 1, Ha 'a and Hula Pahu: Sacred Movements*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kahakalau, Kū. (23 February 2018). Panel presentation. Mōhāhā ka 'Ike, Conference on Hawaiian Language Translation. Ka Waiwai, Mō'ili'ili, HI.
- Kahiolo, G. W. (1861, June 26 - 1861, September 25). He Moolelo No Kamapuaa. *Ka Hae Hawaii*.
- Kahiolo, G.W. (Author). Mo'okini, Esther T., Neizmen, Erin C., & Tom, David. (Translators). (1978). *He Mo'olelo No Kamapua'a*. Honolulu, HI: Hawaiian Studies Program.
- Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission. (2018). Kūkulu Ke Ea A Kanaloa. *Kaho'olawe Island Reserve Commission*. Kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/
- Kakesako, Gregg K. (1997, June 13). Kauai at odds over missile tests, Officials like the economic contributions, but protesters have a bevy of concerns. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*.
- Kamakau, Samuel Mānaiakalani. (1867, December 21). Ka Moolelo O Na Kamehameha. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 6(51), 1.
- Kamakau, Samuel Mānaiakalani. Pukui, Mary Kawena (Translator). (1976). *Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko (The Works of the People of Old)*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kamakau, Samuel Mānaiakalani. Pukui, Mary Kawena. (Ed.). (1992). *Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kamakau, Samuel Mānaiakalani. (2001). *Ke Aupuni Mō'ī: Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i No Kauikeaouli, Keiki Ho'oilina a Kamehameha a Me Ke Aupuni Āna I Noho Mō'ī Ai*. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools Press.
- Kame'eleihiwa, Likikalā. (1992). *Native Land and Foreign Desires Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.

- Kame‘eleihiwa, Lilikalā. (2001). *A Legendary Tradition of Kamapuaa, the Hawaiian Pig God: He Moolelo Kaa o Kamapuaa*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kamehameha III, Kauikeaouli. (1837). O ko‘u aupuni, he aupuni palapala ko‘u. Retrieved from <http://www.transformingteachingpracticesforhawaiianstudents.org/hawaiian-language> and <https://nupepa-hawaii.com/2015/08/05/o-kou-aupuni-he-aupuni-palapala-kou-1837/>
- Kamehameha Publishing. (2018). Hāloa. *Kumukahi*. Retrieved from http://www.kumukahi.org/units/ka_hikina/haloa
- Kamehameha Publishing. (2018). Hula. *Kumukahi*. Retrieved from http://www.kumukahi.org/units/ke_ao_akua/mana/hula
- Kamehameha Publishing. (2018). Laka: E Laka, e ho‘oulu ‘ia. *Kumukahi*. Retrieved from www.kumukahi.org/units/ke_ao_akua/akua/laka
- Kamehameha Schools Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estates. (1987). [Map]. *O‘ahu Land Divisions*. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools Bernice Pauahi Bishop Estates, Extension Education Division, Hawaiian Studies Institute.
- Kamehameha Schools. (1996). Admissions Policy. *Kamehameha Schools*. Retrieved from <http://apps.ksbe.edu/admissions/k-12-admissions/>
- Kamehameha Schools. (2009, March 2). Kūlia I Ka Nu‘u–‘Ike Hawai‘i Alignment Process. Hana No‘eau. Retrieved from https://apps.ksbe.edu/olelo/sites/apps.ksbe.edu.olelo/files/09_DRAFT_Unwrapping_Hana_No'eau.pdf
- Kamehameha Schools. (2014). *Kalu Kanu o Ka ‘Āina: Native Hawaiian Population*. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools. Retrieved from http://www.ksbe.edu/_assets/spi/pdfs/kh/Ka_Huakai_2014/Chapter_One_-_Native_Hawaiian_Population.pdf
- Kana‘iolowalu Native Hawaiian Roll Commission. (2015). *Kana‘iolowalu Native Hawaiian Roll Commission*. Retrieved from <http://kanaiolowalu.org/>
- Kanahele, George Hu‘eu Sanford. (1979). *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Kanahele, George Hu‘eu Sanford. (1986). *Kū Kanaka: Stand Tall A Search for Hawaiian Values*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.

- Kanahele, George S. H. (May 1979). *The Hawaiian Renaissance*. Retrieved from <http://kapalama.ksbe.edu/archives/pvsa/primary%20202/79%20kanahele/kanahele.htm>
- Kanaka'ole Kanahele, Pualani. (2001). *Holo Mai Pele Educator's Guide*. Honolulu, HI: Edith Kanaka'ole Foundation and Pacific Islanders in Communication.
- Kanaka'ole Kanahele, Pualani. (2011). *Ka Honua Ola, 'Eli 'eli Kau Mai (The Living Earth, Descend, Deepen the Revelation)*. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Publishing.
- Kanepuu, J.H. (1856, November 19). No Ka Hoopunahele O Na Makua I Ka Lakou Poe Keiki. *KA HAE HAWAII*, 1 (38), 1.
- Kanewanui, D. (Editor). (1902, February 28). Na Keaka mai na Moolelo Kahiko mai. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 60(9), 1.
- Kani'āina (the Sounds of the Land), Center for Hawaiian-language recordings. (2018). *Ulukau.org*. Retrieved from <http://ulukau.org/kaniaina/cgi-bin/kaniaina?a=p&p=home&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN%7ctxTI%7ctxTA%7ctxCO%7ctxTY%7ctxLA%7ctxKE%7ctxPR%7ctxSG%7ctxTO%7ctxTG%7ctxSM%7ctxTR%7ctxSP%7ctxCT%7ctxET%7ctxHT-----+>
- Kaomea, Julie L. (2000). A curriculum of aloha? Colonialism and tourism in Hawai'i's elementary textbooks. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 30(3), 319–344. Ontario, Canada: Routledge.
- Kapu, W.H. (Editor). (1894, January 22). Ke Aiwaiwa Koolau. *Ka Makaainana*, 1(4), 6.
- Kapu, W.H. (Editor). (1895, May 13). Aia Ma Alanui Maunakea. *Ka Makaainana*, 3(10), 3.
- Kapu, W.H. (Editor). (1895, October 7). Kela A Me Keia. *Ka Makaainana*, 4(15), 8.
- Kaulia, James Keauiluna. (1897, September 11). Haiolelo A James Keauiluna Kaulia. *Ke Aloha Aina*, III(37), 4-5.
- Kawaharada, Dennis. (1999). *Storied Landscapes: Hawaiian Literature and Place*. Seattle, WA: CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform.
- Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language. (2011). *Welina Kawaihuelani Student Handbook*. Honolulu, HI: Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian

- Knowledge. Retrieved from <http://manoa.hawaii.edu/nhss/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Fall-2011-Welina-Kawaihuelani-Student-Handbook.pdf> -
- Kawainui, J.N. & Iosepa, J.K. (Editors). (1893, April 11). Na Poe Hana Keaka Hawaii. *Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa*, 1(46), 3.
- Kawainui, J.U. (Editor). (1895, February 16). Pau I Ke Ahi Ka Hale Mele Hou. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 34(7), 2.
- Ke Kai o Kahiki. (2009). Tū ‘Oe, Men’s Kahiko Performance. *Merrie Monarch Competition 2009*. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Xr1Wd17w-g
- Keany, Michael. (2005, October 5). Tau Dance Theater Prepares For An Upcoming Performance Of Goddess Of Mauna Kea. *Honolulu Magazine*. Retrieved From <http://www.honolulumagazine.com/Honolulu-Magazine/October-2010/Tau-Dance-Theater/>
- Kelekona (Sheldon), Kahikina. (Editor). (1893, January 16). Halawai Makaainana Nui. *Hawaii Holomua*, 3(140), 2.
- Kelekona (Sheldon), Kahikina. (Editor). (1893, April 22). Maka’u Paha I Ke–Aka O Laieikawai E!! *Hawaii Holomua*, 3(17), 2.
- Kelly, Keala. (2008). Noho Hewa The Wrongful Occupation of Hawai‘i. Retrieved from <http://www.nohohewa.com/occupied-areas/>
- Kelly, Marion. (1975). *Loko I'a O He'eia: Heeia Fishpond*, 75(2). Honolulu, HI: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Department of Anthropology.
- Kennedy Theatre Season Box Office. (2015). *Kennedy Theatre Season 2014-2015 Box Office Report*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.
- Kepelino, Zepherin Kahō‘āli‘i Keauokalani. Beckwith, M.W. (Ed.). (2007). *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawai‘i*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- KHON2. (2015, November 02). Hula Performance Nā Lani ‘Eha Honors Hawaiian Royalty and Local Hula Icon. Retrieved from <http://khon2.com/2015/11/02/hula-performance-na-lani-eha-honors-hawaiian-royalty-and-local-hula-icon/>
- Kimura, Larry Kauanoē. (Director). (1972). *Ka Leo Hawai‘i*. [Radio show]. HV24-020. Retrieved from <http://ulukau.org/kaniaina/cgi-bin/kaniaina?a=d&d=A19721219-KLH-HV24-020&e=-----en-20--1--txt->

txIN%7ctxTI%7ctxTA%7ctxCO%7ctxTY%7ctxLA%7ctxKE%7ctxPR%
7ctxSG%7ctxTO%7ctxTG%7ctxSM%7ctxTR%7ctxSP%7ctxCT%7ctxE
T%7ctxHT----- -

Kimura, Larry Kauanoë. (Director). (1973). *Ka Leo Hawai‘i*. [Radio show]. HV24-181/ KLH HV24.144A. Retrieved from <http://ulukau.org/kaniaina/cgi-bin/kaniaina?a=d&d=A-KLH-HV24-181&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN%7CtXTI%7CtXTA%7CtXCO%7CtXTY%7CtXLA%7CtXKE%7CtXPR%7CtXSG%7CtXTO%7CtXTG%7CtXSM%7CtXTR%7CtXSP%7CtXCT%7CtXET%7CtXHT----->

King, Charles E. (1925). *Ke Keikiali‘i o Hawai‘i (The Prince of Hawai‘i)*. Hamilton Library, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

Kneubuhl, Victoria N. (Writer/Director). (2009). “Joseph Nāwahī.” *Biography Hawai‘i*. [Television Series]. Honolulu, HI: PBS Hawai‘i.

Kristinsson, Ari Páll. (28 June 2018). Public lecture on the politics of Icelandic language preservation. Sociolinguists Symposium 22. University of Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand.

Kupihea, Moke. (2004). *The Seven Dawns of the Aumakua*. Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions.

Kuykendall, Ralph. (1967). *The Hawaiian Kingdom: 1874-1893 The Kalakaua Dynasty*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.

Lenchanko, Jonah La‘akapu. (2014). *Significance of Oli (Chants) in Hawaiian Society* (Web article). Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Schools. Retrieved from <https://apps.ksbe.edu/olelo/learning-place/performance-indicators/chant/foundational/significance-oli-chants-in-hawaiian-society>

Like, Edward L. (Editor). (1907, August 3). Ka Po Lea O Halalii: Ke anaina hoolaulea nui ke haawi ia ana ma ka hale mele hou na ka hui [*sic.*] keaka Hawaii Dramatic Company. *Ke Aloha Aina*, 12(31), p. 2.

Lili‘uokalani Trust. (2018). *Queen Lili‘uokalani Trust*. Retrieved 8 May 2018, from <http://onipaa.org/pages/programs>

Lili‘uokalani, Queen Lydia Kamaka‘eha. (1893, January 17). Protest to S.B. Dole and others composing the Provisional Government of the Hawaiian

- Islands. Retrieved from <http://libweb.hawaii.edu/digicoll/annexation/protest/liliu2.php>
- Lili'uokalani. (1990). *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*. Honolulu, HI: Mutual Publishing.
- Lindsey, Lilinoe. (2015). *Hula as One Part of Hawaiian Identity: The Builders of Ka Pā Nani 'O Lilinoe From a Foundation of Family Traditions* (Masters Thesis). University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
- Liu, David M.K.I., Blaisedell, Kekuni, & Aitaoto, Nia. (2008) Health Disparities in Hawai'i, Part 1. In *Hawai'i Journal of Public Health*, 1(1). Honolulu, HI: Hawai'i State Department of Health. Retrieved from <https://health.hawaii.gov/hjmph/files/2013/09/Volume1.1.pdf>
- Looser, Diana. (2014). *Remaking Pacific Pasts: History, Memory, and Identity in Contemporary Theater from Oceania*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Lopes Jr., Robert Keawe. (2011). *Ka Waihona A Ke Aloha : ka papahana ho'oheno mele, An interactive resource center for the promotion, preservation and perpetuation of mele and mele practitioners* (Doctoral Dissertation). University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
- Lopes, Jr., R. Keawe. (2016). Ua Noho Au A Kupa I Ke Alo. In Oliveria, K.R.K.N., & Wright, E.K. (Eds.). *Kanaka Oiwi Methodologies: Moolelo and Metaphor*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Luomala, Katherine. (1984). *Hula Ki'i Hawaiian Puppetry*. Lā'ie, HI: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University, Hawai'i Campus.
- Lynch, John. (1998). *Pacific Languages- An Introduction*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Malo, David. (1903). Emerson, N.B. (Translator). *Hawaiian Antiquities Moolelo Hawaii*. Honolulu, HI: Honolulu Hawaiian Gazette, Ltd.
- Malo, Davida. (1987). Chun, Malcom Naea. (Ed.). *Mo'olelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian Antiquities)*. Honolulu, HI: The Folk Press Kapi'olani Community College.
- May, Mike M. (Director). (2015). *Hawaiian Masterpieces: Ka Hana Kapa* [Television documentary]. Honolulu, HI: PBS Hawai'i.
- McDougall, Brandy Nālani. (2016). *Finding Meaning, Kaona and Contemporary Hawaiian Literature*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.

- McDougall, Brandi Nālani. (2010). *The Salt Wind/Ka Makani Pa‘akai*. Honolulu, HI: Kuleana ‘Ōiwi Press.
- McGregor, Daviana Pōmaika‘i. (2003). *Nā Kua‘āina: Living Hawaiian Culture*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- McGregor, Davianna Pōmaika‘i, & MacKenzie, Melody Kapilialoha. (2014). *Mo‘olelo Ea O Nā Hawai‘i History of Native Hawaiian Governance in Hawai‘i*. Honolulu, HI: Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Retrieved from https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.opengov.ibmcloud.com/files/uploads/McGregor-and-MacKenzie-History_of_Native_Hawaiian_Governance.pdf
- McKinzie, Edith Kawelohea. (1983). *Hawaiian Genealogies: Extracted from Hawaiian Language Newspapers*. Lā‘ie, Hawaii: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, Brigham Young University, Hawai‘i Campus.
- Mea Unuhi Moololo. Bush, John E. (Editor). (1891, June 22 - 1891, September 28). He Mo‘olelo Ka‘ao no Kamapua‘a. *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*.
- Mead, Hirini Moko. (1995). Māori Art on the World Scene. In *Essays of Māori Art*. Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand: Ahua Design and Illustration/Matau Associates.
- Meyer, Manu Aluli. (2003). *Ho‘oulu: Our Time of Becoming, Hawaiian Epistemology and Early Writings*. Honolulu, HI: ‘Ai Pōhaku Press.
- Mita, Merata. (November 2007). Public lecture on Māori and Indigenous filmmaking. The 2nd International Conference on Language, Education and Diversity Conference. University of Waikato, Aotearoa/New Zealand.
- Mitchell, C. Aulii Cash. (2014). *Hula Ki‘i: A Guide to the Tradition and Folk Art of Hawaiian Puppets*. O‘ahu, HI: Published by Author.
- Mitchell, C., Ogura, C., Meadows, D., Kane, A., Strommer, L., Fretz, S., Leonard, D., & McClung, A. (2005). *Hawaii’s Comprehensive Wildlife Conservation Strategy*. Honolulu, HI: Department of Land and Natural Resources.
- Mugge, Robert. (Director), & Maier, Robert (Producer). (1989). *Kumu Hula: Keepers of a Culture*. [Film]. USA: Winstar.
- Mulholland, John F. (1989). *Hawaii’s Religions*. North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing.

- Nā Leo Kahiko. (1981). *Nā Leo Kahiko: The Master Chanters of Hawai‘i*. [Recorded by the Master Chanters of Hawai‘i]. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program.
- Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina. (Producer). (1991). *Kaho‘olawe Island Conveyance Commission, Public Hearings* [Documentary]. Honolulu, HI: Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina.
- Na‘i Aupuni. (2015). *Na‘i Aupuni*. Retrieved from <https://vote.election-america.com/naiaupuni/nomination.htm>
- National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. (2018). Ko Hawai‘i Pae ‘Āina. Retrieved from <https://www.papahanaumokuakea.gov/>
- Native Hawaiian Student Services. (October 2018). Monthly Newsletter. Honolulu, HI: Native Hawaiian Students Services, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.
- Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u, Joseph Kaho‘oluhi. (Editor). (1895). *Ke Aloha Aina*.
- Nepris, Janet. (2005). *To Be A Playwright*. New York: NY: Routledge.
- NeSmith, Richard Keao‘ōpuaokalani. (2002). *Tūtū’s Hawaiian And The Emergence Of A Neo-Hawaiian Language* (Masters Thesis). University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Retrieved from https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/21194/NeSmith_2002.pdf
- NeSmith, Richard Keao‘ōpuaokalani. (2005). Tūtū’s Hawaiian And The Emergence Of A Neo-Hawaiian Language. In *‘Ōiwi Journal: A Native Hawaiian Journal*. Honolulu, HI: Kuleana ‘Ōiwi Press.
- Nogelmeier, Puakea M. (2010). *Mai Pa‘a I Ka Leo: Historical Voices in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Nolan, Yvette. (2015). *Medicine Shows: Indigenous Performance Culture*. Toronto, Canada: Playwrights Canada Press.
- Notley, Chas K. (Editor). (1912, September 12). Tabalo Me Hulahula Ma Ke K. of P. Hall. *Kuokoa Home Rula*, 10(37), 1.
- Nu‘uhiwa, Kalei. (2018). Hawaiian Moon Phases. *The Kohala Center*. Retrieved from <http://kohalacenter.org/spawning-guide/culture-and-history/hawaiian-moon-phases>
- Office of Hawaiian Affairs. (2018). *Office of Hawaiian Affairs*. Retrieved from <https://www.oha.org/registry>

- OLA NA IWI: Naue Burials Lawsuit Highlights Systemic Problems at the State Historic Preservation Division. (2008, September 7). *Cultural Property & Archaeology Law*. Retrieved from <https://culturalpropertylaw.wordpress.com/2008/09/07/ola-na-iwi-naue-burials-lawsuit-highlights-systemic-problems-at-the-state-historic-preservation-division/>
- Oliveria, K.R.K.N., & Wright, E.K. (Eds.). (2016). *Kanaka Oiwi Methodologies: Moolelo and Metaphor*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Olsen-Reeder, Vincent, Higgins, Rawinia, & Hutchings, Jessica. (2017). *Te Ahu o Te Reo Māori Reflecting on Research to Understand the Well-Being of Te Reo Māori*. Wellington, Aotearoa: Victoria University Press.
- Osorio, Jamaica Heolimeleikalani. (2018). *Pilina, A Kanaka Maoli Mo‘olelo Beyond Queer Theory: Unsettling White Settler Logics and (Re)membering Indigenous Desires* (Doctoral Dissertation). University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.
- Osorio, Jonathan Kamakawiwo‘ole. (2014). Hawaiian Souls: The Movement to Stop the U.S. Military Bombing. In Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, Noelani, Hussey, Ikaika, & Wright, Erin Kahunawaika‘ala. (Eds.). *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Osorio, Jonathan Kamakawiwo‘ole. (2001). What Kine Hawaiian Are You? A Mo‘olelo about Nationhood, Race, History, and the Contemporary Sovereignty Movement in Hawai‘i. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13(2), 359-379.
- Osorio, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole. (2002). *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Pacific Worlds & Associates. (2003). The Battle of Nu‘uanu. *Pacific Worlds & Associates*. Retrieved from <http://www.pacificworlds.com/nuuanu/native/native2.cfm>
- Paepae o He‘eia. (2013). *Paepae o He‘eia*. Retrieved from <http://paepaeoheeia.org/thefishpond/>
- Papakilo Database. (2018). *Papakilo Database*. Retrieved from <https://www.papakilodatabase.com/main/main.php>

- Penniman, Teya. 2012. Lono's Season: Hawaiians call it Makahiki, the months when work and warfare cease in celebration of a god's return. Maui Magazine. Retrieved from <https://mauimagazine.net/lono-season/>
- Poepoe, Gulstan K. (Editor). (1914, January 17). Hoikeike Tabalo No Hainakolo. *Ka Holomua*, 1(16), 1.
- Poepoe, J.M. (Editor). (1911, June 24). Ke Tabalo A Ka Hui Kaahumanu O Hilo. *Ke Aloha Aina*, 16(25), 2.
- Poomaikelani. (1883, August 1). Kuauhau Alii. *Ka Elele*, 4(31), 4.
- Preserving Culture and Heritage Through Generations. (2014). 7th Diversity Matters, a forum on preserving culture and heritage. Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts, Istanbul, Turkey. Retrieved from http://amf.net.au/library/uploads/files/Diversity_Matters_Forum_overview_and_theme_summaries_2014.pdf
- Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana. (2017). Makahiki. *Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana*. Retrieved from <http://www.protectkahoolaweohana.org/makahiki.html>
- Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana. (2018). *Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana*. Retrieved from <http://www.protectkahoolaweohana.org/>
- Puaaloa. (1863, June 27). 'Ka Moololo o Maui.' *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2(26), 3.
- Puaaloa. (1863, July 4). 'Ka Moololo o Maui.' *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2(27), 4.
- Pukui, Mary Kawena, & Elbert, Samuel. (1986). *Hawaiian Dictionary*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Pukui, Mary Kawena, Heartig, E.W., Lee, Catherine, & McDermott, John F. (1972). *Nānā i ke Kumu (Look to the Source). Volume II*. Honolulu, HI: Hui Hānai.
- Pukui, Mary Kawena, Heartig, E.W., & Lee, Catherine. (1972). *Nānā i ke Kumu (Look to the Source). Volume I*. Honolulu, HI: Hui Hānai.
- Pukui, Mary Kawena. (1940). How Legends Were Taught. *Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes*, vol. 1, pp. 1602-1606. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum.
- Pukui, Mary Kawena. (1983). *Ōlelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Pukui, Mary Kawena. (1999). *Polynesian Family Systems in Ka 'ū*. Honolulu, HI: Mutual Publishing.

- Pula, J. (Editor). (1859, June 15). Na Kanawai Civila O Ko Hawaii Pae Aina. *KA HAE HAWAII*, 4(11), 42-43.
- Ratner, Nathan L. (2011). Naue Sacred Bones and the Politics of Native Place in Hawai‘i. (Masters dissertation). Wesleyan University. Retrieved from https://wescholar.wesleyan.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1018&context=etd_mas_theses
- Reichel, K. & Kanaka‘ole, K. (Directors). (2017, October 1). *The Art of the Chanter*. Live performance in Kennedy Theatre at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.
- Retrieved from <http://westhawaiiitoday.com/news/local-news/bill-lower-blood-quantum-requirement-hawaiian-homestead-successors-passes>
- Reyes, Daniella. (2015, February 22). ‘Lā‘ieikawai’ a cultural and linguistic triumph. *Ka Leo Hawai‘i*, 109(35), 28.
- Rinehart, Robert E., emerald, elke, & Matamua, Rangi. (Eds.). (2015). *Ethnographies in Pan Pacific Research: Tensions and Positionings*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Roberts, Helen (1926). *Ancient Hawaiian Music*. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Royal Hawaiian Band. (2018). *Royal Hawaiian Band*. Retrieved from <https://www.rhb-music.com/about>
- Royal, Charles Te Ahukaramū. (1998). *Te Whare Tapere: Towards a New Model for Māori Performing Arts* (Doctoral Dissertation). Victoria University of Wellington.
- Ryan, T.J. (Editor). (1914, August 22). He Ahamele, Kapalo Ame Hulahula. *Ke Aloha Aina*. 19(46), 2.
- Saffery, Maya L Kawailanaokeawaiki. (2016). He Ala Nihinihi Ia A Hiki I Ka MOle: A Precarious Yet Worthwhile Path to Kuleana Through HAwaiian Place-Based Education. In Oliveria, K.R.K.N., & Wright, E.K. (Eds.). *Kanaka Oiwī Methodologies: Moolelo and Metaphor*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Sai, David Keanu. (2008). *The American Occupation Of The Hawaiian Kingdom: Beginning The Transition From Occupied To Restored State*. (Doctoral

- Dissertation). University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. Retrieved from [https://hawaiiankingdom.org/pdf/Dissertation\(Sai\).pdf](https://hawaiiankingdom.org/pdf/Dissertation(Sai).pdf)
- Sai, David Keanu. (2009 April). The Myth of Ceded Lands and the State's Claim to Perfect Title. *Ka Wai Ola o OHA Newspaper*. Honolulu, HI: Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Retrieved from <https://www2.hawaii.edu/~anu/pdf/0409kwo.pdf>
- Scannell, Sarah. (2010). *Shakespeare's Richard II and Henry V and Political Rebellions in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I*. (Masters Thesis). University of Connecticut. Retrieved from https://opencommons.uconn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1122&context=srhonors_theses
- Schechner, Richard. (1994). *Environmental Theater*. New York, NY: Applause Theater and Cinema Books.
- Schütz, Albert J. (1994). *The Voices of Eden: A History of Hawaiian Language Studies*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Sheldon, Kahikina. (1893, July 11-20). Ka Moololo Oiaio O Kaluaikoolau (The True Story of Kaluaiko'olau). In *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*.
- Sheldon, Kahikina. (1906). *Ka Moololo Oiaio O Kaluaikoolau (The True Story of Kaluaiko'olau)*. Published by author.
- Shimogawa, Duane. (5 January 2015). Kamehameha Schools' endowment reaches \$11.1B, annual report says. *Pacific Business News*. Retrieved from <https://www.bizjournals.com/pacific/news/2016/01/05/kamehameha-schools-endowment-reaches-11-1b-annual.html>
- Silva, Noenoe K. (2000). He Kānāwai E Ho‘opau I Na Hula Kuolo Hawai‘i: The Political Economy of Banning the Hula. *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol. 34. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Silva, Noenoe K. (2004). *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Silva, Noenoe K. (2010). E Lawe i ke Ō: An Analysis Of Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe’s Account Of Pele Calling The Winds. In Ledward, Brandon (Ed.), *Hūlili*, vol. 6, pp. 237-266. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Publishing.
- Silva, Noenoe K. (2017). *The Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen, Reconstructing Native Hawaiian Intellectual History*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Smiley, Sam. (2005). *Playwriting: The Structure of Action*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwa.i (2012). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Second Edition. London, UK: Zed Books, Ltd.
- Sodetani, Naomi. (April/May 2003). Way of the Warrior. *Hana Hou! The Magazine of Hawaiian Airlines*. Retrieved from <https://hanahou.com/6.2/way-of-the-warrior>
- Solomon, Ha'alilio. (10 April 2018). Transmitting hula knowledge: currency and kuleana. *Summit Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.summitzine.com/posts/transmitting-hula-knowledge-currency-and-kuleana/>
- Spilman, Rick. (2012, June 11). Happy Kamehameha Day ! – King Kamehameha, Isaac Davis, John Young and the Fair American. *The Old Salt Blog*. Retrieved from <http://www.oldsaltblog.com/2012/06/happy-kamehameha-day-king-kamehameha-isaac-davis-john-young-and-the-fair-american/>
- Stannard, David. (1989). *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawaii on the Eve of Western Contact*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Statehood Hawaii. (2007). 50th Anniversary Statehood Commission Timeline. *Statehood Hawaii*. Retrieved from <http://statehoodhawaii.org/hist/sctl.html>
- Stephenson, William. (Editor). (1935, April 11). Theatre Guild Will Stage Haw'n Play: 'Ke Kuapuu Alii' to be given in Amphitheatre. *Ka Leo o Hawaii, The Voice of Hawai'i*, 13(31), 1 & 3.
- Stillman, Amy K. (15 November 2009). [Webblog post]. Oli- An Introduction. <https://amykstillman.wordpress.com/2009/11/15/oli-an-introduction/>
- Stillman, Amy K. (1998). *Sacred Hula: The Historical Hula 'Āla'apapa*. Bishop Museum Bulletins in Anthropology. Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press.
- Stillman, Amy K. (24 November 2009). [Webblog post]. Oli- Five Genres. <https://amykstillman.wordpress.com/2009/11/24/oli-five-genres/>
- Sunderland, Susan Kang. (2 April 2014). Remembering The Grand Dame Of Hula. Retrieved from <http://www.midweek.com/coline-aiu-hula-is-life/>
- Taki Rua Productions. (2018). *Taki Rua Productions*. Retrieved from takirua.co.nz

- Tan, Raymond. (Editor). (1935). *Ka Palapala*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i.
- Tangarō, Taupouri. (2009). *Lele Kawa Fire Rituals of Pele*. Honolulu, HI: Kamehameha Publishing.
- Tengan, Ty P. Kāwika. (2014). Portrait- Sam Kaha'i Ka'ai. In Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Noelani, Hussey, Ikaika, & Wright, Erin Kahunawaika'ala. (Eds.). *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Tengan, Ty. P. Kāwika. (2008). *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Territorial Airways. (2018). Charles E. King. *Territorial Airways*. Retrieved from <http://www.territorialairwaves.com/index.php?page=30&id=172>
- The Aha Moku System. (2012). *The Aha Moku System*. Retrieved from www.ahamoku.org
- The Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs. (2018). *The Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs*. Retrieved 9 May 2018, from <https://www.aohcc.org/index.php/en/>
- The Endangered Languages Project. (2014). Hawaiian aka 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. *The Endangered Languages Project, Alliance for Linguistic Diversity*. Retrieved from endangeredlanguages.com/lang/haw
- Thurston, Lorrin A. (Editor). (1914, Nov 10). No Ka Hala Ana O H.M. Kaniho. *Honolulu Advertiser*, p. 4.
- Topolinski, Kaha'iali'i. (1976 January). Na Mele Ohana. In *Ha'ilono Mele*, (2)1, pp.4-7. Retrieved from <http://ulukau.org/gsd12.80/collect/hailono/cgi-bin/hailono?e=11off--1-v----101025-10-1-0--0-0-1&a=d&d=DHMN002001.1.4>
- Trask, Haunani Kay. (1983). *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.
- Unilang. (2009). The Papuan Languages Thread. Retrieved from <https://forum.unilang.org> > ... > Australian, Austronesian and Papuan Languages

- United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. (2003). *Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Retrieved from <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/01851-EN.pdf> :
- United Nations. (2008). United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. United Nations. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf
- United States Census Bureau. (2001). The Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Population: 2000. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/c2kbr01-14.pdf>
- United States Census Bureau. (2010). The Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Population: 2010. *United States Census Bureau*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-12.pdf>
- United States Legal. (2016). 20 USCS § 80q-14 Native Hawaiian Law and Legal Definition. *US Legal*. Retrieved from <https://definitions.uslegal.com/n/native-hawaiian/>
- University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Hamilton Library. (2018). Ka Leo Hawai'i Radio Program 1991-2000. *eVols*. Retrieved from <https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/47857>
- Vaughn, Palani. (1993). Nā Mamakakaua. [Recorded by Palani Vaughn]. On *Palani Vaughn's Best with the King's Own Volume 1, 1 January 1993*. Honolulu, HI: Nakahili Productions.
- Vaughn, Palani. (1993). Nā Mamakakaua. retrieved from http://www.huapala.org/Ka/Ka_Mamakakaua.html
- Veary, Nana. (1989) *Change We Must. . .My Spiritual Journey*. Honolulu, HI: Medicine Bear Publishing.
- Vogler, Kūhiō. (2014). Outside Shangri La: Colonization and the U.S. Occupation of Hawai‘i. In Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, Noelani, Hussey, Ikaika, & Wright, Erin Kahunawaika‘ala. (Eds.). *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Wa Thiong’o, Ngũgĩ. (1986). *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. Oxford, England: James Currey Ltd.

- Waikīkī Aquarium. Reef Triggerfish. Retrieved from <https://www.waikikiaquarium.org/experience/animal-guide/fishes/triggerfishes/reef-riggerfish/>
- Wang, Frances Kai-Hwa. (2016, September 23). Department of Interior Finalizes Rule to Recognize Native Hawaiian Government. *CBS News*. Retrieved from <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/department-interior-finalizes-rule-recognize-native-hawaiian-government-n653631>
- Warner, Sam L. No‘eau. (1999 March). Kuleana: The Right, Responsibility, and Authority of Indigenous Peoples to Speak and Make Decisions for Themselves in Language and Cultural Revitalization. In *Authenticity and Identity: Lessons from Indigenous Language Education, Anthropology & Education Quarterly*. 30(1), 68-93. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Warner, Sam L. No‘eau. (2001). The Movement to Revitalize Hawaiian Language and Culture. *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice* (pp. 133-145). Cambridge, MA: Academic Press.
- Whitney, H.M. (Editor). (1863, June 27). Ka Moolelo O Maui. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 2(26), p. 3.
- Whitney, H.M. (Editor). (1871, October 21). Ka Po Lea O Halalii. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 10(42), p. 1.
- Wichman, Frederick B. (2003). *Nā Pua Ali‘i o Kaua‘i Ruling Chiefs of Kaua‘i*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.
- Wilcox, R.W. (Editor). (1901, November 6). Ke Kuauhau Hoopunipuni. *Home Rula Repubalika*, 1(2), p. 7.
- Wilcox, R.W. (Editor). (1902, March 15). “Laieikawai” At Opera House. *Home Rula Repubalika*, 1(16), p. 1.
- Wilcox, R.W. (Editor). (1902, March 15). Keaka Hoonanea Kaulana O Laieikawai. *Home Rula Repubalika*, 1(16), p. 8.
- Wilmer, S.E. (Ed.). (2009). *Native American Performance and Representation*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press.
- Wright, Erin Kahunawaika‘ala, & Balutski, Brandi Jean Nālani. (2016). Ka ‘Ikena a ka Hawai‘i: Toward a Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Critical Race Theory. In Oliveria, K.R.K.N., & Wright, E.K. (Eds.). *Kanaka Oiwi Methodologies: Moolelo and Metaphor*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press.

Young, Kanalu G. Terry. (1999). *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past*. London, England: Routledge.

Zuckermann, Ghil'ad. (2016, April 14). Keynote address on language revitalization. Te Reo Ki Tua! Ngāti Kahungunu Language Symposium. Hawke's Bay, Aotearoa/New Zealand.